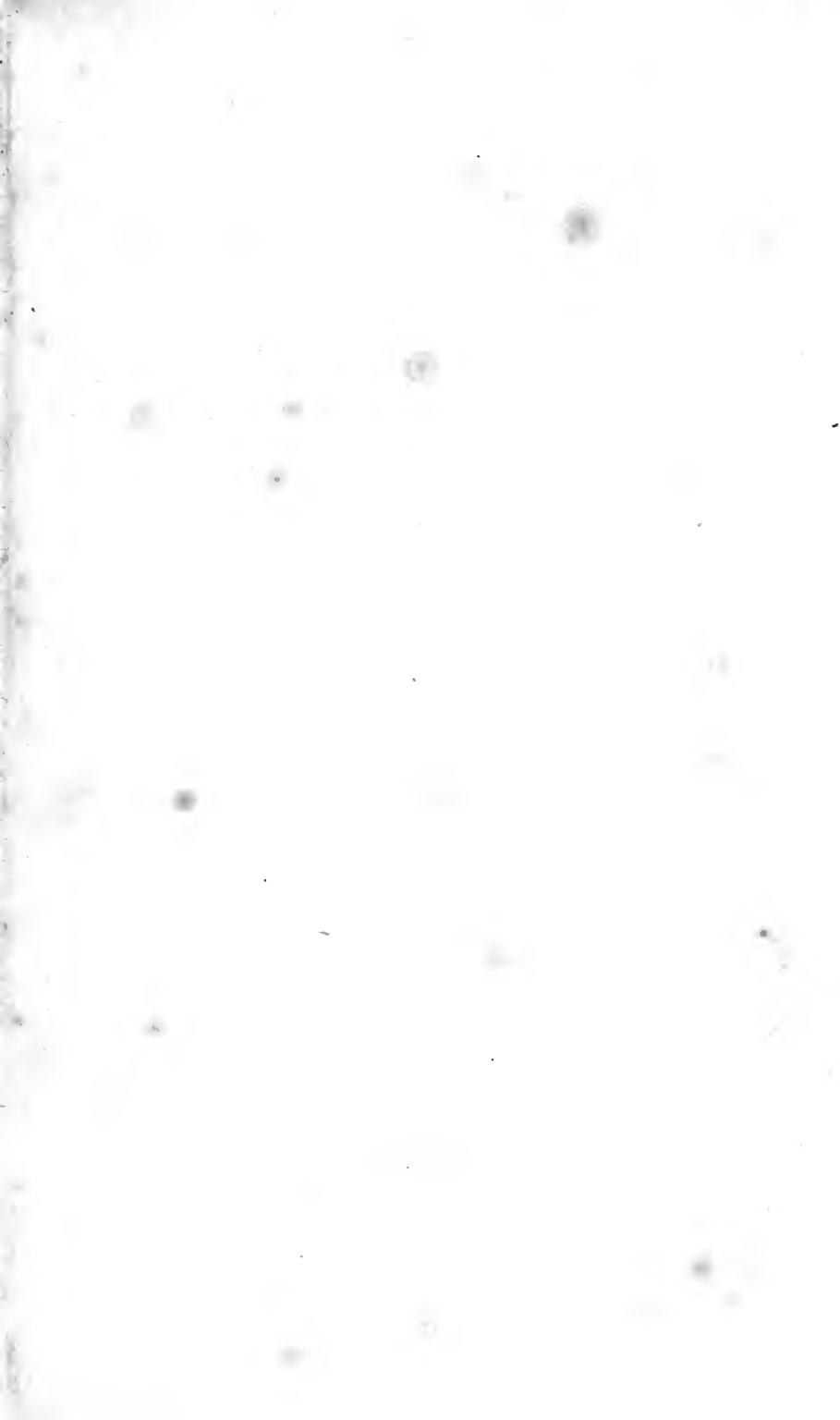


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THE

PARLIAMENTARY

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And Family Magazine.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW

And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 15.

THE House resumed its sittings to day, after the Easter recess, but owing to the illness of many of the Members, from the prevailing Influenza, to which their previous state of fatigue and exhaustion, from long-sittings and late hours, had rendered them more than ordinarily liable, and the continued absence of many who had left town for change of air, the Members in attendance were fewer than were almost ever remembered before. At one period of the sitting, there were only two Members present, when business was suspended for some time, till other Members entered; and even then, the morning sitting closed before two o'clock; there being no other Members in attendance, at that period, having any business to transact, when the Speaker left the Chair.

At five, the evening sitting commenced. After the bringing up of some reports relative to disputed Elections, the result of which will be found recorded in the Business of the House in a future page, the subject of the recent proclamation in Ireland was thus adverted to:—

Mr. O'CONNELL, although he did not see any one in the House connected with the Irish Government, wished to ascertain whether any information could be procured on the subject of the proclamation issued by the Lord-Lieutenant under the Bill which had deprived the people of Ireland of the constitution. It was intimated by the supporters of the Bill that there existed no disposition to carry it into effect, unless in cases of extreme necessity, and a hope was expressed that it might not be found necessary to enforce it; but the Bill had scarcely arrived in Ireland when a proclamation was issued, putting the county of Kilkenny out of the pale of the law. That part of that country was in a disturbed state he did not deny; but a considerable part of it was not in that condition, and it was unfair to punish the inhabitants for the crimes of their neighbours. But it was not of this fact that he principally complained; he went upon the proclaiming of the county of the city of Kilkenny without any pretence of the existence of crime or insubordination. The returns of crime would show that not more than five offences (so we understood the Hon. and Learned Member to state) had been committed in the city of Kilkenny within the last twelve months, and that the highest of these was petty larceny. Yet this city was included in the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation, and the inhabitants were placed beyond the pale of the law. The reason assigned for proclaiming the city of Kilkenny were ludicrous; one being, that if it

were not proclaimed, persons guilty of offences under the act might escape out of the county into the city, and so evade apprehension. If the validity of that reason were admitted, it would afford grounds for proclaiming the city of Dublin. But the reason assigned was a mere pretence; the proclamation of Kilkenny did not increase the power of arrest conferred by the act, which equally authorized the apprehension of an offender in any place, whether proclaimed or unproclaimed. The real reason for proclaiming the city of Kilkenny was, that it would be more convenient for the officers of Courts-martial to remain at the Kilkenny hotels than in any of the towns throughout the county. To accommodate these officers, a city of twenty-four thousand inhabitants was put out of the pale of the law, without anything to warrant such a proceeding. He should move, by way of amendment on the order of the day, for copies of all proclamations issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, under the statute of the 3rd of William IV., for returns of the number of persons committed to the gaol of Kilkenny during the last twelve months; and for copies of any despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, stating the reasons, if any, for proclaiming the city of Kilkenny.

Lord ALTHORP suggested, as the Secretary for Ireland had not been able to take his seat to-day (his Right Hon. Friend would be in his place to-morrow), that it would be better if the Hon. and Learned Member postponed his question and motion for the present, giving notice of the latter for to-morrow. He entirely concurred with the Hon. and Learned Member, that it was the duty of Parliament, having intrusted extraordinary powers to the government, to look with a very jealous eye at their application, and he should be extremely sorry if it could be justly said that the House was indifferent to the subject.

The Navy Estimates were then brought on by Sir JAMES GRAHAM: but, as the number of men for the Naval Service of the year had been already voted before the Easter recess, the minor points, as greatly dependant on this, were not contested by any division; and the votes of the requisite supplies were accordingly agreed to. There are certain portions of the conversation that arose on different topics connected with these votes that are worthy of selection for record.

On the question that 114,970*l.* be voted for the expenses of the naval establishments at home, a long and desultory conversation arose respecting the yachts which are at present maintained.

In answer to a question from Mr. Hume,

Sir J. GRAHAM said that the number of yachts maintained at the public expense used formerly to be five; they were now reduced to four, one of which was stationed at Pembroke, another at Woolwich, and the other two were kept afloat for the use of his Majesty. He thought that such an appendage to the dignity of the first naval King in the world would not be grudged by the people of England.

Mr. HUME said he was willing to leave the last two yachts untouched, but why, he wished to know, should the other two be maintained? Were they serviceable in case of their services being required.

Mr. G. F. YOUNG repeated Mr. Hume's question, and added, that if, upon inquiry, those yachts were found not to be perfectly efficient, they ought at once to be got rid of.

Sir J. GRAHAM said, that ever since the time of William III, five

yachts had been maintained for the service of the Kings of England. He had already stated, that at the present moment two only were so appropriated: the other two were at the disposal of the Admiralty, and he believed that very slight repairs would render these last fit for active service. The crews were occasionally occupied in the dock-yards.

Mr. HUME observed, that the Right Hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) seemed disposed to adhere to the system of keeping up expenses from usage, and not from use. He wished to know, however, from the Right Hon. Baronet, how far it would be necessary to maintain the salaries of the master-attendant, the master-shipwright, and their assistants?

Mr. F. YOUNG said that the officers to whom the Hon. Member for Middlesex referred were charged with most important duties, and he thought that they ought to receive a liberal recompense for their services. At the same time he entirely concurred in the economical views of the Hon. Member for Middlesex.

The common sense view of this subject would be to ask, first, does His Majesty ever take marine excursions? And next, if so, are there not always, within the reach of the Admiralty, on the coast, a sufficient number of vessels in actual service, from which one might be selected to convey His Majesty wherever he might desire? If this be so, then there cannot be any necessity for keeping up even *one* yacht for that purpose. But the proposition to maintain *four* pleasure boats, for the support of the *dignity* of the first naval King of the world, when not one of all the four is ever called into actual use, is certainly not very becoming a Reformed Ministry to make, nor a Reformed House of Commons to sanction. If ever there were sinecures that might be safely abolished it, is the commanders of these yachts, and their officers and crews.

The next vote proposed was 438,426*l.* for wages of persons employed in establishments at home.

Mr. B. CARTER said that he was instructed by his constituents to press upon Ministers the propriety of not carrying into effect the proposed reduction of the number of artificers employed in Portsmouth dockyard. The consequence of such a proceeding would be an aggravation of the distress which already prevailed amongst the labouring classes, and an augmentation of the poor-rates. His constituents also complained of the practice of employing convicts in the dock-yards, and represented that if they were withdrawn there would be no necessity for discharging any of the artificers.

Sir G. STAUNTON expressed a hope that convicts would no longer be allowed to work in the dockyards.

Captain DUNDAS said he believed that the distress which existed at Deptford, only a few miles from the House, was greater than that prevailing in Ireland, about which they had heard so much. The poor-rates at Deptford amounted at the present moment to 18*s.* in the pound.

Sir J. GRAHAM said that it was with the greatest reluctance that he and his colleagues had resolved to discharge any artificers at present employed in the dock-yards; in proof of which he might mention that it was only now, after they had been three years in office, and had effected every other saving that they could, consistently with the efficiency of the service, that they proposed to reduce the number of artificers to the scale which had been fixed by the Ministers who preceded them, namely, to 6,000 men.

This reduction had been postponed until the winter months had passed, in the hope that the persons discharged might be able to obtain employment during the summer. He thought it was bad policy to keep a larger number of workmen than was absolutely necessary, not only on account of the payment of wages, but because it occasioned a great consumption of materials for which there was no necessity. The dismissals at each of the dockyards would be in proportion to the number of artificers employed therein. Ministers thought that when they were making this reduction, it would be a fit occasion for removing the stain which attached to the administration of public affairs, by allowing convicts to be employed in dockyards at a time when free and honest men were unable to procure work. (Hear.) The discontinuance of this practice would be not only politically, but pecuniarily advantageous, for at present the charge of sending convicts to New South Wales was only 20*l.* per man, and so great was the demand for labourers there, that on their arrival they could be immediately assigned to employers upon terms which would secure the public against any loss. It would, however, be necessary to remove the convicts from the dockyards gradually; for the sudden withdrawal of them would raise the price of labour. It would, indeed, be most unwise to transport such convicts as had already served a considerable portion of the period for which they were sentenced to be transported; but from this time no fresh convicts would be employed in public works.

Of this arrangement most persons, we think, will approve. Criminals ought not to be employed to the *detriment* of honest labourers; though the labour of criminals ought, at the same time, to be rendered as useful as possible to the State. But this is too large a question to be discussed incidentally. Another communication of public interest was made with reference to that great and useful public work, the Plymouth Breakwater.

The next vote was that 63,700*l.* be granted to defray the charge for new works and improvements in the yards.

Sir J. GRAHAM thought it proper to call the attention of the Committee to a vote which was appended to this part of the estimates; because upon the decision which the Committee should come to upon this point, would depend the amount of money which, in future, would be applied to defray the expenses for carrying on the works of the Breakwater at Plymouth. The vote was to the following effect:—"The sum of 38,000*l.*, which appeared in the estimates, was to defray the expense of depositing and forming the rubble. In addition to the above, a further sum of 99,761*l.* will be required to case the remainder of the western arm with masonry, and to form the foundation of a lighthouse at the extreme western end, which were strongly recommended by Sir John Rennie. If, however, it should not be decided to use masonry as above stated, then 15,000*l.* will be required to finish the remainder of the western arm, and the centre of the main arm, with rubble, and 15,000*l.* for the foundation of a lighthouse." The Admiralty had, acting upon the advice of Sir John Rennie, recommended that the work should be finished by solid masonry, which underwent a severe trial of its efficiency in the course of the last winter. From the report of the engineer it appeared that, notwithstanding a most violent hurricane which lately took place, all the vessels rode in safety within the breakwater, and the works sustained no damage. A few stones only were thrown over on the north side, while the whole line of work finished in solid masonry remained firm. The stones thrown over came from a part not consisting of solid masonry. It was highly honourable to Sir John Rennie

that the expense of the work was found to fall within the original estimate. The estimate was 1,200,000*l.*, and the expenditure would not exceed 1,100,000*l.* He thought it necessary to say these few words, because, unless a very strong opinion was expressed to the contrary, he should conclude that the house felt no objection to the completion of this national work.

If the sums lavished on sinecure offices and undeserved pensions, were applied to great public works of utility, like this of the Breakwater, by which annually a large amount of property, and a great number of lives are saved, it would do more towards maintaining the true dignity of the first naval monarch in the world, both in the present generation, and in all time to come, than the support of a dozen useless yachts lying idle in the harbours of the country.

The practice of employing young officers, and continually augmenting the list by new entries into the service, while so many officers on half-pay remained unemployed, was deprecated by Mr. HUME as a wasteful expenditure of the public money, when Capt. DUNDAS defended the system.

Sir E. CODRINGTON said that he felt deeply upon this subject. He agreed with his Gallant Friend behind him, that if the system proposed by the Hon. Member for Middlesex were adopted by the Admiralty, it would fill our ships not with young and efficient officers, but with men who had literally been worn out in the service. He complained bitterly of the scanty half-pay system now adopted towards the navy, and denounced it as a disgrace to the country. The system of the present day, he was sorry to say, was to keep down the navy. Why were not the pensions granted to other servants of the State, subject to the same strict regulations to which the pensions granted to naval officers and their wives were subject? Why should a secretary, who had served a few years in Ireland, or in some other civil department of the State, be entitled, at the termination of those few years, to a pension of 2,000*l.* or 2,500*l.* per annum; whilst an officer like Sir Benjamin Hallowell, who had been the friend and companion of Nelson in all his gallant exploits, only received 750*l.* a-year, after a service of half a century? He complained of the gross cruelty which was practised towards the navy in not permitting officers on its half-pay list to increase their scanty incomes by employing themselves in other occupations. He particularly pointed out the injustice which was done to pursers, who, after serving thirty years, were only entitled to a pension of 3*s.* a-day. It was true, that if they had served forty years they got 4*s.* a-day, and if fifty years 5*s.* a-day; but was that at all equal to the remuneration awarded to similar officers in the army—he meant to commissaries? He contended that the half-pay of a purser did not amount to one-fifth of the half-pay of a commissary; and yet the purser was often, from his situation, intrusted with secrets upon which the safety of our navy depended. He again repeated that gross injustice was done to the naval service of the country, and as a proof of it mentioned that he had for years past been presenting to the Admiralty a memorial on behalf of the brave men who had fought under him at Navarino, praying that some remuneration in the shape of head-money might be made to them for the loss of clothes and other articles which they had sustained in that action. To that memorial he had received no answer, although it had received the approbation of his present Majesty, who was then Lord High Admiral. That memorial he had recently learned had disappeared in some myste-

rious manner in the Admiralty; but he trusted that, under the auspices of a reformed Parliament, it would still be taken into consideration. He did not believe that it was so intended; but certainly the Foreign Enlistment Bill had operated injuriously to the interests of the navy. Why not let the men go and fight, and on which side they pleased? They would be the readier for our service whenever we wanted them.

It is a melancholy consideration that so large a portion of mankind should thus be brought up to 'fighting' as a profession, and be driven, when peace arrives, to go about the world, offering their services to 'fight on any side,' wherever they can get best paid for their services. Yet, this is one of the inevitable consequences of our honouring the naval and military service as warlike professions, and bringing up persons to the sole study and practice of the art of human destruction on the most scientific principles! The whole subject requires to undergo a more enlarged consideration than it has yet received; but this will not be willingly given to it, while the existing fashionable prejudice in favour of the 'honourable profession of arms,' continues so general and so strong in its influence over almost all classes of society.

The House adjourned at twelve o'clock; and we hope that the recent illness of some of the leading advocates of late hours, will have made some converts to the advantage of that change which will, we hope, ere long, take place, by the abandonment of Night Legislation for the more rational, as well as more healthful, practice of transacting the business of the State in the day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 16.

The morning sitting was devoted to the presentation of Petitions, the record of which will be found in its proper place: and in the evening, the two principal subjects discussed, were the Improvement of the Criminal Law and the inutility of the Church Establishment.

The former was introduced by Mr. LENNARD, in moving for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal that part of the acts of 7th and 8th of George IV., which makes stealing in a dwelling-house, and putting its inmates in bodily fear, punishable with death. A number of very curious statistical details were introduced into Mr. Lennard's excellent speech, all tending to shew that the severity of the punishment prevented juries from convicting; and that from this cause, offenders, who would have been condemned to secondary punishments, altogether escaped. The following is an extract from his excellent address:—

A great deal had been said, at different times, upon the atrocious and dangerous character of the crime of burglary; but there were two offences confessedly of much less criminality and danger, to which the law awarded the same punishment that it did to a higher and graver offence. There could not well be a stronger instance, although the statute-book abounded with similar ones, of the utter disregard of principle in the formation of the criminal code. While it was so,—while it was thus capricious, and therefore unjust,—could it be expected to obtain the respect of the public, or

be effective for the suppression of crime? Was it not disgraceful to us to retain the capital punishment in such cases as those where the offence was comparatively a small one, while in other States they were making the experiment whether the punishment of death might not be dispensed with altogether? A writer, speaking particularly of the prisons of Pennsylvania, said there was the best of all evidence—demonstrative proof—that brutal treatment, hanging and gibbeting, were neither the most economical nor the most efficacious, as they were certainly neither the most humane nor the most enlightened, modes of punishing crime, or reforming society. Other States had been induced to follow the example so successfully set by Pennsylvania, and up to that time with the best effect. Every one knew, too, that the punishment of death had been abolished from Tuscany for a period of twenty years. It was revived by the authority of Buonaparte, and had not since been entirely abolished, though it was very rarely inflicted. But what was, perhaps, not so well known, was, that during a period of sixty years, in that State, taking three periods of twenty years—the twenty preceding the abolition, the twenty during which it was abolished, and the twenty subsequently—fewer crimes had been committed during the period of the abolition than in either the preceding or subsequent periods. It was one of those cases which, as a matter of history, might appear more surprising than fiction. But to mention a case which came more home to themselves and to their own feelings, it was well known that during the time that the amiable and kind-hearted man, Sir J. Mackintosh (a name never to be mentioned without feelings of deep regret for his loss) was Recorder of Bombay, a period of seven years, the punishment of death was entirely discontinued. If the experiment ever was to fail, its failure might have been expected in such a place as Bombay—a crowded Indian seaport, composed of a mixed, and even shifting population. But what was the result? It had been most successful; for Sir J. Mackintosh declared from the bench, in his last charge, when he was going to return to England, that the district had been governed without one capital punishment, and with no increase of crime. But he was, at least, not at that moment advocating any such extensive alteration in this country; all he asked was, to make the written enactments conformable to what, with a few exceptions, was the practice. If he obtained leave to bring in a Bill, he should propose to abolish the punishment of death altogether from these offences, and in place of death to give the judges the power at their discretion, of punishing the criminal by imprisonment or hard labour, or by transportation for seven or fourteen years, or by imprisonment and hard labour first, and transportation afterwards. He was convinced that, under such a law as that, crimes would be much more certain of being punished than they now were, which every one would admit to be the great object to be aimed at in all legislation with a view to its efficiency.

The Solicitor-General assented to the principle of amelioration proposed: and several other Members gave it their support: so that no opposition being made to the motion, leave was given to bring in the Bill, which will be carried through, we hope, without delay. We sincerely hope that continual improvements will be made in the law, until we have a scale of graduated punishments, strictly adapted to various crimes; and the barbarous punishment of death, which is useless, ineffective, and irremediable, abolished altogether.

Mr. FAITHFUL introduced his resolution respecting the inutility of the Church Establishment, by a speech which he divided into three heads. 1. That the Church of England, as by law established, was

not recommended by its practical utility. 2. That the revenues of the Church have always been subject to legislative enactments. 3. That the greater part, if not the whole of these revenues, ought to be appropriated to the relief of the nation. The Scriptures were appealed to, as affording no sanction to a State Religion: and the writings of eminent Churchmen were also quoted, to shew the corrupting influence of such an establishment. We give the following portion of his address:—

He would not quote the evidence of the Dissenters to show that the Gospel had invariably condemned all secular or civil alliance with religion, but would refer them to the evidence of their own clergy, to that of Paley, and Warburton, and Blackburn, and others. He would ask them to point out a single passage in the New Testament calculated to impress them with the conviction that an Established Church like that of England was an eligible institution,—nay, was not the very reverse? Was it not a melancholy fact, of which all history was a painful comment, that the union of the Church and State was baneful to both? When did the Christian religion become a State religion? Why, under that man, stained with every crime, Constantine, whose reign was the date of its decline and corruption. It was sad to reflect, that the great protectors and institutors of State religions, the Constantines and the Clovises, practically outraged every principle of true religion. And the sequel of this unholy alliance was worthy of its parents. Were they sincere Christians? What was Christianity? Did they conceive it something substantial and worth contending for? Did not all admit it to be a religion of goodwill and kind affections? Could any man deny that the only result of the Established Church was the very opposite,—that it produced only ill-will and heart-burnings, and deadly hatred and animosities? Did they want a proof, let them look to the unfortunate condition of Ireland, with its Established Church. (Hear, hear.) Where was a compulsory maintenance for the clergy spoken of in the Gospel? What act of the Apostles sanctioned its adoption? Did not they live by the labour of their hands, and did they not deprecate compulsory and high remuneration as fatal to true religion? Then let them consider how an established religion operated as a temptation to hypocrisy. Was hypocrisy, he would ask them, compatible with pure Christianity? If not, he would further ask them should an establishment be encouraged which engendered hypocrisy? Was it therefore too much for him to assert that the Established Church was not recommended by its practical utility? This sounded, he admitted, boldly; but it was no less true. Paley, and other “Established Church” writers, had shown that the Church was only a snare for the consciences of its ministers, and that it shut out the upright and conscientious, while it opened wide its doors to the subservient and the unscrupulous.

Then, what said Warburton and Paley as to the effect of an Established Church like the present, in generating habits of corruption and sordid hypocrisy among the clergy? Was it not an undeniable fact that fitness was the last qualification sought for in bestowing a bishopric, which was bestowed as the reward of political sycophancy? Then, what were the counterbalancing advantages of the Established Church? Was it the only means of pointing out the way to Heaven? If not, what was its use? Did it incline its clergy to sympathize more with the poor and oppressed, and therefore enlist them against the oppressor and the powerful? Far from it. The clergy of the Church of England were the invariable abettors of every measure which tended to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the

subject; and the invariable foes of every measure calculated to advance the interests of either. What was their conduct with reference to the Reform Bill? Then was not the system monstrously venal and simonical? Was not the Established Church a regular trading concern? Were not livings and "cures of souls" advertised for sale, and as open marketable commodities as anything sold in open day? What induced young men to enter the Church? Was it the call of the Holy Ghost? Was it not notorious that they entered the Church as they would the army and navy, or any other professional means of livelihood? Was this the precept or the example inculcated by Christ and his Apostles? Remember the emphatic denunciations of Warburton, and Hartley, and Simpson, against the "grandee" monopoly of the rich livings of the Church. The consequences of these grandee doings would lead to a revolution which was at hand, and which would purify religion from their doings. Then see how the certainty of reward tended to induce habits of indifference and remissness on the part of the clergyman, who, feeling himself secured by the law of his tithes, let his flock take care of themselves. On this point it would be sufficient to quote the forcible observations of the author of the *Wealth of Nations*;—"The proper performance of every service seems to require that its pay or recompense should be, as exactly as possible, proportioned to the nature of the service. If any service is very much under paid, it is very apt to suffer by the meanness and incapacity of the greater part of those who are employed in it. If it is very much over-paid, it is apt to suffer perhaps still more by their negligence and idleness. A man of a large revenue, whatever may be his profession, thinks he ought to live like other men of large revenues; and to spend a great part of his time in festivity, in vanity, and in dissipation. But in a clergyman this train of life not only consumes the time which ought to be employed in the duties of his function, but in the eyes of the common people destroys almost entirely that sanctity of character which can alone enable him to fulfil those duties with proper weight and authority."

Lord ALTHORP said, that the House would hardly expect him to answer the speech of Mr. FAITHFULL, and therefore he would not detain the House by going into any discussion on the subject: and no persons appearing to speak in *favour* of the resolutions, they were negatived, without a single "Aye" being given to warrant a division on the subject.

There is something very remarkable in this, considering the large body of Dissenters now sitting in the House, and which we cannot clearly understand. Perhaps it arises from the large expectations entertained by the House as to the ample measure of English Church Reform, which it is said the Ministers intend to introduce. When that measure is proposed, we trust it will be as ample as expected. But this at least we may say,—that unless it be *most ample*, it will leave an immense number of conscientious Christians dissatisfied.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 17.

The great business of the evening was the motion of Mr. ROBERT GRANT for the Emancipation of the Jews: and a more important or interesting measure than this has not taken place during the Session. We rejoice that it was so ably brought forward by Mr. Grant, a mem-

ber of the Government, and so eloquently supported by Mr. MACAULEY, another Member of the Administration: the one, the Judge-Advocate-General, and the other, the Secretary to the Board of Control. How infinitely superior was the former, when pleading for the removal of oppressive restrictions on a persecuted class of his fellow men, to the same individual when extenuating the cruel practice of flogging in the army, because it was generally approved or thought necessary by military officers, who were always the inflictors of the punishment, but never subject to the horrid lash themselves. How greatly superior also was the latter, when demanding civil as well as religious liberty for the reviled and persecuted sons of Israel, to the same individual justifying the suspension of the Habeas Corpus and the Trial by Jury in Ireland; and calling for the exercise of arbitrary power and the execution of the sentence of military tribunals on the oppressed and misguided people of Ireland! So beautiful are truth and justice—so hideous and deformed are tyranny and expediency!

For ourselves, we cannot sufficiently express our delight at having it in our power *conscientiously* to commend this liberality of the present Ministry, and to eulogize their able supporters. Would it were our happy lot to be always thus able to praise! But our path is a strait and plain one. We shall *never* condemn, but when our sincere conviction of the necessity of such condemnation compels us so to do. We shall *always* be glad to praise, whenever the occasion for sincere commendation shall present itself: and although we are aware that in so doing we shall please no *party* in the State, yet we shall satisfy our own consciences, and be thus rewarded with the consoling pleasure of self-approval, which is more satisfactory than the plaudits of the world, if the heart and mind be not at ease within. If our limits and our plan allowed, we should have been happy to give each of those speeches entire; but the other claims on our space for the various other topics which press on our attention, and to which we are pledged, oblige us to be content with giving some of the most striking portions of both:—

Mr. R. GRANT said, it now became his duty to propose the following resolution:—"That it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing affecting His Majesty's subjects of the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided with reference to His Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion." The disabilities under which the Jews laboured were very nearly the same as affected the Roman Catholics at the time of passing the Bill for their emancipation. He was desirous to remove the Jews from the situation in which they now were, and to place them where the Catholics at present stood. Men were combined together for common objects,—they were bound to make common exertions, to sustain common burdens, in order to support the existing system of society; and along with these exertions and burdens went common honours. Particular differences in opinion were not to be unnecessarily obtruded, and offices which did not involve those differences were common property. To deny privileges to people on the ground that they were a small minority was oppression,—to deny them on the ground of a particular religious creed was persecution (hear); and both were equally

opposed to the spirit of Christianity. The Jews were not a sect of yesterday; they were a well-known class; with their principles and history we were well acquainted; their sacred records were also ours; they had always been remarkable as a peaceable and loyal people in every State which protected them; their morals were the same as our own. In political principles and moral and loyal conduct the Jews evinced that they had common interests with ourselves. Was it just that they should be excluded from common honours? The Jew had manifestly an interest in the State which afforded him protection; let him enjoy office, and so render his interest deeper. The Jew was interested in defending the country which contained his family and property—open to him the army and navy. The Jew was as deeply interested in the laws of the country, as the Christian—place him upon the bench, if qualified. The Jew was interested in upholding the king and constitution—let him serve the king as you did. Finally, the Jew having a common interest in the State, throw open to him those doors; and when he appeared at the table, ask from him no passport but the choice of a competent body of free constituents. (Hear.)

There had been objections made to the emancipation of the Jews even upon the principle of civil and religious liberty which he had sought to establish. These objections proceeded upon two grounds—the first political, the other religious. First, in reference to the political ground of exclusion, it was said that there was something in the doctrine and disposition of this particular class of religionists which rendered it improper that the rights of citizenship should be conferred on them by any nation in which they might be located, inasmuch as the spirit of citizenship was wanting in the bosoms of the Jews. It was said that the Jews were pre-occupied with a spirit of patriotism, not towards the country which afforded them protection, but for a distant country, towards which they looked for restoration at some period undefined and hidden in the mysteries of futurity; and, therefore, that the country of their casual residence should not admit them to its bosom on a principle of equality with other subjects.

The golden age of the Jewish captivity might perhaps be placed under Charlemagne, who sent a Jew as ambassador to Haroun-al-Raschid. About that period the Hebrews were protected by the greatest sovereigns of Europe, and well repaid the favours shown them, by evincing more citizenship than the original inhabitants of the countries into which they had been received, by serving their patrons with greater fidelity, and filling office with more efficiency, than the natives. Pope Gregory the Great gave great encouragement to the Jews, who were enabled, under his wise and humane policy, to become cultivators of land. In Spain, at an early period, the Jews were remarkable as agriculturists under the Moorish monarchs; and the Christian sovereigns almost rivalled the Moors in their liberal treatment of the Hebrews. Then arose the crusades, which, although the cause of the first dawning of light on Christian Europe, constituted the commencement of the bondage of the Jews. Sorry he was to say that England and France led the way in the unparalleled persecution of the Hebrews. Then began the iron age of Judaism, fitly so designated, not on account of the crimes, but by reason of the miseries and sufferings of her children. It might be truly said, that the iron entered into their souls, and from one end of Europe to the other the Jews were exposed to a most atrocious and indescribably cruel persecution. That tremendous harvest of suffering had left behind it an after-crop of misery and insult, the latter of which still flourished. The Jews were now protected from the rack, the axe, and the wheel; but the persecution of biting and sordid ridicule still continued.

He should now refer to a curious circumstance in the history of the Jews—he meant their settlement in China, and the fact of their finding a refuge among a semi-barbarous people, which had been denied them in Europe and other parts of Asia. The Jews were admitted to places of honour in China, and an inscription had been discovered, of the date of 1515, in praise of the integrity, fidelity, and skill of the Jews in the pursuits of agriculture and traffic, and their exemplary discharge of the duties of magistrates and soldiers, notwithstanding their punctilious observance of their religious customs.

He then proceeded to refer to three or four authentic testimonies of the effects of the emancipation of the Jews by other nations of Europe. The Hebrews were emancipated in France by Napoleon, infinitely to his own honour. A remarkable testimony was borne in relation to this subject in the Chamber of Deputies on the 4th of December, 1830, by the Minister of Public Instruction, who stated that since the Constituent Assembly had placed the Israelites on the same footing as other subjects of the State, they had partaken equally of the national glory, and bled on the same fields of battle with their fellow-subjects: the children of the Hebrews were educated at the same schools as their neighbours, they had adopted the same principles and habits as other Frenchmen, and were equally deserving citizens. In 1827, Charles Dupin declared that the Hebrews naturalized in France had acquired the same habits and feelings as other citizens, they had substituted the pursuits of industry for usury, and were Frenchmen in heart as well as by birth. In 1811 or 1812, Prince Hardenberg, Chancellor of Prussia, was instrumental in emancipating the Jews, not to the full extent of his own wishes, but yet in a very considerable degree, so that they were eligible to all offices, at the pleasure of the King. In 1814 the following testimony as to the results of the emancipation was addressed by Prince Hardenberg to the Prussian Ambassador. He stated that the history of the late war against France satisfactorily proved that the Israelites were worthy of being citizens of the state which had received them into its bosom; that the Jewish youth had marched as brethren in arms with Christians, and participated equally in all the perils of war; and that the Jewish women rivalled the Christian where it was necessary to make sacrifices for the good of their country. He would quote a similar testimony in favour of them given by the Senate of Hamburgh in 1814. That document stated that during the period that the Jews had enjoyed the rights of citizenship there, and of a perfect equality with the other inhabitants of the State, they had been distinguished for their laudable conduct, and for their great exertions for the public welfare. The testimony which he had already quoted as to their good conduct as subjects and citizens in Prussia was given in 1814. Similar testimonials could be produced as to their good conduct in that kingdom up to the present moment. The house would allow him to quote a testimony of that description in the words of a near relation of his own, writing from Berlin in 1830, when a similar motion to the present was about being brought forward in Parliament. He stated, and this was the evidence of an individual upon whom every reliance could be placed, that there was no portion of the subjects of Prussia better conducted or more deserving citizens than the Jews; that previous to their emancipation there they had, in numerous instances, amassed large sums of money, which they had, since permission was granted them, exchanged for land; that at the present moment a large portion of the land of Prussia was in their hands, and that he would say the Jews in Prussia were Prussians *par excellence*. (Hear.)

He (Mr. Grant) advocated this proposition upon the grounds of simple

justice and toleration alone; but if he were to appeal to feelings, there were strong and powerful feelings to which he could appeal on behalf of the Jews. It should never be forgotten, that an immense debt of gratitude was due from the nations of Christendom, and from the professors of Christianity, to the Jews, and it behoved us to discharge that debt in the true spirit of Christianity, in accordance with the divine and charitable precept of doing to others as we would be done by. (Cheers.) It would more than 100 times reward the efforts which this question had cost him (Mr. Grant) if he should happen to be the humble instrument of inducing this great and Christian country, acting upon the true and genuine principles of Christianity, to communicate to this long-oppressed people their just rights and privileges. Our doing so would open the eyes of the Jewish people,—It would show them that Christianity and persecution should not be connected, as they had, with some reason, hitherto connected them.—It would prove to them that we were determined to act up to the principles and spirit of that religion which we professed, and that one of the leading principles of that divine creed, the establishment of goodwill amongst men, would be our guide and our director for the future. Religion and justice called upon us to adopt such a course, and perhaps the future fortunes of this country depended upon our now extending emancipation to this illustrious and long ill-used and oppressed nation. In their former journey through the wilderness to the land of promise, those nations that afforded them sustenance and relief received the blessing of the Almighty; and now, in their journey through the wilderness of suffering and persecution, we were equally called upon to afford them the offices of goodwill and benevolence. He was content to rest this question upon a ground comprehensive enough to contain it, and firm enough to support it—upon the ground of religious toleration. The infliction of civil disabilities without any reason was oppressive, and their infliction for no other reason but a difference of creed was religious persecution; and he now, therefore, called upon them to wipe away a stain which had so long attached to their religion—he called upon them, as professors of Christianity, to wipe away the heavy stain that had so long disfigured its fair fame, and to show it as it was, and as it ought to be—the religion of goodwill and of charity towards all mankind. (Cheers.) It was for such reason and upon such grounds that he now begged leave to propose the following resolutions to the committee:—"That it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing respecting His Majesty's subjects of the Jewish persuasion, in like manner, and with the same exceptions, as the disabilities affecting His Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion had been removed." The Rt. Hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud cheers.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS, the Member for the University of Oxford, opposed the motion, by a reiteration of all the bigotry of bye-gone centuries against the Jews. An idea may be formed of the understanding of the Honourable Member, from his assertion that "if oaths were altogether abolished, civil society could not be maintained, and there would be an end to the security of the Constitution:"—and this, too, in the face of the fact that Mr. Pease, the member for Durham, who was admitted without an oath, to take his seat in Parliament within the present session, is a member of the Society of Friends, who are exempted, by law, from taking any oath whatever: and who, as a body, may be regarded as one of the most strictly moral and honourable portions of the whole community.

Mr. MACAULEY replied very ably to the arguments of Sir Robert

Inglis; and in the course of a most elaborate and convincing speech, made the following happy observations:—

The Hon. Member for Oxford (Sir Robert Inglis) would give no privileges to the Jews beyond what they already possessed: the Hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Cobbett) would go still further, and deprive the Jews altogether of the power of possessing landed property,—a point he (Mr. Macauley) believed at which the most unsparing inquisitor of the 16th century would have been disposed to stop. The fact was, that the consummation of intolerance was always accomplished by imperceptible steps, and he was convinced that the restriction, after being confined to the landed property, would very soon be applied to funded property, and what was to prevent its being extended to personal liberty, nay, to life itself? Petty privations served but to irritate the sects against which they were enforced, and to impress them with the feeling that they were a persecuted people. He asked again how was the line to be drawn between tolerance and intolerance? The pain which the Hon. Baronet inflicted was, in his estimation, good; the pain inflicted by others impolitic and injurious. Jews might be jurors, but not judges,—they might give damages, but not grant a new trial,—they must not be Members of Parliament, but they might possess immense influence in the money-market, and control the exchanges: nay, a Jew might be summoned to attend a congress of sovereigns, and instead of being used like one of his ancestors—namely, placed in a chair and subjected to the operation of a dentist,—treated on equal terms, and prevailed upon to furnish the allied powers of Europe with the means of carrying on mighty operations. All this might be, but still a Jew must not be a Member of Parliament. It was said that the interdict of the Almighty rested upon the Jews, and that we were opposing his will in endeavouring to place them upon an equal footing with Christians; but the Supreme Being would distinguish between substance and form—he would see that whilst we pretended to withhold political power from the Jews in form, we, in fact, allowed them to possess it in reality. Those who opposed the removal of the disabilities of the Jews, on the grounds advanced by the hon. member for the University of Oxford, were making a compromise between the principle of persecution, and the principle of toleration. The hon. member, finding that his own good feeling and the spirit of the age were too strong to allow him to follow out his principle to the full length, drew an arbitrary line, and said that all which lay on one side of it was persecution, and all upon the other only necessary caution and restriction. (Hear, hear.) Those who formerly cut off Jews' heads, dragged them at horses' tails, and burnt them on slow fires, were men of a different spirit from his hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford—they had none of his humanity; but, in his opinion, they were more consistent. (Cheers.)

It was said that it would be an anomaly to see a Jewish judge trying a man for blasphemy. He would not defend the present law relative to blasphemy; but he thought that a sound law upon the subject might exist with an enlightened Jew upon the bench. He thought that every man ought to be at liberty to discuss the truth or falsehood of religion, but not to force upon the unwilling eyes and ears of others, sights and sounds which were insulting to them. (Hear, Hear.) The distinction was perfectly clear; if a man chose to sell *Paine's Age of Reason* in a back shop to such as thought proper to buy it, or if another man chose to deliver a lecture against venerated religion in a private room, he thought that neither of them ought to be prosecuted; but if an individual exhibited at a window in a thoroughfare a caricature of what was an object of veneration to 999

men out of 1,000, or in a place of resort should apply outrageous and insulting expressions to beings and things which almost all who heard him were disposed to venerate, he would punish such a man, not for a libel, but for a nuisance,—not for attacking what he thought true, but for inflicting useless pain and disgust on his neighbours. (Cheers.) No man had a right to insult the religious feelings of his fellows under the pretence of exercising the freedom of discussion, any more than he had a right to establish an offensive manufactory in a crowded neighbourhood, and to say that he was exercising the right of property; or to walk naked in the streets and say that he was exercising the rights of locomotion. (Cheers.) On the same principle the remains of the dead were protected from insult in all civilized communities. The interests of science required that bodies should be dissected, but the law took care that private feeling should not be outraged. A man had a right to say that his father's body should not be insulted for the sake of science, and he had an equal right to demand that his God should not be outraged for the sake of religious discussion. He could see no difficulty in a Jewish judge applying this principle in a question of blasphemy, because he could apply it himself in the case of a religion which he believed to be utterly false. If in Malta, which was subject to us, an Englishman should revive the old ceremony which used to be acted in this country on the anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth,—namely, the burning the effigy of the Pope in the public streets,—he would put it down. If any person should offer outrages and insults to the religion of the natives of Madras or Calcutta, he would have no difficulty, as a magistrate, in suppressing them; and an enlightened Jewish judge upon the bench, would have no difficulty in punishing a gross public outrage to the religion prevailing in the country where he lived. Was there any charge against the Jews of outraging the Christian religion. He had been present at their worship, and saw nothing in it in which a Christian might not join. Their decalogue was the same as ours, their moral law was the same;—in short, there was nothing in their religion calculated to make those who professed it, bad subjects or bad neighbours.

It was said that the prophecies declared that the Jews should undergo misery, and be outcasts on the face of the earth, and that any attempts to better their condition, and to place them on an equality with other sects, was opposing the Divine will. He could adduce an argument upon this point which would prove to demonstration that there was nothing in the prophecies which could be urged against the motion before the committee. It was said that the prophecies declared that the Jews would be wanderers through the world, and that they never would be admitted to a participation in the rights and privileges of the people amongst whom they might sojourn. What had occurred in France and America proved this to be false, which never could be the case with the prophecies, and therefore it was evident that those who put this construction upon them must have utterly misapprehended them. (Cheers.) As to what was said about the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, it was unnecessary for him to remind the committee that remote events, predicted to take place at an indefinite period, rarely influenced the conduct of men. If, however, that was an argument against the Jews, it applied with equal force against Christians, who admitted that the present state of things would not last for ever. If the Jews were incapacitated from exercising legislative functions, because they believed that they were hereafter to be assembled at Jerusalem, no legislation could be obtained from that large class of Christians who believed in the approaching millenium. There was this most important peculiarity belonging to the Jewish religion, which gave it the advantage

over all religions which we held to be false—namely, that there was not the least chance of its spreading. It was notorious that the Jews did not wish to gain proselytes; they discarded and almost rejected them, looking upon it as something like culpable presumption for any person to aspire to belong to their religion. Hence it was that the conversion of any person to the Jewish faith was almost as rare an event as a total eclipse of the sun. He had never heard but of one such occurrence, and that was a remarkable one; it was the case of Lord George Gordon. If ever there was a convert of whom a proselytizing sect might have been proud, it was Lord George Gordon, for he was not only a man of rank and a Legislator, but he distinguished himself in the eyes of the world for the ferocity of his zeal in favour of a particular sect. He turned Jew, and how was he treated? His adopted brethren admitted him reluctantly to all the painful parts of their religion, (a laugh) but when upon his death-bed he claimed the Jewish burial rites, they told him his request could not be complied with. The charge now urged against the Jews was, that they were unsocial. How different was this from the accusation which was made against the Catholics, when they, like the Jews, were petitioners for the removal of disabilities? The Catholic religion was described as restless, insatiable, and insinuating, clothing itself in every garb, and accommodating itself to every mode of life. Go were we might, its emissaries, artful, learned, and courtly men, were to be found—they were present in the court, the camp, and even in schools, corrupting the faith of youth under the pretence of communicating knowledge—they undertook to make astronomical observations for the Emperor of China, and to teach the arts of civilization to the natives of Paraguay, entirely with a view of disseminating their religious doctrines. The house was asked whether it would intrust power to such a proselytizing sect as that? Now, on the contrary, the cry against the Jews was that they were an unsocial race, and that they were not content with having a separate religion unless they also formed a separate family. The logic of bigotry was never wanting in such a dilemma. (Cheers.)

Mr. Macauley concluded his masterly speech amidst the cheers of the House; and all that was said afterwards, was scarcely worth repeating. The motion was afterwards put and carried without a division; so that the emancipation of the Jews from their existing civil disabilities may now be considered as achieved. We hail this act as the commencement of a better era in legislation; and as, in some respects, a redeeming trait in the character of the present Administration: for certainly, no measure of the present session, as far as it has gone, at least, is likely to reflect more honour on the Parliament, or give more unmixed satisfaction to the whole country, than this. May it be followed by others equally liberal, throughout the remainder of the session!

*** Mr. BUCKINGHAM'S motion on TAXATION, which was fixed for Thursday, has been deferred, at the request of Lord ALTHORP, to make way for his developement of the Ministerial Plan of Church Reform and Commutation of Tithes: and as it will be advantageous to let the Financial Budget be presented, before it is brought on again, the motion now stands deferred till Thursday, the 9th of May.*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FROM MARCH 21 TO APRIL 16.

Leave of Absence.

To Sir John Pechell, three weeks.

To Mr. Finn, a month.

To the O'Connor Don, three weeks: Mr. Hesketh Fleetwood, three weeks; Mr. Gillon, three weeks; Mr. Halse, three weeks; Mr. Petre, ten days; Mr. Barry, a month.

New Writ issued.

New Writ for Coventry City,—in the room of the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, Secretary at War.

New Members sworn in.

Mr. Alderman Thompson, for Sunderland.

The Right Honourable Edward Ellice, for Coventry.

The Right Honourable Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, for North Lancashire.

The Right Honourable Sir John Cam Hobhouse, baronet, for Westminster City.

Election Committees.

Londonderry Election.—House informed, that the Committee had determined, That Sir Robert Alexander Ferguson is duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the City of Londonderry.

Carrickfergus Election.—House informed, That the Committee had determined, That Conway Richard Dobbs, esquire, is *not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Town and County of the Town of Carrickfergus:

That the last Election for the Town and County of the Town of Carrickfergus is a void Election.

Notices of Motion.

Mr. Fyshe Palmer.—Bill to regulate the Office of Sheriff, to reduce the expenses attending it, and to facilitate the passing the Accounts.—[Wednesday 24th April.]

Colonel Hay.—Select Committee to take into consideration the existing Excise Laws in Scotland, particularly the restrictions on the manufacture of Malt for private use.—[Deferred till Thursday 30th May.]

Sir William Ingilby.—Select Committee to inquire into the expediency of a total repeal of the Malt Duty.—[Tuesday 7th May.]

Dr. Lushington.—To move for Minutes of the Court Martial on Captain Robinson [Thursday 23d May.]

Sir Andrew Agnew.—To move an Address to His Majesty, praying that He would be graciously pleased to command that the carriage gates of Hyde Park may be kept closed on the Lord's Day.—[After Easter.]

Mr. Thomas Attwood.—Return of the names of all persons possessing £10,000 and upwards of stock, in any of the Government Securities, on the first day of March, 1819; distinguishing the respective sums standing in the name of each person on that day, or on the nearest day on which the Account can be made up.—Similar Return for the first day of March, 1815, or on the nearest day on which the Account can be made up.—[Early day after Easter.]

Sir Francis Vincent.—Bill to make provision for the insurance of goods pledged to pawnbrokers against losses by fire.—[Tuesday 23d April.]

Mr. James Grattan.—Motion on the condition of the Peasantry of Ireland.—[deferred from Friday 29th March till Wednesday 24th April.]

Mr. Sheil.—Bill to enable Roman Catholics to hold certain offices in Trinity College, Dublin.—[Thursday 6th June.]

- Lord Viscount Molyneux.—Bill to legalize the Marriages of Roman Catholics in England by their own Clergy.—[After Easter.]
- Mr. Maxwell.—Bill to render more effectnal, in certain cases, the regulations adopted by Hand-loom Weavers, and their employers.—[Tuesday 28th May.]
- The Lord Advocate.—Bill for rendering the Payment of Creditors more certain and expeditious, and for the better regulation of mercantile Bankruptcies, in that part of Great Britain, called Scotland.—[Thursday, 2nd May.]
- Lord Viscount Morpeth.—Bill to allow the affirmation of Quakers to be taken instead of an oath in all cases.—[Wednesday, 8th May.]
- Mr. Parker.—Bill to amend so much of the Statute 7 and 8 Geo. 4. c. 30, s. 40, as enables a prosecutor to put in evidence a previous conviction for felony, before verdict.—[Wednesday, 15th May.]
- Mr. Parker.—Bill to enable Justices in Petty Sessions from time to time to empanel a Jury, and to try persons under a certain age accused of certain small offences.—[Wednesday, 15th May.]
- Sir Matthew Ridley.—Bill to continue the Act 2 and 3 Will. 4, c. 113, for continuing the Composition of Assessed Taxes.—[Thursday, 25th April.]
- Mr. Ewart.—Bill for adjourning the Assizes from Lancaster to Liverpool and Manchester.—[Thursday, 13th June.]
- Mr. Ewart.—Bill for better defining the Law in cases of housebreaking and burglary, and for abolishing capital punishment in cases of returning from transportation, and of letter-stealing.—[Deferred from Tuesday 28th May till Thursday 13th June.]

Petitions presented.

- House of Commons.—Petition of Inhabitants of Wingham, for increasing the accommodation therein, by the erection of a more spacious edifice.
- Septennial Act, and Vote by Ballot.—Petitions for the repeal thereof, and for the substitution of the Vote by Ballot;—of Inhabitants of Hebden Bridge;—of Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Todmorden;—of Members of the Union of the Working Classes of Horsham;—and, of John Harwood, Churchwarden of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth.
- Taxes on Knowledge.—Petition of Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Todmorden and Walsden, for the repeal of all Taxes which affect the free diffusion of Knowledge.
- Malt, Hops, and Soap.—Petition of Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Todmorden and Walsden, for the repeal of the Duty thereon.
- Distress.—Petitions complaining of Distress, and praying for a reduction in the price of the necessaries of life, correspondent with the reduction in the rate of wages;—of Inhabitants of Padiham;—of the Forest of Rossendale;—of Haslingden;—of Marsden;—of Langfield;—of Blachinworth and Calderbrook;—of Barrowford;—of Wardleworth;—of Spotland;—of Wuerdale and Wardle;—of Blackburn;—of Thomas Vevers, Christopher Tinker, and George Beaumont;—and, of Inhabitants of Castleton.
- Hand-loom Weaving.—Petitions complaining of Distress, and praying for the appointment of a Board of Trade to equalize, superintend, and regulate the price of work in that department of the trade;—of Hand-loom Weavers of Glasgow;—and, of Larkhall.
- House and Window Taxes.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—Inhabitant Householdors of St. Mary, Newington;—of John Harwood, Churchwarden, on behalf of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Lambeth;—and, of Householdors of St. John, Hampstead.
- Assessed Taxes.—Petition of Inhabitants and Rate-payers of Henfield, for the repeal thereof.
- Protestant Dissenters.—Petitions complaining of the disabilities under which Protestant Dissenters at present labour, and praying to be relieved therefrom;—of Protestant Dissenters of the Independent denomination at Pickering;—and, of Easingwold and Skipton.

Slavery.—Petitions for the abolition thereof;—of Inhabitants of Bythorne and Keyston;—of Catworth Magna, Eastern Spaldwick, and Ellendon;—of Somersham;—of Independents of Pickering;—of March, Isle of Ely;—of Wisbech;—of Rodborough and Woodchester;—of Stroud;—and, of Baptists and others, of Kingstanley.

Agricultural Labourers' Employment Act.—Petition of Inhabitants of Great Bideford, for the repeal of the sixth section of the said Act.

Union with Ireland.—Petition of the Inhabitants of the Union of Skreen and Rathfihg, for the repeal thereof.

Factories Regulation Bill.—Petition of Inhabitants of the manufacturing district of the County of Gloucester, in favour.

King's Printer's Patent.—Petition of Inhabitants of Norwich, complaining of the monopoly enjoyed by the King's Printer in the printing of Bibles, and praying for the repeal of the same.

Beer Shops.—Petitions praying to be placed on the same footing as Licensed Victuallers;—of George Seymour, of Chichester; and of Retailers of Beer in Chichester.

Taxation.—Petitions complaining of the oppressive and unequal weight of Taxation, and praying for relief therefrom;—of Inhabitants of the Hundred of Wangford;—of St. Andrew, Norwich:—and of Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Stansfield.

Tithes and Corn Laws.—Petition of Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Stansfield, for the abolition of Tithes, and for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Triennial Parliaments.—Petition of Inhabitant Householders, and others, of Stoke-upon-Trent, in favour thereof.

Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot.—Petition of Members of the Political Union of Yeovil, for the adoption thereof.

Septennial Act.—Petition of Members of a Council of a Society, calling itself the National Political Union, for the repeal thereof.

Tithes and Church Rates (Ireland).—Petition for the abolition thereof;—of Inhabitants of St. Michael and St. John, Dublin;—and of Whitechurch, Cork.

Tithes.—Petition of Resident Landowners and Farmers of Greenford, for the extinction thereof.

Walsall Election.—Petition of Inhabitants of Walsall, complaining of the unconstitutional interference of the Military at the last Election for that Borough.

Unstamped Publications.—Petition of James Watson, of Windmill Street, Finsbury Square, complaining of his imprisonment for the sale of a publication styled the Poor Man's Guardian, and praying for his release.

Robert Taylor, and others.—Petitions praying for the release from prison, of Messrs. Taylor, Hetherington, and others;—of Inhabitants of the Metropolis;—of St. Mary, Newington; and of the Chairman and Secretary of the Norwich Union of the Working Classes.

Assessed Taxes.—Petition of Inhabitants of the City of Ely, for the repeal thereof.

Taxes on Knowledge.—Petitions for the repeal of the Taxes which affect the diffusion of Knowledge;—of Inhabitants of Manchester;—and, of Robert Thomas Webb.

Law of Libel.—Petition of Joseph Townsend Holman, that a Law may be passed to authorize the Defendant, in cases of Libel, to prove the truth in justification.

Vote by Ballot.—Petition of Inhabitants of Lymington, for the adoption thereof.

Robert Taylor.—Petition of Free Inquirers of St. Mary-le-bone, for his release from imprisonment.

Richard Carlile.—Petition of Free Inquirers of St. Mary-le-bone, for his release from imprisonment.

Nocturnal Legislation.—Petition of Inhabitants of Manchester, for the discontinuance of that practice.

Tithes, Taxes, &c.—Petition of Inhabitants of Norwich, for the abolition of Tithes, reduction of Taxation, in favour of the Factories Bill, &c.

Frame-work Knitters.—Petition of Frame-work Knitters of Basford, complaining of their distress, and praying for relief.

- Factories Regulation Bill.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Eccleshill, in favour.
- Septennial Act, &c.**—Petitions for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and for the enactment of Vote by Ballot;—of Charles Attwood, Chairman of the Northern Political Union;—and, of Members of the Pollokshaw Political Union.
- Executors, &c.**—Petition of John Martin, for the amendment of the Law relating to Executors, and for an alteration and simplifying of the Laws generally, in order to render justice more cheap, for the Abolition of Tithes, for Triennial Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot.
- Coroners' Courts.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Oldham, that Coroners' Courts may in future be rendered open public Courts.
- Machinery, &c.**—Petition of Labourers in Agriculture in Stoke Holy Cross, for a Tax on Machinery, for the abolition of Tithes, and reduction of Taxation.
- Corn Laws.**—Petition of Members of the Political Union of Jedburgh, for the repeal thereof.
- Tithes (Ireland.)**—Petition of Inhabitants of Nenagh and Lishony, for the abolition thereof.
- Taxation, &c.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Tonbridge, for relief from Taxation, for an extension of the Suffrage at Elections, &c., and against the Disturbances (Ireland) Bill.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petition of Protestant Dissenters of Oldham, for relief from the grievances to which Dissenters are subject in relation to Parochial Registration, Marriages, and Parochial Rates.
- Sinecure Offices, &c.**—Petition of George Webber, of Collumpton, for the abolition of all useless places and Sinecures, and for relief from Taxation.
- James Rothwell.**—Petition of James Rothwell, late of the 1st Dragoon Guards, complaining of having been deprived of his pension, and praying for the interference of the House.
- Stamp Duties Act.**—Petitions for alteration thereof;—of Inhabitants of Wingham,--and, of John Templer.
- Soke Mills.**—Petition of Thomas Cliffe, for the repeal of the Soke Law.
- Jews.**—Petition of Joseph Sload, of Sheffield, that the House will not grant the right of citizenship to the Jews.
- Princess of Cumberland.**—Petition of an individual styling herself Olive, Princess of Cumberland, for an examination into her rights and claims.
- Richard Newsham.**—Petition of Richard Newsham, of the 53d Regiment, complaining of unjust treatment, and praying the House to investigate the subject of his complaint.
- Church in Ireland Bill.**—Petitions *against*; of Clergy of the Established Church, resident in Clonakilty;—of Clergymen of the Diocese of Cork and Ross;—of Protestant Clergy of the Diocese of Elphin;—of Inhabitants of the parish of St. George (Dublin);—of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny;—of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Ossory;—and of Inhabitants of the Union of Ratoath.
- East India Charter.**—Petition of Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and Ship-owners of Leith, against the grant of any exclusive privileges to that Company.
- Triennial Parliaments, &c.**—Petition of Electors, and others, of Tavistock, in favour of Triennial Parliaments, and the adoption of Vote by Ballot.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions complaining of disabilities, and praying for relief;—of Methodists of the New Connexion, Bethesda Chapel, Skelton;—of Macclesfield;—of Kingston-upon-Hull;—and, of Independents of Hanley.
- Beer Act.**—Petitions for the repeal or alteration thereof;—of Chief Bailiff, Minister, and Inhabitants of Hanley and Skelton;—of Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Lane End;—of Inhabitants of Stapenhill;—of Barton-under-Needwood;—of Burton-upon-Trent;—of Yoxall;—of Justices of the Peace for the County of Bedford;—of Inhabitants of Brewood;—and, of Justices, Clergy, and Inhabitants of Storrington.
- Hand-loom Weaving.**—Petition of Hand-loom Weavers of Strathaven, Chapelton, and Westquarter, for the appointment of a General Board to regulate their wages.
- Tithes (Ireland.)**—Petition of Inhabitants of St. Mary-le-bone, for the abolition thereof.

- Tithes (England).**—Petitions for the abolition thereof;—of Farmers and others of St. Ives;—of Towednack;—and, of Lelant.
- Jews.**—Petitions for relief from civil disabilities;—of persons professing the Jewish religion of Kingston-upon-Hull;—of persons professing the Christian religion of Kingston-upon-Hull;—and, of persons professing the Jewish religion in Brighton.
- Municipal Corporations.**—Petitions for extending the right of election of Magistrates in Corporate Towns;—of Members of the Society of Liberals and Inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Hull;—of Householders of Yeovil;—and, of Inhabitants of Totness; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- House and Window Taxes.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Brighton, for the repeal thereof.
- Taxes on Knowledge.**—Petition of Members of the Political Union of Yeovil, for the repeal thereof.
- Personal Estate Tax.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Chard, for the repeal thereof.
- Soap Duty.**—Petition of Soap Manufacturers of the City of Limerick, for the repeal thereof.
- Criminal Laws.**—Petition of Magistrates, Clergy, and Inhabitants of Broxbourn and Hoddesdon, for the amendment thereof.
- Poor Laws (Ireland.)**—Petition of Parish Officers, Directors, and Guardians of the Poor of Brighthelmstone, for the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland.
- Reform of Parliament (England) Act.**—Petition of Seamen of the Port of Kingston-upon-Hull, and of its neighbourhood, for the amendment of the 32d section thereof.
- House and Window Taxes.**—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Inhabitant Householders of Hastings and St. Leonard's;—of St. John Hackney;—and, of Vestrymen and other Rate-payers of St. Mary-le-bone.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Proprietors and Occupiers of the Hundred of Guestling, Sussex;—of Inhabitants of Kidderminster;—of St. Mary, Paddington;—of Bakewell;—and, of the Mayor, Magistrates, Clergymen, and others, of Stockport.
- Slavery.**—Petition for the abolition thereof;—of Inhabitants of Godalming;—of Heritors, Burgesses, Feuars, and Inhabitants of the Burgh of Nairn;—of Baptists of Brecknock;—of Protestant Dissenters of Brecknock;—and, of Ladies and Female Inhabitants of Brecknock.
- Imprisonment for Debt.**—Petition of Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Glasgow, against the incarceration of debtors for sums under 8*l*.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions for relief from the grievances to which Dissenters are subject in relation to Parochial Registration, Marriages, and Parochial Rates;—of Methodists of Mount Tabor, Chapel Lane, Delph;—of Staley Bridge;—of Kirkheaton;—of Mottram in Longendale and Hollingworth;—of Patmas Chapel, Todmorden;—of Brande Lee Chapel, Dawley Green;—of Lindley;—of Mount Sion Chapel, Stoke-upon-Trent;—of Zion Chapel, Lane End;—of Bolton Street Chapel, Bury (Lancaster);—of Independents of Buck Street Meeting House, Tutbury;—of Protestant Dissenters of Zion Chapel, Madeley Wood;—of Caroline Street Chapel, Lane End;—and, of Mosseley.
- Sugar.**—Petition of Sugar Refiners of London to permit the Importation of Foreign Sugar to be refined for exportation to a Foreign market.
- Currency.**—Petitions for an inquiry into the state thereof;—of Inhabitants of Bakewell;—and, of Manufacturers, Farmers, and Tradesmen of Eckington.
- Vote by Ballot, &c.**—Petition of the Presed. and Secretary of the Markinch Political Union, for the adoption of Vote by Ballot, the repeal of the Septennial Act, &c.
- Hand-loom Weaving.**—Petition of Hand-loom Weavers of Johnston, for the appointment of a Board of Trade for the regulation of that manufacture.
- East India Company's Charter.**—Petition of Bankers, Ship-owners, Merchants, Tradesmen, and Inhabitants of Greenock, for the abolition of the China monopoly, and the removal of the restrictions which fetter the trade India.

- Church in Ireland Bill.**—Petitions against;—of Clergy of Kinsale;—of the Rev. John Benjamin M'Crea;—and, of the Clergy of the Diocese of Ferns.
- Clergy (Ireland.)**—Petition of Clergymen of the Established Church in King's Lynn, for the immediate relief and effectual protection of the Protestant Clergy in Ireland.
- Education (Ireland.)**—Petition of Minister, Churchwardens, and other Inhabitants of Delgany, against the new system of Education in Ireland.
- Soap.**—Petition of Proprietors, Manufacturers, Merchants, and other Inhabitants of the Burgh of Iuerness, for the repeal or reduction of the Duty thereon.
- Church of Scotland.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Nairn, for the amendment of the Law relating to Lay Patronage in the Church of Scotland.
- Municipal Corporations.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Rochester, complaining of the administration of the affairs of that Corporation; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- Tithes.**—Petitions for the extinction thereof;—of Owners and Occupiers of Land in the Hundred of Wellow, Somerset;—and, of Yatton.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions complaining of the grievances to which Protestant Dissenters are subject, and praying for relief;—of Clergymen connected with Chapels of the Established Church in Bath;—of Protestant Dissenters of Ebenezer Chapel, Newcastle-under-Lyme;—of Lendal Chapel, York;—of Bethell Chapel, Burslem;—and, of Unitarians of Honiton.
- Jews.**—Petitions praying for relief from Jewish disabilities,—of Protestant Dissenters of Bath;—and, of Persons professing the Christian faith, in Bristol.
- Malt Tax.**—Petition of Inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Kintore, for the repeal thereof.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petition of Chief Constable, Clergy, and Inhabitants of Burslem, for the repeal thereof.
- Beer Shops.**—Petition of Retailers of Beer in Newcastle-under-Lyme, praying to be placed on the same footing as Licensed Victuallers.
- Receipts.**—Petition of the President of the Board of Directors of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce, Trade, and Manufactures, for the repeal of the Stamp Duty thereon.
- Dover Pilotage.**—Petition of Boatmen of Deal, for a modification or repeal of the Acts for the regulation of Pilots and Pilotage within the liberties of the Cinque Ports.
- Forgery.**—Petition of Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of Jedburgh, for the abolition of the punishment of Death for Forgery.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions for relief from the grievances to which Protestant Dissenters are subject in relation to Parochial Rates, Registration, and Marriages;—of Inhabitants of Chudleigh;—and, of Newton Abbott and Newton Bushell, and their vicinity.
- Royal Burghs (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition of the Chairman and Secretary of the Non-incorporated Trades of Edinburgh, in favour.
- Taxes on Knowledge.**—Petition of Robert Ronald, Chairman of a Meeting of the Letter Press Printers of Edinburgh, for the repeal of the Taxes affecting the diffusion of Knowledge.
- Members of Parliament.**—Petition of William Mackay and James Alston, complaining of the exemption from arrest and imprisonment for debt allowed to Members of Parliament.
- Stamps on Receipts.**—Petition of the Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, for the repeal of the Stamp Duty on Receipts.
- Military Flogging.**—Petition of Alexander Somerville, for the abolition of the practice of flogging in the Army.
- Church in Ireland Bill.**—Petition of the Archdeacon and Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham, and of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and other Clergy of the Diocese, against.
- East India Charter.**—Petition of the Incorporation of Traffickers or Merchant Company of Leith, in favour of the proposed measures for opening the Trade with China, and for the free settlement of British subjects in India.

- Jews.**—Petitions for the removal of civil disabilities affecting the Jews;—of William Parsons, of Melksham;—and, of Persons of the Christian faith resident in and near the City of Westminster.
- Robert Taylor.**—Petition of Members of the Society of Free Inquirers of St. Mary-le-bone, for the liberation of the Rev. Robert Taylor.
- Education.**—Petition of Members of the Literary and Scientific Institution of the City of Worcester, for the adoption of a general system of National Education.
- Factories Regulation Bill.**—Petition of Disciples, Advocates, and Friends of the Social and National System of Society, as developed and propagated by Mr. Robert Owen, in favour.
- House and Window Taxes.**—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Inhabitants of the parish of St. James's, Bristol;—and, of the Churchwardens on behalf of a Meeting of Inhabitant Householdors of St. Mary-le-Strand.
- Maryborough Corporation.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Maryborough, complaining of certain abuses in that Corporation, and praying for relief; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- Highways Bill.**—Petitions in favour;—of the Association for the preservation of ancient Footpaths, established at Manchester;—and, of Inhabitants of Manchester.
- Royal Burghs (Scotland) Bill.**—Petition of the Guildry Incorporation of the City of Perth, suggesting certain alterations therein; referred to the Committee on the Bill.
- Hand-loom Weaving.**—Petition of Manufacturers and Hand-loom Weavers of Perth, for the appointment of a Board of Trade for the regulation of that department of Manufacture.
- Malt.**—Petition of Yeomen, Farmers, and others, in and in the vicinity of Winchester, for the repeal of the Duty thereon.
- Metropolitan Police.**—Petition of the Vestry, Governors, and Directors of the Poor, and other Rate-payers of St. George, Hanover Square, complaining of the heavy and unequal Rate levied upon them for the support of the Police, and praying for relief.
- Poor Laws (Ireland.)**—Petition of the Vestry, Governors, and Directors of the Poor, and other Rate-payers of St. George, Hanover Square, complaining of the expense to that parish occasioned by the influx of Irish paupers, and praying for the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland.
- Lunatics.**—Petition of William Griggs, for an inquiry into the Laws relating to Lunatics.
- Slavery.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Bath, praying the House not to proceed to legislate as to the abolition of Colonial Slavery until further inquiry has been made into the actual state and condition of the Slaves.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Milwich and Fradswell, for the repeal thereof.
- Municipal Corporations.**—Petitions praying to be allowed the right of electing their own Corporate Officers;—of Inhabitants, Burgesses, and Freemen of Bedford; of Free Burgesses of Richmond (York);—of Alnwick;—and, of Inhabitants of Bury St. Edmund's; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions praying to be relieved from the disabilities affecting them;—of Protestant Ministers composing the Northumberland Presbytery;—of Protestant Dissenters of Totness;—and, of the President, Tutors, and Students educating for the Christian Ministry in Horton College (Yorkshire.)
- Jews**—Petitions for the removal of disabilities affecting the Jews;—of Trinitarian Dissenters of Liverpool;—and, of Persons professing the Christian faith resident in Lambeth.

The Petitions for the better observance of the Lord's Day, and for the immediate Abolition of Slavery, are so numerous, that all our pages would be insufficient to record them.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

DISCUSSION AT THE INDIA HOUSE, ON THE ABOLITION OF THE CHINA MONOPOLY.

WE have watched, with some attention, the proceedings of the India Company, as to the proposals made to them by Government, for the future relations between India and England, as well as with China: and although we conceive these proposals to fall far short of what might have been reasonably expected by the People of England, from a Reforming and liberal Ministry, yet we are not at all surprised that the Directors of the Company, and the Proprietors of India Stock generally, should be dissatisfied with them. They have held the power and the patronage of that vast empire too long to part with either without a struggle: and it was, therefore, to be expected that they should reject any proposition for taking these privileges out of their hands. We trust, however, that in the event of a contest, which seems very likely to happen, between the Government and the Company, the Parliament will do its duty, in guarding the interests of the public at large, and compelling both the contending parties to yield to whatever may be most advantageous to the whole community.

A special meeting of the Proprietors of India-Stock was held at the India House on Monday last, to take into consideration the Correspondence that had lately passed between the Directors and the Board of Controul; and the first step of their proceedings was to hear read to them, by the Clerk of the Court, a minute drawn up by one of the Directors—Mr. HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, containing the reasons for his dissent from the propositions made by the Government to the India Company. As this paper is called an "able minute," and is understood to contain the strongest arguments which the Company could urge against the Government plan, we will give such portions of it as have reference to the most material matters in dispute; and offer our comments on them as we proceed.

Mr. TUCKER complains that "the Company are called upon in one line, to make an absolute surrender of the tea trade, which had hitherto constituted the only certain source for the payment of the dividends, and which, conducted, as at present, yielded an annual revenue of 3,500,000*l.* to the Exchequer, free of any expense in the collection."

The "absolute surrender" here complained of, is the positive condition of the existing lease: for when the last Charter was granted to the Company, giving them the Monopoly of the Tea Trade with China, it was expressly stipulated, that in the year 1834 this Charter

was to *cease* and *determine*. The Company are, therefore, no more called upon to make an "absolute surrender" of their trade in Tea, than a tenant is called upon to "surrender" his farm or estate, when the full term of the lease, for which it was originally granted, has expired.

It is admitted by the Company that the profits on the Tea Monopoly have hitherto been the only source from which they have been enabled to pay the Proprietors of India Stock their dividends of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In other words, the people of England have been taxed, within the last twenty years, by the joint operation of the monopoly price of tea, and the extra *ad valorem* duty, which their monopoly price occasioned, to the extent of about *one hundred millions sterling*, for no other purpose than to pay the dividends of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the Proprietors of India Stock; who managed their Indian territory and Indian trade so badly, that they would have had no dividends at all, but for this taxing of the British public, through the China Monopoly, in the increased price of Tea. If *compensation* be, therefore, due to any party, it is *from* the Company to the public, on whom, through the Monopoly granted them by Parliament, they have inflicted this enormous exaction, during the period named.

Mr. TUCKER dwells on the great advantage of the revenue coming into the Exchequer free of expense in the collection. But no one who makes experience his guide, can doubt for a moment, but that, with a reduced price and duty, and the increased consumption which these would occasion, a much larger net revenue might be derived from a free trade in this article of almost universal consumption in England, than has ever been realized under close Monopoly: even if the extent and safety of the revenue were the only thing worth considering.

He next complains that the future dividends of the Proprietors, to the extent of 630,000*l.* a year—are to be secured on the India revenue *only*, and not guaranteed by a permanent fund in England, which he contends that the Government ought to furnish; and he calls Mr. Grant's proposition "a menace of confiscation or destruction, which no statesman in the country could be found *bold* enough or *wicked* enough to carry into execution!" There is no saying to what an extent pecuniary interest will blind men's reason, and pervert their judgment: but we never saw a more striking proof of its fatal operation than this. Any other person, except a proprietor of India Stock, would see in this proposition of the Government, a culpable tenderness of regard for the pecuniary interests of the stock-holders; while the recognition of their right to any portion of the Indian Revenue, after the expiration of their charter, as *interest* on their capital stock: and the engagement to pay off the *principal* of that stock at 200*l.* for every 100*l.* originally paid by the purchasers, are acts which, in our view of the case, ought justly to subject the Ministers to censure from the Parliament, as being wholly beyond the strict line of justice, to which they ought, in the embarrassed circumstances of the country,

rigidly to confine themselves. And yet, Mr. Tucker, only because he is an East India Director, and a holder of India Stock, talks of this extreme generosity as being so *atrocious*, that no statesman in England could be found *bold enough or wicked enough* to carry it into execution. This is the language held by one thoroughly acquainted with Indian history, and perfectly well aware of the cruelties, plunders, confiscations, and oppressions, heaped on the natives of India, by English statesmen, bold enough and wicked enough to do any thing which should enrich their families, and add to their own hoards of ill-gotten wealth.

Mr. Tucker objects altogether to the giving up of the China Monopoly; and urges, among other curious reasons,—one—"that it would lead to extensive smuggling, which is a cause of great *demoralization* and crime." Mr. Tucker knows quite well that the whole of the opium grown and manufactured by the East India Company, under the most rigid monopoly in Bengal, is *smuggled* into China, and is the source of more demoralization, from its intoxicating and maddening qualities, than all the smuggling of tea would ever create; while the encouragement given by the Company to Idolatries and Sacrifices in India, as sources of *revenue*, to help also to pay their dividends, may be cited as proofs that it is not to *demoralization*, or to *crime*, that the Company entertain any very great objection. It is only when they are *unprofitable*, that they inveigh against them: whenever *gain* can be made to result from either, or both, they are as ready to encourage them as any body of men in the world.

In a strain of great indignation against the political economists; and of great benevolence towards the people employed by the Company, Mr. Tucker asks—"Is it nothing to shut up whole warehouses and docks in the metropolis?" "What is to become of the 3000 or 4000 persons now employed by the Company in these establishments? Is it nothing that they should be thrown out upon the world as paupers?" Such questions as these might be as well urged as reasons for discontinuing a war. And the contractor, about to lose his profits by peace, might just as reasonably say—"What! Is it nothing to shut up the docks and arsenals of Plymouth, Portsmouth, Deptford, Woolwich, and Sheerness? Is it nothing to discharge, not 3 or 4, but 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers, sailors, shipwrights, and artizans, and turn them on the world as paupers?" The answer is, that in every transition from war to peace, from monopoly to free trade, or from any other bad state of things to a better, there must be some individual losers: but if Governments were to be deterred from making beneficial changes because some warehouses would become useless, and some persons be no longer employed, then no changes would ever take place, and no improvements could ever be effected. In point of fact, however, for every warehouse shut up in London, by the cessation of the Monopoly, twenty at least would be opened at the out-ports, by the operation of Free Trade, and for every person losing employment by the Trade with China being thrown open, a hundred at least would find employ-

ment in the manufacturing, mercantile, and shipping operations, to which this change would give rise.

These, then, are the weighty reasons ; and there are none others, in this "able minute" of Mr. Tucker, and his brother Directors of the India Company, against the opening of the Commerce with the East, and the other arrangements proposed for India by the Ministers of the day : and from this specimen, the British Public may judge how little there is to apprehend of sound argument in favour of the Company's claims.

Sir JOHN MALCOLM made a long speech against the Government plan, in the course of which he made some remarkable observations. He contended that England maintained her place among the nations of the earth by her possessing India :—and yet we have seen, from Mr. TUCKER, that the only condition on which we could hold that country, was, that the deficiency of its revenue to pay its expenses should be made up by a tax on every tea-drinker in England, which, in twenty years, had wrung from the nation a sum of *one hundred millions sterling* ! This was the great advantage we had gained as a nation, by our possession of a country, which, so far from being able to maintain itself, much less yield us any profit, had drawn a hundred millions sterling from the people of this country, and saddled the Indian territory with the necessity of paying the interest of loans, debts, and stock, to the extent of fifty millions more at the very least. Sir John was not for having a free press in India, nor for being too zealous in propagating Christianity, nor, in short, for any other of those "untried speculations," of which the haters of innovation always stand in so much dread. He ended by proposing the following resolutions :—

"That having attentively considered the correspondence which was laid before the proprietors on the 25th ultimo, this Court must, in the first place, express their cordial approbation of the conduct of the Court of Directors, in maintaining, as they have done, with judgment, zeal, and ability, the rights and interests of the East India Company.

"That on reviewing the intimate connexion which has so long subsisted between India and the Company, this Court desire to record their conviction that the Company can have no other object in undertaking to administer the territorial government for a further term, than the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of our native subjects ; and that if Parliament in its wisdom should consider, as His Majesty's Ministers have declared, that that great object may be best promoted by continuing the administration in the hands of the Company, but divested of their commercial character, the Company having, through the Court of Directors, suggested, as it was their duty to do, the difficulties and dangers, political as well as financial, which beset the dissolution of the connexion between the territorial and the commercial branches of their affairs, will not shrink from the undertaking even at the sacrifice required, provided that powers be reserved to enable the Company efficiently to administer the government, and that their pecuniary rights and claims be adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise.

"That the Company, however, looking to the present and prospective

state of the Indian finances, to the aid which the territory derives from the trade, and to the probable difficulty of effecting remittances from India under the proposed system, are of opinion that it is not reasonable that 'the Company's assets, commercial and territorial, with all their possessions and rights, shall be assigned to the Crown on behalf of the territorial government of India,' in exchange, as proposed by His Majesty's Ministers, for an annuity of ten and a half per cent. for forty years, payable in England out of the territorial revenues, and redeemable at the end of that period at the rate of 100*l.* for every 55*l.* of annuity, except on the following conditions, viz. :—

"First, That the sum to be set apart for a guarantee fund be extended to such an amount as upon reasonable calculation will be sufficient, with the accumulations during forty years, to redeem the annuity at the expiration of that term, and that in the event of India failing in any one year to remit sufficient funds to pay the dividend, the deficiency shall be supplied out of the guarantee fund ; any sums which may be taken for that purpose being made good to the fund by subsequent remittances from India.

"Secondly, That the Company, exercising the same powers as they now possess under their charter, shall continue to administer the government of India for a defined period, not less than twenty years, and if deprived of it at the expiration of that term, or at any time subsequently thereto, they shall be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal at the rate of 100*l.* for each 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity, and whenever paid off they will be entitled, if they shall see fit, with their capital, or any portion thereof, to resume their undoubted right to trade, which it is now proposed by His Majesty's Ministers should be in abeyance.

"Thirdly, That during the period of the Company's administration of the territorial government, all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure shall originate with the Court of Directors, and be subject, as at present, to the control of the Board of Commissioners, under the restrictions of the existing law ; and further, that sufficient powers be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity to both houses of Parliament, or by some other means, any acts of the Board which may appear to the Court of Directors to be unconstitutional, to militate against the principles of good government, to interfere with substantial justice to our allies, or to invalidate or impair the security for the dividend ; and

"Fourthly. That a sufficient power be retained over the commercial assets to enable the Court of Directors to propose to the Company, and ultimately to the Board, for their confirmation, a plan for making suitable provision for outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as may be affected by the proposed arrangements.

"That the Court of Directors be requested to communicate this resolution to His Majesty's Ministers."

Sir CHARLES FORBES, with that benevolent consideration for the people of India which he always entertains, protested against these resolutions, the only object of which seemed to be to burthen the native population of India for the sake of paying the dividends to the stockholders in England, which he insisted we had no right to levy upon them. If there were any surplus revenue, it should be applied to the paying off the loans borrowed on the faith of that revenue being so appropriated. He hoped, therefore, that if this part of the Govern-

ment plan were persisted in, the natives of India would not submit to it. We hope so too.

Mr. MOLONEY advised the Company not to yield up their connexion with China. He regarded the Government plan as one of *confiscation* and *spoliation*. He thought the trade with China could never be in *better* hands than in those of the East India Company! and he would never consent to its transfer to any others!! There is nothing like speaking out plainly, and Mr. MOLONEY has certainly this merit at least: for in him there is neither ambiguity nor mistake.

The result of the discussion was to postpone the matter for further consideration, as the resolutions were deemed too important to be adopted or rejected hastily.

The Debate was renewed on Tuesday: and many new speakers took a part in it, especially Sir HARFORD JONES BRYDGES, Mr. MACKINNON, Mr. WEEDON, General D'ALBIAC, and Mr. RANDALL JACKSON, but nothing of sufficient novelty or importance occurred to need repetition here, except, perhaps, the remarkable assertion of the first speaker, that the great mass of the British Public were in favour of the continuance of the East India Company on its present footing, and that none but the wild and speculative traders of Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, and Birmingham wished any change: though they, by the change they sought, would involve themselves in one common ruin! and the assertion of the latter, that in every part of the country the Ministerial project was regarded as one of robbery and spoliation! They are each equally near, or rather, equally remote from the truth; as the voice of the country will, we hope, soon convince them, when it comes to be freely expressed on this subject.

We rejoice at this, and every other opportunity that can be presented to the British public, for affording them the means to see this case of India, China, and the great political and commercial interests connected with both, argued and discussed in all its bearings: being satisfied that the more the subject is inquired into and understood, the more determined will be the public spirit of the country not to tolerate the Monopoly and Despotism of our Eastern Empire any longer, and the more will be the public astonishment that such glaring wrongs and abuses could be permitted to remain unredressed so long.

KNOWLEDGE THE HIGHEST SOURCE OF PLEASURE.

For the pleasure and delight of knowledge, it far surpasseth all other in nature. We see in all other pleasures there is satiety; and after they be used, their verdure departeth—which sheweth well that they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality: and therefore we see, that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety—but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable.—*Bacon's Novum Organum.*

DIPLOMATIC EXPENDITURE OF ENGLAND.

BY A. V. KIRWAN, Esq.

INFERIORITY OF THE ENGLISH IN NEGOCIATION.—EDUCATION OF ENGLISH
DIPLOMATISTS.—EFFECTS OF THE ADDRESS OF EMINENT MINISTERS.

Ihr Geschwätz hält den Schüler zurück, und ihre beharrliche Mittelmässigkeit ärgert die Besten.—GOETHE.

IN our last article we have shewn that a saving of 37,000*l.* could be made even in the reduced Estimate of the English Diplomatic Expenditure, and that by a different distribution of this money the Service itself might be rendered more efficient. In this paper we shall attempt to account for the admitted inferiority of the English Agents generally in the Art of Negotiation, to shew how defective is the Education of English Diplomats, and to prove what effects the skill and address of Individuals have had in the fate and destinies of other countries.

The inferiority of the English in the art of negotiation, so fatal to the influence of our Cabinet in Foreign Courts, arises mainly from one capital defect in English Education.* In most of the Universities of Europe, there are Faculties, well endowed, on the Law of Nations and the Diplomatic Art.† Every educated Foreigner is a Civilian in the largest sense of the term. He has acquired fixed and definite notions of right and obligations. Jurisprudence is the general basis of his education and discipline, and for civil and public employments, to which so large a portion of the Continental youth are destined, it is the best of all foundations; because, in the civil law moral truths are reduced to the certainty, and digested into the form of a science. Every one knows this is the case in Holland and Germany. By this kind of Institution the mind of the student is moulded not merely to the abstract science and learning of a Publicist,

* There are, no doubt, several brilliant exceptions to this censure. It was the fashion, some years ago, to cry down the Foreign Policy of the late Lord Castlereagh; but, although no admirers of the general Policy of that Minister, we cannot chuse but admit that his tone was much bolder than is the tone of those who vilipended him, and who want alike his courage and common sense, as well as that knowledge of the interests of Europe, which book-learning can never bestow.

† The celebrated Martens, who has written so much and so well on Diplomacy, was Professor of the Law of Nations at the University of Göttingen. In early life the present Duke of Sussex was one of his pupils. So was M. de Tourgenieff, afterwards adjoint to M. de Nowosilsoff, when Minister in Russia. We remember to have heard M. Tourgenieff declare at Petersburg that he owed his employment solely to the recommendation of Martens. The Emperor Alexander always attended to Martens' suggestions. We have ourselves attended Lectures on the *Ars Diplomatica* at Göttingen, and have heard the same subject ably treated at Berlin University by Savigny, at Munich by Schelling, and with great learning, though rather too pedantically, by (we think) Professor Tyschen.

but to the peculiar acquirements and qualifications of Practical Diplomacy.*

It is long discipline, and long discipline only, which can prepare the mind of youth for the reception of the great doctrines of international law and policy, the common and customary law of nations, and especially the fundamental principle, that States, though sovereign and independent, as far as regards internal and municipal affairs, are nevertheless, as regards external acts, members of an European community, and therefore subject and subordinate to laws, by which they are equally protected and controuled, with the individual members of any civil society.

How, unless by previous study, under the direction of abler heads, and under the controul of some supervising Power, is the youth destined for the Diplomatic career, to arrive at a practical knowledge and use of the statute law of nations, the records of treaties, and the whole body of federal acts, which is the foundation of the European system of balanced power and divided dominion. At college, the English gentleman learns nought of this. There is no Faculty to teach him at either of our Universities; and the period at which he is about to become an Attaché, is not exactly the moment when he is likely to sit down to peruse the works of Ompteda, Kamptz, Klüber, Hübner, or De Wolff,† or the treatises of Bynkershoek, Wicquefort, or Rousset; provided even that he could read them in the original, which we believe not one in every ten of the young aspirants can do.

Our incredible ignorance of these authorities is one main source of our weakness. Every foreign *Employé* who handles any particular question as to disputed territory or navigation of waters, is familiar with the recognized grounds in law and policy on which such question is to be argued. Well read in the public law of Europe, he is acquainted not only with the Treaties and Conventions, but with the principles on which such disputes have been determined. The particular arrangements of territory established by the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, are matter only of history: but the principles and doctrines of which these arrangements were only particular applications, and which are involved in these specific stipulations, are applicable to all questions of territory, and binding by common consent on all ages. What chance has an English Lord, whose education on these points has been so defective, however

* When Prince Polignac became Premier of France, he conceived the design of a college exclusively devoted to the Diplomatic Art, and had well nigh carried his plan into execution, when that revolution broke out, from which the people expected so much, but which has, as regards these fond hopes, proved as illusory as that Eastern Sea fruit,

"Which tempts the eye,
Yet turns to ashes on the lips."

† The writer has often been present in the House of Commons at discussions on international questions, but he has never heard the work of Wolff, "*Institutiones Juris Naturæ et Gentium*," quoted by more than two persons; one, the late Sir James Mackintosh, who abounded with learning on all subjects: the other, Mr. Herries, whose education has been German. Yet the work of Wolff is as familiar as "household words" with the veriest tyro in Diplomacy in Germany.

good his natural parts may be (and supposing him moreover to be familiar with the language of negociation); what chance we ask has he, who never heard of any other public law but *Habeas Corpus* and Trial by Jury, in a discussion of these international questions, with men armed with authorities and inferences, and above all, deeply and learnedly imbued with the spirit of the Federal System of Europe. Let those with whom Diplomatic qualifications are of small account, look at the history of the last century, and see what prodigious results have been wrought out in negociation by the talents even of a single individual.

The most remarkable example of the power of mere negociation in raising the ascendancy of one power, and striking down that of another, is afforded by the alliance into which France was drawn by Austria in 1756. France was then persuaded to enter into a convention with her natural enemy,—to become the ally of the only power in Europe, from which she could gain any accession of territory, and to engage in a war, from which she could derive nothing but exhaustion. The result of this connexion with Austria was, that at the end of the seven years' war, France was so powerless and prostrate, as to be unable to move a hand for Poland, while Austria received in this quarter a large accession of dominion. Nor was it alone in federal power that France suffered; for by incurring a debt of 50,000,000*l.* she incumbered her finances with that burden which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. That alliance, so fatal to France, was brought about by the personal address of the Austrian minister, Kaunitz.* The loss of the Canadas (of which we talk so much in England) was a small part of the loss of France. This *chef-d'œuvre* of Kaunitz entirely neutralised whatever accession of power France might have derived from the family compact.

England, as usual, lost what she had conquered, by her stupid negociation at the Treaty of Paris, in 1763.

The History of Europe exhibits another signal example of the force of skill in negotiation to change the face of a country's affairs, in the success of the active and triumphant minister, Vergennes, in his efforts to restore his country, then languishing under the effects of Austrian intrigue. The occasion, was the designs of Joseph II. on Holland, in 1785. Vergennes's interposition and mediation warded off the blow, baffled Kaunitz in negotiation, and, what was more important to France, by the protection thus extended to Holland, so exalted the French party in the States General, and depressed the Stadtholder, as actually to melt down Holland, for the time, into a province of France.

These measures, by which France again began to look formidable, were brought about by the energies of an individual of humble parentage, and who had raised himself by his own talents—Vergennes.

The admirers of Mr. Pitt boast with reason of the interposition which he two years after, in conjunction with Prussia, effected in the

* Vide Memoirs of that time, where it will be found that this old beau, but really able Minister, often engaged weak and worthless instruments to accomplish great ends. In the particular instance alluded to, he is said to have worked on Madame de Pompadour.

internal discussions of Holland, when, by restoring the authority of the Stadtholder, the French party in Holland was destroyed, and France despoiled of the influence acquired by M. Vergennes. And these admirers may, with as much reason, boast of the unsuccessful effort made by the same able Minister in 1791. Had the influence of one man prevailed, neither Turkey nor Holland had been abandoned to their fate. In 1791, Mr. Pitt was deeply impressed with the conviction that the progress of Russia afforded a ground of alarm to all Europe; although her population and means were scarcely more than one half what they now are. The Czarina had successively reduced her pretensions to the retention of the fortress of Oczakow, and its unimportant district. But this comparatively trivial accession, the British Minister deemed it essential to the general interests to prevent, though at the hazard of a war. For that purpose, he moved an address in Parliament, to enable his Majesty to send a powerful armament into the Baltic, to support with vigor the then Kings of Sweden and Prussia, and the expiring efforts of Poland. A majority of 93 was obtained in the Lower House. The armament was in a forward state of preparation, but the opposition was conducted with so much energy, both in the Lords and Commons, by some able and eloquent men, and so effectually strengthened from without, by the mercenary clamour of the merchants and manufacturers trading to St. Petersburg, that a general sense was created in the country against the measure.

Finding the public mind so successfully acted on by his opponents, the Minister surrendered his own opinion*—confined himself to negotiation—abandoned, so far as any overt measures were concerned, both Turkey and the North to their fate, and, soon after, Poland fell. Had the genius of this Minister not then been thwarted, in the disbursement of half a million, or a million of money, it is not going too far, to say, that the general war, which soon after followed, and which brought in its train a hundred fold more lavish expenditure, might never have taken place, and certainly Russia had not succeeded in those schemes, menacing to all the west of Europe. Had the genius of one man been permitted to strike this blow, the Russian fleet had not been at Buyekdere in the month of April, 1833.

One of the individuals who headed this opposition to Mr. Pitt remains to see the fruits of his policy. It was the present Lord Grey,

* See Mr. Pitt's despatch to Mr. Ewart, our then Minister at Berlin, wherein it is stated that the fears of a dissolution of the Cabinet alone prevented his proceeding. Mr. Pitt's words are these: "You perfectly know that no man could be more eagerly bent than I was, on a steady adherence to the line which we had at first proposed, of going all lengths to enforce the terms of the *'status quo,'* and I am still as much persuaded as ever, that if we could have carried the support of the country with us, the risk and expense of the struggle, even if Russia had not submitted without a struggle, would not have been more than the object worth." May 24th, 1791. A single fortress, the capture of which had cost her many thousand men, was all that the Empress then demanded. What would Mr. Pitt say now, were he to rise from his grave, and see the Russian squadron before Constantinople without a word, much less a blow, from Britain. But we are "fallen on evil days," and small statesmen now administer the affairs of Britain.

who then cried aloud for peace, when Great Britain might have thrown back Russia on her Asiatic Steppes; and he lives now, the humble suppliant of that power, asking her with "bated breath and whispering humbleness" to be good enough to pass from Buyekdere to Taganrog! Would Chatham speak thus, or even William Pitt! No—in their days, Great Britain had spoken in a voice of thunder from the mouths of her cannon. In truth, the foreign policy of England has been rendered more brilliantly successful by the genius of individuals, than by the efforts of the nation.

The two men who were most prompt to sustain the reasonings of the pen with the sharp power of the sword, were Cromwell and Chatham. Cromwell was feared and courted, and, in the end, respected by all the powers of Europe. Never did King or Minister obtain for the nation so many advantages at so small a sacrifice. There was not a Court in Europe whose recesses he did not penetrate; nor a secret negotiation; of the progress of which he was ignorant. His agents were omniscient. Their eyes were all-seeing, their ears were all-hearing; but there was this blot in their escutcheons, that they were not sent forth because they were allied to Duke this or the Earl that, but because they were known to possess those qualities likely to command success. The exiled king had his agents in Holland, in Russia, in Germany, in France, and in Portugal;* but these were circumvented and opposed by the address and talent of the agents of the Protector.

Nor was this all. Cromwell, by his imperious character, acquired an ascendant over Mazarine, and each proposal made by him, however unreasonable in itself, and urged with whatever insolence, met with a ready compliance from the timid and politic Cardinal, who submitted to all indignities, in hopes of a fortunate issue.† Under Cromwell, too, be it remembered, we obtained possession of Jamaica and Dunkirk. Nor was our foreign policy less transcendent under the first Pitt. He it was that expelled our then formidable rivals from North America—that founded our dependency in the East, and to whose comprehensive genius is assignable the development of those extraordinary commercial, naval, and military resources which have gained us a renown which we now seem disposed to allow to be tarnished, perhaps destroyed, by the corrosion of a political rust which we are daily suffering to encrust upon it.

It may be by some thought that we bear rather hardly on those in office. We plead not guilty to this charge. Where merit is due, there we concede it freely. We are not disposed to deny to Mr. Eden the great credit which has been given to him for the negotiations by which he prevailed on France to disarm, when she and England were on the verge of war on account of the interference of the latter

* Blake, a man who had not entered the land service till he was past fifty, and afterwards was made Admiral, not only raised the naval glory of the country to a higher pitch than it ever before attained, but also (despite the favor first shewn to Prince Rupert) ultimately obtained an ascendancy over the King of Portugal. Indeed, it may be generally remarked, that the diplomacy of England has been better managed by her navy than by professional diplomatists. As an example, in our own day, witness Commodore Bowler, on the South American station.

† Thurlow, vol. iii. p. 103, 619, 653. Also Hume, vol. vi. p. 65, & vii. p. 178.

in Dutch affairs. No doubt this *was* an exception to the inefficacy of English diplomacy. But let it be remembered that France was then, if not in the agony of the Revolution (1787), at least in those principal throes which indicate a monstrous birth. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that in this portion of his foreign policy, Mr. Pitt had the advantage of Mr. Fox's support.

It may no doubt be contended, that the energy of public opinion, and the force of popular sentiment, sometimes have, in England, interfered with the successes of negotiations. This is certainly one of the evils inseparable from a free Government. It is well known that the French Court, from the time of Henry, was anxious to pursue a pacific policy towards the continent, and to cherish their marine, following out Colbert's maxim, that a "long war was not for the interests of France." But the democratic party which afterwards burst forth at the Revolution, being fully formed before the death of Louis XV., and eager for military aggrandizement, actually employed diplomatic agents, at every Court, to traverse the pacific policy of the King's ambassadors.*

It is only, however, in countries where opinions are partially free, that such devices are necessary.

If free governments have this disadvantage in negotiation, they are not without their advantages too. In constitutional States, such as England, foreign powers do not co-operate with domestic factions to the extent that they do in more absolute monarchies. It is true that, during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht, the Dutch envoy, De Buys, was constantly in communication with the Whig, Lord Marlborough;† but this instance is rare, and it occurs in every other country a hundred times for once in England.

Were the writer to enlarge on the influence obtained by the mind of one man—Mr. Canning—in swaying the Congress of Verona,* he would be going over ground too recent, and might be supposed anxious to draw a disadvantageous comparison between the high influence then maintained by England, and her present prolific but powerless system of Protocolling. This is not his object. Nor is the time come for such enquiries. But a great day of reckoning must at length arrive, when a slumbering and short-sighted House of Commons, and a timid and inefficient Minister shall be made to answer for the decay of that influence, and the depreciation of that power, (the materials of the one and the elements of the other existing in full force) which might be swayed and wielded, not alone to the great glory and advantage of England, but to the manifest happiness and advantage of the whole civilized world.

In the observations made in our first and second article, we may have appeared too personal. To the charge of personality the writer does not plead guilty. He has no private pique or "lodged hate" against any individual living. He has received neither slight nor inattention from any one of those on whose public conduct he has

* For further and more ample details on this subject, vide "La Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe."

† Vide Swift, History of the four last years of the reign of Queen Anne.

remarked. On the contrary, to some of them he is indebted for much personal civility, and he believes the very worst public functionary among them to be polite, urbane, and generous in private life. But free discussion is at an end in England if, because a Minister or Envoy happen to be amiable in private, and notoriously imbecile in his public capacity, his inefficiency is not to be hinted at. It may be said that the allusion to persons is not condemnation but abuse. So it is, no doubt, if the individuals be in a private sphere; but when men are sent to Courts to represent their Sovereign and their Country, their faults as well as their *follies* become public property. Let not, then, the writer be mistaken, for he is neither actuated by envy nor hatred, nor even party-feeling. Of Wellington, Heytesbury, and Stuart de Rothsay, he has spoken as their high merits deserve, though differing from them altogether in political opinion; and he knows that no man represented his Sovereign, whether in America or at the Hague, with more of the feelings of a high-bred gentleman, than Sir Charles Bagot. But a man may be a great publicist as well as a high-bred gentleman. Temple was both. And the late Lord Whitworth, though not very profound, exhibited the rare union of perfect breeding, great dexterity and tact, and a high tone of national feeling. These qualities were well in their place; they stood in good stead in Russia; but neither these nor the official pedantry and metaphysical subtlety of a Lauderdale or a Dugald Stuart† were the weapons with which to combat Napoleon. The plain good sense, and honest purpose of Cornwallis, did more in a week than the high breeding of a Whitworth, or the specious casuistry of a Lauderdale, could effect in years.

There are many able men hitherto engaged in our Diplomacy, of whose merits we have made no mention. It is not that we are insensible to their merits, but that to enumerate them would doubtless exceed the space which a Journal of this kind could afford to such a subject. But it were injustice not to give credit to the patient industry of Lord Malmesbury, and the persevering talent of Sir Robert Liston. We might enlarge, in a critical spirit, on the style of some of our late State Papers; but we fear it were vain to expect for some time to come, the energy of a Cromwell or a Chatham, or the classic elegance of a Canning or a Dudley.

* The Duke of Wellington was sent by Mr. Canning to the Congress of Verona. The instructions given to his Grace were all worthy of the man who then presided over the destinies of England. The instructions, acted on in a firm spirit, held the Barbarian of the North in check, and fixed the wavering counsels of M. de Montmorency to decline a friendship "whose embrace was death." See Stapleton, *Life*, vol. i. For a specimen of the *tone* assumed there by our Foreign Minister, see Despatch of October 18, 1822, to Sir William A'Court, requiring *instant atonement* in the case of the condemnation of the Lord Collingwood.

† It is not generally known, that Lord Lauderdale was accompanied by Dugald Stuart, in his Embassy to Paris. So long as these metaphysical Scotchmen had to transact the business, there was nothing but confusion. At length, the Government were obliged to avail themselves of the services of Lord Henry Seymour, (since Marquess of Hertford, and then a prisoner in France) and who had never been bred to Diplomacy; but common sense had in his person one of those sober victories, which common sense rarely fails to obtain.

THE ORIENTAL INVESTIGATOR.

ON THE NECESSITY OF SECURING FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT FOR BRITISH SUBJECTS IN INDIA.

HAVING closed our account of the Cruelties practised by the East India Company on the Natives of India, and shewn the disadvantages under which that country has hitherto laboured for the want of a resident British and independent population in the interior, to act as a check on the oppressive conduct of the Government, as well as to develop fully and freely the vast resources of the Country for Commerce in every branch, we now turn to another view of the subject, and shall endeavour to point out the necessity, as well as the benefits, of unrestricted Colonization being allowed to British Settlers in every part of their vast empire. In doing this, we shall advert to one of the ablest works that has recently appeared on this subject:—a work which attracted little or no attention at the time it was published, but which will now obtain additional importance, from the approach of the crisis in which its views will be put to the test.* We shall treat of the several works of Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Rickards, Mr. Crawford, Ram Mohen Roy, Sir John Malcolm, and others, each in their turn; but we begin with this, as one of the best foundation-stones that we can lay down for the basis of our future arguments:—

The anomalous and short-sighted policy so long pursued by Great Britain towards her East India dependencies, has been a frequent and fertile source of complaint and animadversion. Invested with supreme and unlimited control over 100 millions of human beings, inhabiting one of the most highly-favoured regions on the surface of the earth, but reduced to the lowest state of mental degradation, she seems to have forgotten that the possession of that power involves also the duty of improving the moral and physical condition of the people, and of imparting to them the blessings of civilization. Regardless, however, of this clear and paramount duty, she has delegated the sovereignty which bound her to its fulfilment, to a Company of Traders, whose primary object it has been to make that sovereignty permanent in their own hands, no matter by what means, in order to secure to themselves whatever of profit might be extracted from the soil, from which they have systematically withheld and excluded the means of improvement. Without wasting a thought on what might be the consequences of such an act, to the wretched natives of those remote regions, she has consigned their dearest interests to the tender mercies of a body of men, whose confined and money-making spirit has been invariably opposed to those extended and enlightened views of policy, which

* "Enquiry into the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India. 8vo. J. M. Richardson, Cornhill, London."

would have induced a more liberal Government to regard the permanent benefit of its subjects as an object of far higher importance, than the amount of tribute which it might annually drain from them.

Acting on the avowed principle that the poverty and ignorance of the Natives compose the strength of the Government, the East India Company has uniformly resisted every attempt to enlighten their minds, and to raise them from their present degraded condition. With the view of putting a stop to all such attempts, regulations have been studiously framed, by which Europeans, whose superior science and skill would have contributed greatly to promote those desirable objects, have been prevented from becoming possessed of any permanent interest in the country, whether as farmers or landed proprietors. The European race has consequently been reduced to the mere servants of the Government, and to such as under its license are permitted to follow their mercantile pursuits. The number of persons thus circumstanced must of necessity be small, and it is calculated that at the present moment it does not exceed fifty thousand. This vast disproportion between the governing and the subject orders, and the total want of that community of feeling by which all the members of a state ought to be linked together, has been productive of so great an internal weakness in the Government, that the insecurity of its tenure has been at all times universally acknowledged. Thus the means unwisely adopted by the Company for the purpose of perpetuating their dominion, have led to the very result against which they were intended to guard.

But while it is allowed on all hands that, under the present system of government, the British dominion in India is not secure, the opinions of those who have devoted their attention to the subject of the means to be adopted for ensuring its continuance, have been much divided. Some, indeed, the constant advocates of the fitness of things as they are, have strenuously urged the doctrine of non-interference, lest any alteration, however trivial, in the existing order of things, should overthrow a power, the existence of which depends on so slender a thread; and have blindly maintained, that there is no safety for the Government except in a continued enforcement of those arbitrary and exclusive regulations, under the influence of which this precarious state of things has arisen. Those, however, who see nothing to terrify them in the bugbear innovation, when that innovation is loudly demanded by sound policy and common sense, have regarded, as the best and most decisive remedy, the formation of a body intermediate between the governors and the governed, which, while mutually controlling, would, at the same time, mutually support both the one and the other; and form the strongest bond of union between them. Among those who maintain this latter opinion, some are desirous that this intermediate body should be formed from among the Natives themselves, without, however, pointing out by what means this object is to be accomplished; while others maintain that the only safe and practicable mode of carrying into effect this essential preliminary, is the introduction of a sufficient number of European settlers, who, by

forming a permanent connexion with the soil, and with the people, would speedily become identified with them, by a community of interest, and a reciprocity of feelings.

In the consideration of so important a subject as the Colonization of India, and of the means by which it is to be effected, the actual state of the country must of course be investigated, and the government of the East India Company, as well as the situation of the natives, be fully reviewed. The difficulties opposed to the measure require also to be pointed out, and the consequences likely to result from it to be duly weighed. The whole of these points have been carefully and candidly examined in the work already named, which we have no hesitation in characterizing as one of the most valuable that has appeared since the history of Mr. Mill. The author is one of the best informed writers that have ever taken up the subject; and throughout every line of his book, which is written expressly to advocate Colonization as the "one thing needful" for the security of India, there is also a patriotic attachment to everything British; which may make him a safe guide to those even who think only of the glory of their country, on whatever basis this may be founded.

But it is not alone with a view to the stability of British interests in India that the author advocates the application of a system of Colonization to that country. Actuated by the true spirit of sound philosophy, he looks upon this as a result of secondary importance when compared with the immense moral consequences which could not fail to accrue from its adoption. Regarding the civilization and intellectual improvement of the human race, as the consummation to which all other considerations ought to be held subservient, he directs his powerful efforts to the attainment of this grand object, in the present work, of which we propose to lay before our readers a brief but comprehensive and faithful analysis.

This valuable but unpretending volume first treats of the commercial system of the East India Company, and proves, by the confessions of the Directors themselves, occasional only, it is true, and apparently almost accidental, that that body cannot be regarded as a commercial one, unless it be granted that trade can continue to be carried on at a continual loss; for it is evident from these statements that the balance of a fair account, if such account had ever been kept, of the commercial concerns of the Company, would constantly evince a most material deficiency. The Company, however, has continued to exist; and even, as its friends affirm, to increase in prosperity; some other resource must, therefore, have been possessed by it, for no argument is requisite to demonstrate that a fair merchant can never become rich by a continued course of uninterrupted losses. This resource is discovered in the tribute which they drain from India.

Succeeding to the rights of the Native Princes, whom it has dispossessed, or taken under its parental tutelage, the East India Company has obtained for itself nine-tenths of the whole rents arising from the immense territories over which it rules. These, after deducting a small, and generally a very small, proportion of them, for

the necessary expenses of the Government of India, (for in this point alone the Company is actuated by the genuine spirit of commerce, and advocates the principle of the smallest possible expenditure,) are partly transmitted to China to be employed in the Company's monopoly of the tea-trade; and the remainder is invested in the purchase in the Indian market of such articles as may realize a profit in England, though this profit has, on many occasions, been treated as a secondary object; as indeed it may fairly be considered when we reflect that the whole of the investment derived from this source must be regarded as profit altogether. The revenue thus obtained, which in fact is tribute paid by India into the Company's coffers, forms, with the profit derived from its monopolies, the only income which is available for its dividends; and when this revenue has happened to be insufficient for the investment required, the deficiency has been made up by loans, the repayment of which, together with the interest thereon, is imposed upon the territory of India, which is thus made answerable for goods exported to its own detriment, and to the advantage only of a distant and mercenary community. How long it may be possible for the riches of that favoured and fertile portion of the earth to continue paying all and receiving nothing, is a problem difficult to be solved; but the day must come when this system must of necessity cease; when all having been taken, nothing will remain to be seized; and when the exhausted land will no longer afford any portion of the supplies now so unsparingly drained from it. The present system must, therefore, eventually destroy itself; but its duration may be prolonged by a continuance of the ruinous system of loans now in progress; and the check thus to be given by the ruin of the territory is a consummation so devoutly to be deprecated, that we are bound to seek a remedy to prevent so fatal a result.

This remedy can only be discovered either in the diminution of the amount levied from the soil, or in its improvement, to such an extent as to enable it to bear with less inconvenience the burden imposed upon it. The increasing debt, with the interest accruing thereon, without referring to the rapacity of its rulers, would alone be sufficient to prevent the former of these alternatives from fulfilling the proposed object; nor would its effects be other than deferring for a longer period of time the final ruin which must ensue from a constant and unceasing drain, which is not counterbalanced by any corresponding influx; neither would the latter be possible under the present system, as will be evident on a reference to the actual statistical condition of the territories.

Throughout the whole of India, the cultivation of the soil is universally in the hands of the natives, who cultivate farms of from six to twenty-four acres each,—the majority being of the smaller description, and requiring only one plough, which, with other implements, and a team of oxen, costs about 6*l*. Under these circumstances, together with the inveterate custom of borrowing for rent, seed, &c., at usurious interest, it will not be supposed that the farmer can earn more than a bare subsistence; and the result of Mr. Colebrooke's

calculations is, that "the peasant, cultivating for half-produce, is not so well rewarded for his toil as hired labourers."

The impoverished state of this order, which constitutes the majority of the inhabitants, deprives them of the energy necessary to the cultivation of the soil in such a manner as to enable them to improve their condition; while the zemindars, or proprietors of land (who, however, are confined by law to certain rents for the respective farms, and possess no power over the peasants, so long as these rents are discharged,) are, according to a minute of Mr. Shore, "almost universally poor." This assertion he verifies by referring to the actual condition of five of the zemindars, the aggregate of whose contributions to the revenue was at the time of the formation of the permanent settlement nearly 1,000,000*l*. And if this statement of Mr. Shore was correct in 1789, how much more forcibly must it apply to the present period, when all these large estates have been greatly reduced by the attachment and sale of portions of them for the recovery of arrears of revenue? The poverty of the natives then, from the lowest to the highest rank, as well as the mental debasement which they exhibit, will preclude all expectation of forming from among them that body of gentry, the establishment of which in India was so ardently desired by Lord Cornwallis. It will, therefore, be unnecessary for us to accompany the author through his details of the various plans which have been proposed for the attainment of this desirable object; nor shall we refer to his able observations on the permanent settlement, and on its results. We shall, however, avail ourselves of the statistical comparison which he has instituted between Great Britain and her West Indian colonies, as compared with her dominions in the East, which points out in the most forcible manner, the results which might be expected from the free introduction of European enterprise, and the diffusion of arts and of knowledge among the natives.

'Bengal is about the same size as Great Britain, and each contains about 30,000,000 of cultivated acres. The revenue collected in Bengal is less than three millions and a half; in Britain it is more than fifty millions. In Bengal, the value of the gross produce of the land is little more than 1*l*. an acre, and the expense of cultivation, from the waste of labour and inefficiency of implements, averages three-fourths of the gross produce: in Britain it is 5*l*. an acre, and the expense of cultivation less than one-third of the gross produce. So that though the gross produce of Great Britain exceeds that of Bengal only five-fold, its net produce exceeds that of the latter twelve-fold. In Bengal, a gross produce of 32,000,000*l*, divided by 24,000,000, the number of persons employed in agriculture, gives 1*l*. 7*s*. for each individual; in Britain, a gross produce of 150,000,000*l*. averages 37*l*. 10*s*. for each individual employed in agriculture.

'In the West Indies, the yearly value of the produce exported, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is 13*l*. 18*s*. 6*d*. per head, for man, woman, and child, black and white.'

The disproportionate productiveness between the eastern and western possessions of Great Britain, as evinced in this statement, is so striking as to force itself on the attention, and to compel an inquiry even from the most phlegmatic, as to the causes which produce it.

No one will attribute this difference to the superior fertility of the west when compared with that of the east ; so far from this being the case, the contrary is too notorious to be disputed. To what other cause then can it be owing, unless to the superior cultivation and improved means of agriculture which have been introduced by European colonists into the west ; while the inefficient practices, which have been continued for centuries, and have descended from generation to generation, each blindly following, with a paramount dread of innovation, in the steps of the preceding one, have succeeded in checking in the east the bounteous gifts which nature had bestowed, and in reducing the overflowing abundance which the land yearns to pour forth, to a bare and scanty subsistence for its impoverished inhabitants. This dread of innovation, which forms the most prominent feature in the character of the natives of the east, presents an effectual bar to the expectation of the requisite improvement of the territory through them ; and we are therefore compelled to seek for other means of attaining it. Analogy, drawn from the West Indian settlements, would indicate Colonization as the plan to be adopted ; and this will be found to be the only safe and effectual remedy for all the evils under which India now labours.

It is necessary to inquire what specific measures should be adopted in order to introduce and to promote Colonization ; the first step to which must evidently be the reversal of those legislative provisions which, at present, not only prohibit Europeans from being proprietors of land, but withhold all temptation to evade the prohibition.

‘ All legal obstacles being supposed to be removed, the simplest operation that would follow would be the sale of waste lands, by government and by private persons, to Europeans, without the reservation or future imposition of any tax on rent. It would not be easy to reckon the advantages which these transactions would immediately produce. The demand for labourers would occasion a desirable rise of wages among the poorest class of the community. The rise would not affect those ryots (cultivators) who are attached to their own hereditary farms, or (as they may, perhaps, with equal propriety be termed) estates ; but the benefit being less extended would be more sensibly felt ; and the increasing improvement in the condition of labourers, as compared with that of ryots, would facilitate the conversion of ryots into labourers ; a conversion which it would be the principal object of the proposed measures ultimately to effect wherever the range of their influence extended. Each undertaking would also be a school of agriculture, a focus whence instruction would be disseminated more effectually than from the experimental farms projected by Lord Wellesley, without occasioning any expense to Government ; but being, on the contrary, the germs of an infinite augmentation of its resources. The means of transport, by land and water, would be improved, so as to greatly reduce the expense of conveyance to remote markets ; while the increase of Europeans, and the diffusion of a taste for the productions of Europe among the natives, would continually extend the export trade from Britain, the limitation of which used to be an argument with the Company against throwing open the trade, and still is with West India proprietors, against an equalization of duties on the sugars of both hemispheres.

‘ When the land to be purchased by an European had been already in a state of cultivation, the operation would be somewhat complex. For after

he had paid its price to the zemindar, and redeemed the land-tax from Government (say at sixteen years' purchase), it would still be necessary that he should purchase the interests which the ryots on his estate held in the portions which they occupied, so that nothing should stand between him and the use of the soil. The nature of these bargains would vary according to circumstances, and the compensation in each case would depend on a comparative estimate of what the respective parties were about to surrender on the one hand, and to acquire on the other. Wherever the situation of the ryot was superior, in point of earnings, to that of a hired labourer, the interest he would have to dispose of would be more tangible and susceptible of estimation; but even in those innumerable cases where it was worse, he would yet have to exchange the certainty of a subsistence, however scanty and wretched, for the fluctuating demand of the market of labour. As the superfluity of hands was drawn off from the old lands, their services would be required on the new, and in other operations connected with the preparation and circulation of an increasing quantity of commodities; and, as these transactions would be contemporaneous, the balance would still be in favour of the demand for labour, so as to keep the reward allotted to it permanently above the former average. During the progress of this change, there would be a gradual tendency to fix, in the mind of the labourer, a higher standard of physical comforts than he or his ancestors had been accustomed to; and population would at last so adjust itself as to enable him to command all the conveniences that philanthropy could wish to see him in the enjoyment of.

'After some forty or fifty thousand European heads of families had established themselves as agriculturists, merchants, and tradesmen, in the territories subject to the Bengal presidency, and a like proportion in the other presidencies, it would be time to permit the natives to redeem their land-tax, and the rights of occupancy of their ryots, so as ultimately and universally to effect a really radical change in the Indian system of landed tenure. An increasing proportion of natives, especially of those born since the transition was in progress, would then be qualified, by emulating their British or Creole brethren, to avail themselves of the new advantages opened to them by a strong and liberal Government, and to cast off the slough of Indian habits and prejudices. It would then also be time to make the English language the medium of all public business, and to extend to native Christians eligibility to the highest civil and military offices; at the same time that the unconverted might be admitted into many from which they are now excluded.

'At an early period of the new era it would be expedient to reform the Government, by substituting for the present council, at each of the presidencies, two legislative bodies, on the model of those of Jamaica: but from electors and elected the qualification to be required ought not to be genealogical, that is, ought not to refer to shades of complexion, but to property and religion. When circumstances rendered such a change practicable, the upper house would be composed of peers and prelates. As soon as the materials for such a fabric existed, its construction would be rendered imperative by a regard for the strength of Government and the welfare of the people.'

Such are the leading outlines of the proposed plan for conferring on the population of India some portion of the advantages which they are entitled to expect at the hands of her rulers. It remains to be considered what influence the climate is likely to produce on the progress of the colony. From the occasional visits of epidemics no country is

exempt; but, in general, it may be said that, though the climate is far from being congenial to the European constitution, yet, in ordinary years, the proportion of deaths is not greater than it is in Europe. In the progress of the colony, the climate will moreover be continually improved by the progressive clearing of jungles, draining of swamps, &c., which will be attended with the most salutary results. But, as the very existence of the colony would depend on the number and character of the Creoles, it is necessary to inquire in what manner they are likely to be affected by the climate. Reasoning again from the analogy of the West Indies, and the existing mixed race in India, we have no reason to apprehend any kind of degeneracy. On the contrary, they will probably be as it were acclimated Europeans, with no less capacity and stability of mind; but equally capable, with the aboriginal inhabitants, of resisting the utmost fervour of the solar ray; forming at once the most valuable class of the community, and that into which the others would almost imperceptibly blend, until a whole was formed linked together by a common interest and feeling.

The total absence of this community of interest and of feeling between the governors and the governed, throws insuperable obstacles in the way of all plans for the improvement of the latter. The immeasurable distance interposed between them is such, that "the greatest zemindar," as Sir H. Strachey declared in answer to one of the interrogatories circulated by Lord Wellesley, "though possibly a proud man, would not refuse, for the promotion of his interest, to court the friendship of the lowest dependant of an European." A political system so degrading to the one side, and so tempting to overbearing despotism on the other, can only be counteracted by the establishment of an intermediate body, connected with the natives by a permanent interest in the soil, and possessed of sufficient weight, by the extent of its landed possessions, to command respect and attention. This Sir H. Strachey proposed to effect, by restoring to the zemindars the civil and military power with which they were formerly invested; though he confessed that he could not distinctly comprehend the mode in which it was to be effected. We cannot be surprised at this, when we reflect that this plan could not be brought into operation, without withdrawing both the collectors and judges from their several districts, and thus reverting to those first crude arrangements, from which constant experience of the venality and abuses inseparable from the exercise of power by the natives, have induced us to recede. If the collectors and judges are retained, the people cannot look up to the zemindars as persons intrusted by Government with the means of influencing their happiness,—and we cannot through their medium inspire awe, much less awaken national ardour; a sentiment, indeed, which never inhabited the breasts of their ancestors in any generation. It is, therefore, evident that the intermediate class can only be formed by the cordial encouragement of Colonization.

‘By no other means can the double objection to the employment of natives be removed; first, that they are not morally qualified, if Government were willing; secondly, that if they were so qualified, Government dare not arm them with so much power and influence. From the closer inter-

course and more frequent mental collision on every subject of human interest and occupation that would then take place between the native and creole population, and from the increased means which the latter would possess of operating directly on the moral and intellectual character of the former, by the multiplication of schools and colleges, the English language, religion, laws, and manners, would become common to the two races; and not only would the native candidates for office be endued with the requisite qualifications, but the Government would derive strength and consistency from laying open all offices to their ambition, and thereby interesting all, from the highest to the lowest, in its stability.'

The advantages which have been indicated as the results to be derived from the Colonization of India are so prominent, and the chain of deductions by which they are supported, so convincing, that it must be matter of surprise that any should continue so obstinately blinded by prejudice, as to refuse assent to them. There are, however, many who still object to this, the only rational method of insuring to the immense territories of the East, the blessings of civilization; and found their opposition to the measure on the evils which would result to the natives in consequence of it. The principal of their objections may be resolved into three heads; the first of which assumes, that Colonization never takes place without dispossessing the original inhabitants of a part or the whole of their territory. The truth of this proposition cannot be disputed, when the people who take possession of the territory are in precisely the same state of civilization as those who formerly inhabited it. One pastoral people, for instance, subduing another, and appropriating their land, with its flocks and herds, to themselves, must of necessity, since they possess no means of rendering the land more productive than it had previously been, either expel or exterminate the former inhabitants.

'But when a people colonizes in a country occupied by another less advanced in arts and improvements, they make room for themselves, not by displacing the indigenous inhabitants, but by the creation of new resources, by applying more skill and labour to the cultivation of the soil, and to every other means of sustenance and convenience.'

The second principal objection proceeds upon the ground, that Colonization would create an Indo-British public, whose moral feelings would be so much debased, that their indifference to the sufferings of the natives would only differ in degree from that bigoted insensibility, which obtains in the West Indies, and especially at Barbadoes, with respect to that of the negroes. Unfortunately, however, for the argument, the illustration on which it rests is unfounded; and the real state of the case, particularly as it regards Barbadoes, affords a strong analogical presumption of the benefits which would be derived to India from the operation of the same causes. Barbadoes and Bermuda especially, above all our other West Indian Colonies, have been for a long time fully peopled, and "about ten generations of native whites and blacks," says Dickson, "have grown up together in a degree of forbearance in the whites, and submission in the blacks, unknown in the later settlements, where time has not yet smoothed down in some degree the asperities which naturally grow out of the incom-

patible interests and conflicting passions of owner and slave." Analogy would induce us to expect the same results from the same causes, whether operating in the East or in the West; and if we proceed to examine the result of continued communication, so far as it has been practicable under the system hitherto adopted, we shall find that we have not been deceived in adopting this as our criterion.

'Wherever the European inhabitants are more thickly congregated, as at the three seats of government; wherever individuals have habituated themselves to much intercourse with the natives, and having survived their originalities of family and friendship, and contracted new ones, have ceased to contemplate Britain as the vista of their earthly pilgrimage; in short, wherever there is an approximation to that state of things which Colonization would exhibit, there we find the Europeans animated with the most kindly feelings towards the natives, most ably and actively co-operating for their improvement, and reaping the most ample returns of confidence and attachment. Thus, at Calcutta, there are Bible Societies, School Societies, and a School-book Society; and in the principal School Society and School-book Society, we see Europeans and natives acting together as members of the same committees, and joint secretaries, giving to each other the right hand of fellowship.'

Thereby justifying a belief, that the two orders will hereafter make nearer and nearer approaches to mutual understanding, respect, and regard. The Saugor Island Society, the subscription-list of which was filled by the joint contributions of Europeans and of natives, presents another instance of the union thus effected; nor is this beneficial and kindly intercourse restricted to public undertakings alone.

'Several Hindoos are also associated with Europeans as partners in their private mercantile establishments, and are thus enabled to invest their funds in undertakings, which natives alone could neither have originated nor supported. These men speak and write English correctly, and their sons promise to surpass them, being taught English, Latin, and other parts of a liberal education.'

From this mutual interchange of kindly offices, a public has already sprung up in India; imperfect, indeed, for its formation has been impeded by every obstacle which could possibly have been opposed to it, but already presenting the germ which, by the vivifying influence of Colonization, would develop into a forest-tree of magnificent growth, the object at once of admiration and respect. On the spot where every Indian occurrence, great or small, is transacted; present to see, to hear, to snuff up the slightest odour of good or ill-desert; this public already constitutes the audience, with whose applause or censure the actors must necessarily feel cheered or dejected.

'But in order that this audience should be able to discharge the important function assigned to it, it is necessary that its mouth, the press, should be free. When authors are subjected to arbitrary and extra-judicial punishments, the press ceases to be an organ of praise or blame. When people once perceive that, like the suborned oracle, it can only Phillippize, its monotonous strains of panegyric are always suspected and generally despised. In the meantime calumny and misrepresentation creep about and maintain their existence only from the interception of that publicity under whose scrutiny and rebuke they could not live. Such was the con-

dition of the press of Calcutta during the many years previous to the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; but as the censorship is not dead, but sleepeth, and may be restored to its abhorred office by his successor—as the control of Government over the press has not been legally annulled, but only the mode of exercising it altered—it is necessary to remind Englishmen, that their brethren in India, whatever station they may be honestly and diligently filling, are liable to be removed from it and turned pennyless on the wide world, if they publish any thing displeasing to the Government.'

Little, probably, did the author anticipate, that within a few brief months, such an occurrence would actually take place, to the astonishment of India, and the eternal disgrace of the temporary Governor who dared to verify the picture which this writer has drawn!

It is urged, that it would be dangerous to allow indiscreet discussions to go forth among the natives; in other words, that such are the motives of the existing Government, that they will not stand the test of examination: a bitter satire, indeed, which it casts upon itself, and infinitely more galling than any lashes which the press could inflict upon it. The press, however, is a powerful engine, which will bear no restraint; whatever difficulties may encircle it, its innate energies will suffice to burst asunder the bonds with which an interested policy may have conspired to fetter it. The protector of freedom, it will itself be free; and even in India, the offspring of Europeans by native mothers, residing within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts, are exempted from these star-chamber proceedings, in respect to its use, to which British subjects are liable. An extraordinary anomaly, that those who are in other respects treated as objects of distrust, and who may, therefore, be presumed to be somewhat dissatisfied and querulous, should be allowed the greatest latitude of public discussion, and be answerable to the laws alone for any breach of them which they may commit; while they stand exempt from the jurisdiction of the Governor in Council, to which the otherwise favoured native of Europe is compelled to bow his unresisting head.

Connected with the press, as the great palladium of public liberty, is the Trial by Jury. In the provincial courts of India, the natives are tried by European judges, without a jury; and in the Supreme Courts, at the presidencies, by juries composed of British subjects. The tact of a native jury in drawing just inferences from the manner of witnesses, would lead to great advantages, and an indiscriminate selection of the jurors would afford a considerable security for their impartiality. The courts-martial of our native army, which are composed of native officers, discharge their office in a very satisfactory manner; and we may, therefore, be justified in expressing a hope that the virtues, which they are allowed to possess, may not be found altogether wanting among their civil brethren.

The third and last objection is completely at variance with the preceding. It ceases to dread for the natives that inhuman and barbarous treatment which shall irritate them to a successful struggle to throw off the British yoke; but assumes, in direct opposition to it,

that the prudence and mildness of a numerous European community, progressively enlarging its views with its importance, should effect so great an improvement in the native character as to constitute a mass of political strength, capable of conceiving and asserting pretensions to independence.

‘The author confidently submits to the candour of all men, that there can be no justification for the conduct of those who would interpose obstacles to obstruct the growth of those seeds of independence; inasmuch as no obstacle could be devised, that would not partake more or less of oppression. And if such progressive improvement should ultimately lead to separation, that event should be regarded as the consummation of a series of virtuous labours, as the noblest monument of paternal care, as the commencement of a more valuable commercial intercourse with a people destined to spread and to elevate our name and language in the world.’

The importance of the subjects treated of in the preceding pages, has insensibly led us into more extended details than we had proposed to ourselves at the commencement of this article; we can, therefore, only sketch over with a hasty pen the remaining topic, the pretended evils which would result to Great Britain from the abolition of the East India Company, which have been much insisted on by its supporters. They have asserted the impossibility of carrying on the China trade through other hands; but the Americans are capable of conducting it without the intervention of an exclusive Company. They have also declared that India could not be governed but through their means: the every-day evasion and disobedience of the Governors General to the orders of the Directors, prove, however, that even now they are not the controlling power of India. The overwhelming patronage which would result to the British Government from the numerous places in India, to which it would have to nominate on the abolition of the Company, has been much deprecated as dangerous to the independence of the Parliament; but the number of these has been much over-rated, and the majority of them would shortly, under a Colonial system, be filled by the colonists, as by those persons most fully acquainted with local necessities and interests; and the Company would thus be relieved from the nervous dread it experiences lest by its abolition the Parliament of Great Britain should become corrupted. Finally, it is declared that the sovereignty of India is in the Company a vested right, of which it cannot be deprived; let, however, the State resume the powers which it has granted to the Company, and where then is its sovereignty? Thus easily might the many-headed monster, which wields the sceptre of India, be deprived of its power to depress the energies of that unfortunate country, which, under an improved system of government, with a free influx of European talent and capital, would raise itself rapidly among the nations of the earth, to civilization, to plenty, and to happiness.

THE RETROSPECTIVE TRAVELLER.

EXCURSION TO MILO, ONE OF THE ISLANDS OF THE GREEK ARCHIPELAGO.

THOUGH it was now in the sultry month of August, the air was fresh and cool, in consequence of the brisk gale that blew from the northward, which was extremely favourable for our intended excursion over the island of Milo. We accordingly took an early breakfast, and at eight A.M. left the ship in charge of one of the Greek pilots, and at nine landed at the watering-place, formed from the ruins of some ancient baths, a great number of which lie on the skirts of the shore, indicating the former prosperity and domestic luxury of its inhabitants. Several asses and guides having been sent down to us by the Greeks who were on board our vessel on the preceding day, we mounted them astride, according to the English fashion, which appeared highly diverting to the islanders, this mode of riding being unusual among them; and we soon found, indeed, that it was by no means suited to the construction of their saddles and furniture. We accordingly adopted their own mode of sitting, with the left arm towards the animal's head, and the feet hanging over the right side, resting in grass rope stirrups. As we advanced up the mountain which we were ascending, the propriety of the mode of riding invariably observed here, became more apparent, as it frequently happened that the animals passed through a sort of rut, or channel, cut through solid rock, where the width barely allowed the rider to pass without touching its sides, so that we were frequently obliged to hold up both feet, in a horizontal direction, level with the animal's back, to prevent their being bruised between its sides and the rock, which could hardly be avoided by any other mode.

The ride from the shore of the harbour to the town of Milo, a distance of two miles only, occupied about an hour and a half. It was over such roads as it would be perfectly impossible for any English horse to travel. In some places, the asses had to walk literally upon the edge of a precipice, where the least false step would consign them and their riders to inevitable destruction; yet the confidence of the Greeks in the steady tread of these animals is such, as to make them trot on without the least care or apprehension. From the summit of one of the hills we enjoyed an extensive view of the island. It appeared, in general, mountainous, without being rocky or barren. Besides several beautiful valleys and plains, which display the most abundant fertility, and produce corn in great plenty, the mountains

possess a rich soil of considerable depth; and the wild luxuriance of unforced vegetation proves its productive qualities. The order of their cultivation is thus: the plains and valleys are appropriated to corn land, the southern slopes of the hills form their vineyards, the northern produce their cotton, and on the summits and inaccessible crags their goats and mountain-sheep browse upon the heath, while their oxen and asses graze upon the flat land that skirts the shores of the harbour. Their harvest of corn was already in, and the cattle now fed upon the stalks of the reaped corn. Their vintage was commenced, and the grapes in the highest perfection. Their vines are planted in the same manner as in Spain and Portugal, but the fruit is certainly superior. Their cotton was in a forward state. It is the first species, *gossypium herbaceum*, or common herbaceous cotton, with an herbaceous stalk about two feet high, when full grown, branching upwards: fine-lobed smooth leaves, and yellow flowers from the ends of the branches, succeeded by roundish capsules full of seed and cotton. Their corn, ground by windmills, affords them sufficient for their own consumption, and about equally as much for exportation or sale. Their asses are of excellent quality, and in great numbers, their average price being from eight to ten dollars: these are used for every purpose of labour and tillage. Their oxen are small, but of good quality, as well as their sheep and goats. Of all these, they have a surplus beyond their own consumption, which they generally sell to vessels touching here for pilots. The price of a good ox is from fifteen to twenty dollars; of a sheep, two to three dollars; and of a goat, one dollar and a half. The grapes furnish them with a very pleasant wine, which they sell from two to three dollars per barrel; and their cotton is manufactured by the women, and forms almost every garment of their apparel. Notwithstanding the productive qualities of the soil, at least nine-tenths of the island lay waste and uncultivated, which, as far as we could learn, did not arise from the indolence of the inhabitants, but from the want of capital and population to improve it.

It was nearly eleven when we reached the town, at the foot of which we alighted, as our animals could proceed no further. The old town of Milo stood near the sea-shore, but being subject to the depredations of the pirates of the Morea, who frequently landed in large parties, and ransacked its habitations, the islanders retreated for safety to the summit of one of their highest hills commanding the entrance to the harbour. This mountain terminates in a sharp point, and around it the town is built. The entrance is through an arched gateway, to which we ascended by a flight of steps. The streets, if such they may be called, are barely wide enough for two persons to pass each other, and are all so steep as to form flights of steps, which are roughly hewn out of the rock for the ease of walking; indeed many of them would be impassable without such aids, as their elevation is from forty to fifty degrees. There are about a hundred houses, all built in the same style, of large stones, without being squared even in the front, and having no cement. They consist of one room only,

about twenty-five feet square, having a stone floor, plastered walls nicely white-washed, and a flat roof formed by cross beams of wood covered with straw matting, and over that a thick covering of mortar. Their windows are small, and without glass, having wooden shutters to exclude the rain and wind. At one end of the room stands the bed, having two posts of cane, two of the sides touching the wall; round this is drawn a white cotton curtain, sometimes with a fanciful border. The bed itself is of straw, and all the bedding and furniture of their own cotton. The walls were invariably ornamented with religious pictures of the most grotesque kind; such, indeed, as could only be produced by a superstitious fancy, an unskilful pencil, and an execrable taste. Some idea may be formed of the steepness of their streets from this peculiarity in their buildings, that the top of one house forms an exact level with the bottom of the other above it, and each house having a door that lets out into this space, the top of one dwelling forms a level walk for its next, or upper neighbour, where they often sit to enjoy their wine and tobacco.

After being gazed at by all the women and children of the place, we at length reached the Consul's house. It was similar in every respect to the others, or distinguished only by the cleanliness of its interior, and the neatness of its arrangement. We were received by a jolly-looking old man, apparently about seventy years of age, who spoke English very intelligibly, as he bade us welcome; and after taking some wine and fruit, we were joined by our visitors of the preceding day. The old man, whom I took to be seventy, was, as I afterwards learnt, nearly 100 years of age; yet he possessed the vigour, activity, and good-humour of an English farmer at sixty. He was the father of twenty-five children, all resident in the island, and whose descendants had so well followed his example, that it was computed that half the population, at least, had sprung from his loins! The Consul and the priest were among his sons, the former of whom was gone to Smyrna on business. It was impossible to look on this venerable old patriarch, whose well-filled skin and rosy face bore witness to the quality of his cheer, without feeling a desire to know something of his history; and insinuating my inquiries in the most delicate manner I could, I learnt the following particulars:—

The old man, whose name was Antonio Mitchello, was born in the island of Milo, in the year 1715, of Greek parents. At the early age of nine years, he went to sea on board a Greek vessel, and continued to trade to all the ports in the Mediterranean for a long series of years, during which time he married, and settled at Milo. After this he became a pilot, and was a long while employed in piloting British vessels, and cruising in ships of war through the Archipelago. At the age of seventy he retired from the sea service, and returned to his family. The harbour of Milo being often visited by British vessels, his attachment to that nation induced him to call himself their Consul; and Englishmen always found a welcome at his house. I could not learn that he ever had an appointment from Government; nevertheless, he filled this station in a manner calculated to conciliate the

esteem of all who visited him, and at length resigned it to his son. The anchorage-fee of three dollars, paid by all vessels entering the port, entitles their officers to the freedom of his table, which they visit as often as they please, without any additional charge.

About noon a second party from the ships in the harbour reached the town, consisting of the commander of one of his Majesty's ships, with a traveller who was his passenger; two captains of merchant vessels, and two English ladies and an infant. After resting a few minutes to recover from the fatigue of the journey, we all followed the old gentleman to pay our visits to his descendants, and called at almost every house in the town, making but a short stay in each, yet taking wine at every one, the omission of which, we were told, would be construed into disrespect.

At one of their houses, an occurrence took place, which for a moment disturbed the harmony of the scene, though it produced no serious effect. The infant of one of the English ladies had particularly excited the attention of all the Greek women, who strove to outvie each other in their expressions of tenderness towards it, and one of them, who was nursing a child of her own, as a mark of fondness, suckled the little stranger at her breast. The English lady, perceiving it, rushed from her chair, tore the infant from the bosom of the Greek, and overcome with agitation, had scarcely time to reach her seat, before she swooned away. It is impossible to describe the surprise of the Greeks at such an unexpected incident. They silently looked at each other, with the wild stare of astonishment, until surprise gave way to indignation, and they unanimously considered it an insult of the grossest kind. The Greek woman expostulated through the medium of Mitchello, who acted as interpreter, and asked whether the lady doubted the purity of her milk, or the chastity of her conduct; the former, she said, was "as unmixed as the rain of heaven," and the latter, "as white as the snow of the mountain." These were her literal expressions. One of the party endeavoured to appease her by saying that the English mother was in the act of weaning her infant, and wished to deprive it of the breast altogether, which was the only excuse that could be admitted; although the infant, being only four months old, many of them seemed to doubt the truth of this story. The good nature of these people, soon, however, restored the harmony that had been thus disturbed.

At two o'clock we returned to the Consul's house, where a dinner was prepared for us, to which we sat down with the males of the family only. On asking whether the females of the house would not honour us with their company, we were answered that they were always taught to consider themselves as superlatively honoured by being allowed to *wait* upon their superiors, the men!—and that no one would be guilty of such presumption as to eat at the same table! It may be imagined how such a doctrine was relished by our fair countrywomen. They inveighed against it with all bitterness, while the gentlemen did not omit so favourable an opportunity of illustrating, by this contrast, the value of the privileges enjoyed in European society.

Our dinner consisted of excellent soup, made from a neck of veal; thickened with rice, eggs, and vegetables; roasted and boiled fowls, which are sold at about ninepence each, and roasted partridges, equal in quality and size to those in England, and so plentiful here, that they are sold at 2*d.* and 3*d.* sterling each. This was followed by a desert of melons, grapes, &c., and the wine of Milo formed our beverage.

The Consul's wife and daughters all waited at table. Their features were quite of the antique cast, regular, and gravely expressive, their eyes large, dark, and animated, teeth white and even, and complexions browned by the sun. The same style of countenance seemed to prevail, though there were very few that could be called handsome. The dress is usually a sort of jerkin or jacket, that fits close to the body with sleeves like a shirt, a pair of drawers, and a petticoat that reaches no farther than the knees, with an opening before and behind, white stockings, high-heeled shoes, the upper part of which barely cover the toes, the quarter cut away like a morning slipper, with a kind of shawl that covers all the hair, and wraps round the head and neck. The ladies of the house had, however, arrayed themselves in their holiday suit, which, though to us ridiculously grotesque, was rich and expensive, and could not have cost less than from 150*l.* to 200*l.* each, from the profusion of gold and gems about them. Their shoes were of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, a sharp point just covering the toes, with a very high heel, and the quarters of the shoe cut away level with the sole. Their stockings were scarlet or purple velvet, or cloth, richly worked with gold and silver flowers in devices, and padded with cotton on the inside, to fill out the small of the leg, equal in bulk to the calf, and make it look the same size from the knee to the ankle, which they consider very handsome! Their drawers and petticoat of white cotton were trimmed at the edges, round the openings before and behind with a worked gold border; their jacket and sleeves of the same. A rich stomacher of crimson or purple velvet, elegantly embroidered with gold, a fine muslin apron reaching to the knees, inlaid with lace, and bordered with gold, a muslin head dress confined by gold worked bands, and some device of fancy forming a knot on the crown of the head. On every finger were several rings of gold, pearl, or stone, and round the neck were suspended gold chains, crosses, medals, and trinkets, that could not have weighed less than eighteen or twenty ounces. Some of the children of five or six years old only were dressed in this way, and appeared to feel no small degree of pride at surveying those costly trappings. I know not what opinion they could form of our ladies, whose dresses hardly exceeded one-fiftieth part of the value of theirs. Their surprise, however, was perfectly reciprocal, and they stared at each other very mutually.

I ventured to ask the old gentleman how it was, that in an island where there was so little wealth, the people could provide themselves such expensive garments; which he answered, by saying, that from their cradles to their coffins, the making of the "wedding-dress," for

so he called this, formed the chief object of their pursuit. The money gained by their surplus produce was chiefly spent in this ; and while their husbands and fathers (most of whom are pilots) brought them the materials from Constantinople and Smyrna, the whole of their leisure was employed in working them. Dresses, thus formed, were left from mother to daughter in endless succession, and as they were seldom worn, yet augmented in value by every succeeding possessor, they gradually arrived at perfection. One of those worn by his grand-daughter, was nearly two hundred years old, and still in excellent preservation.

After dinner it was proposed that we should visit a bride and bridegroom, who were this morning united, and witness the dancing and other festivities of the day ; but just as we were on the eve of departing, a messenger arrived, saying that one of the guests being taken suddenly ill, the company had broken up out of respect to the feelings of her friends. We could not but admire the motive, though every one of the party seemed to feel the disappointment very poignantly, and more particularly the English ladies, who had promised themselves much pleasure from the novelty of the scene.

While we remained, the old man amused us with a history of the various ornaments that hung around his walls ; for in every country he had visited, he had procured some curiosity, and now displayed them as trophies of his former toils. Among other things, he had a set of large brass dishes, about twelve or fifteen feet in circumference, and one foot in depth, such as were used in the ancient days of Venice, from whence he brought them ; and among his pictures were the death of Nelson, and a Greek painting of a female saint killing the devil with a hammer. This last was a great curiosity, as the devil was represented under a form totally different from any I had ever seen, and such as it is perfectly impossible to describe.

During the afternoon we were visited by all the town. There seemed literally to be no distinction of persons. The men came in, sat a few moments, smoked their pipes, gratified their curiosity, and then departed, followed by others in endless succession. The women came in *groups* of five or six, and the room was always crowded with children, who prattled, laughed, and seemed highly entertained.

At four we took leave of them, and descended the hill, followed by the multitude, till passing the arched gateway through which we entered, we found a troop of asses waiting for us. When the ladies were firmly seated, and all things adjusted, we commenced our procession down the mountain, and I am sure the gravest muscles would have been forced into a smile to witness such a cavalcade, if riding on asses might be so termed. Some of the man-of-war's crew led the van, and, having sacrificed freely to the jolly god, to use their own phrase, "carried a heavy press of sail." Next followed the Lieutenant, their commander, with his dogs and gun, which he brought in hopes of finding partridges ; the ladies were placed in the centre, and our own party brought up the rear. Half the children in the town at least, followed ; and the alarm of the English ladies in the

dangerous passes of the road—the solicitude of the gentlemen for their safety—the bawling of the Greek guides, and the shouting of the children, formed altogether a scene of the most ludicrous description.

About six we reached the beach, and from thence embarked on board our respective ships in the harbour.

On the following morning we again had early visitors, with whom we were enabled to converse freely, having the pilot, who spoke good Italian, for our interpreter. From these we learnt many interesting particulars relative to the island, which, added to those furnished by a recollection of its history, furnished materials for the following brief sketch of its ancient and present condition :—

Some centuries before Christ, Milo was a flourishing republic, but having refused its assistance to Greece, when it was invaded by the Persians, the Athenians, after repulsing the invaders, attacked the islanders, and, after several repulses, at last entirely overthrew them; when, as a punishment, all the men who had escaped the sword were carried into Attica. At the close of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians being subdued by the Lacedemonians, Milo was restored to its liberty. It was afterwards taken by the Romans, and has ever since shared the fate of the Eastern empire; so that for some centuries the Greeks have been slaves in a country from which they often carried their arms into that of their present lords.

Tournefort, in 1700, describes the island as possessing 20,000 inhabitants; and Sutherland says, that at the commencement of that century it contained seventeen churches and eleven chapels, and that the whole space from the town to the harbour, a distance of above two miles, was laid out in beautiful gardens. The number of inhabitants since that time, principally from the oppression of the Turks, is reduced to one-tenth part of that number at most. The churches and chapels still remain, but these, it must be understood, are the meanest little hovels that can be imagined: a room from twelve to twenty feet square, built of rough stones without cement, having a flat roof like their houses, the entrance through a door that would disgrace an English barn, the interior plastered and white-washed, a common table for an altar, on which stands a crucifix and two brass candlesticks, and five or six paltry pictures and prints, pasted or nailed to the walls without a frame. Many of these churches would not contain more than a dozen persons at once, and all that distinguishes them from the dwellings is the cross at the door. With respect to the state of cultivation, that also has fallen off with the decrease of population, and spots once fertile are now lying waste and uncultivated.

The Turkish maxim of conquest is, that the lives as well as property of their captives are for ever at their disposal, and thus the Grand Signor, as an act of grace, affords them a temporary emancipation every year—setting a price on their heads, which they must redeem by payment, or submit to the scymitar. The capitation tax varies. At present it is fifty piastres, or about two guineas per head

Besides this, the Turks exact a sixth part of all their productions—cattle, corn, cotton, wine, &c. ; to collect which, the Capitan Bashaw, or Turkish Admiral, pays them a visit once a year.

The inhabitants are all Greeks, A Turk would scarcely risk himself among them alone, as there are few who would not think it a merit to despatch him. They have no Governor or Judge ; but are forbidden the use of fire-arms and ammunition, or any sort of weapon, all which they are obliged to conceal when the Turks visit them, as to be found possessing them would most probably cost them the forfeiture of their heads.

Notwithstanding this, they live in a state of the most complete republicanism that can be imagined. Every man being his own builder and his own farmer, with the assistance of his sons, or younger brothers, raises his cotton, cattle, corn, and wine, while the females of the family manufacture and make every article of apparel for both sexes, even the men's shoes of goat's skin. There is thus but little occasion for money, and debt is unknown among them. There is no one who practises any mechanical art, such as carpenter, or mason, nor is there any shop or store for vending articles of any kind. They have neither Governor, Judge, nor Officer of any description. The priests regulate their religious affairs, and the old Antonio Mitchello, being the father of half the town, is generally arbitrator in their temporal differences, which are, however, but very few.

The climate, and the elevated situation of their town, added to an active and temperate manner of living, makes them both robust and healthy, and they appear to be extremely vivacious and good humoured, fond of singing and dancing to an excess, and, while enjoying their pipe, which they use after every meal, enlivening the dull monotony of their puffs with some witty tale.

The island itself is about fifty miles in circumference, and contains one of the finest harbours that can be imagined. It is at least fifteen miles round, nearly circular in form, and has all depths of water, from one to fifty fathoms, excellent holding ground, and is so completely land-locked, that when within it, the entrance cannot be perceived ; thus affording shelter from all winds, and being capable of containing in safety a thousand sail of ships at once.

FRIENDSHIP OF THE WORLD.

WHEN I see leaves drop from their trees in the beginning of autumn, just such, think I, is the friendship of the world. While the sap of maintenance lasts, my friends swarme in abundance, but, in the winter of my need, they leave me naked. He is a happy man, that hath a true friend at his need ; but he is more truly happy, that hath no need of his friend.—*Warwick's Spare Minutes.*

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

THE ABBEY OF MARMOUTIER—HOLY OIL—EVILS OF A STATE RELIGION.

At about the same distance from Tours, on the east, as Plessy on the west, close by the side of the road to Orleans, is the site of the ancient and splendid Benedictine Abbey of Marmoutier. Sir Walter Scott makes little mention of this magnificent abbey, in his *Quentin Durward*, once the richest and most ancient of all France, dating its origin farther back even than the French monarchy itself. Had an earthquake been commissioned to engulf the tapering spires and stately towers of Marmoutier, with all their appendages of choirs, chapels, oratories, cells, subterranean passages,* sacred images, and holy relics, no earthly destitution could well be more complete. The curious massive gateway, formerly the chief entrance, is now nearly the sole remaining memento of this once vast and vaunted edifice. It was through this gateway that the *Saint Ampoule* was borne by the monks in the full-dress habits of their order, with all the affectation of reverence and solemnity which superstition assumes to promote its great objects of fraud and deception, when it was taken in great pomp to Louis XI. at Plessis les Tours, as the grand panacea in his last fatal illness; and it was through the same gateway that this holy oil was conducted, when reluctantly yielded up to the commands of Henry IV. to be used at his coronation at Chartres, that of Rheims being impounded there by his enemies of the League. Some low buildings, evidently appendages to the ancient abbey, are now used as a kennel for the English boar-hounds, the *mort du sanglier* being still, (as in the days of Louis XI.) considered the noblest amongst all the sports of the field, not only by natives, but by foreigners sojourning in France. It would, however, be in vain that sportsmen should now expect to find the wild boar in the immediate vicinity of Plessis; for since, by the destruction of feudal barbarisms, the reclamation of the national property usurped by Church and State, and the total abolition of the curse of tithes, the lands have fallen into the hands of their present proprietors, they have become scenes of industry instead of desolation, and well worth defending from the ravages of kings, nobles, and wild-boars.

Sir Walter Scott has not departed from his usual historical accuracy in his description of the boar-hunt in *Quentin Durward*, nor has the lapse of three centuries and a half occasioned much difference in the mode and manner in which this animating but dangerous sport is pursued. The wolfskin costume is still in use, and the literally *winding* horn still encircles the body of the huntsman; but the sportsman has now his double-barrelled gun slung across his shoulder; and, instead of his boar-spear, carries his *couteau de chasse*. But for some singular accident, or the rare occurrence of severe and continued cold, the boar is now seldom found in Touraine, except in the national forests, and in the few remaining large woods of considerable landed proprietors; where also, though yet more rarely still, lingers the wolf, whose occasional ravages, even to the destruc-

* That there were subterranean passages belonging to this religious house, is past all doubt; whether one forming a direct communication with Plessis, is not so certain. The grand escalier of St. George formed a part of one of these mysterious communications.

tion of human life, when hard pressed with hunger, the master of the board-hounds is sometimes requested to interfere, both to repress and to avenge.

Marmoutier as well as Plessis had its audience or judgment hall, where feudal jurisdiction was exercised by the abbot or his deputy; for the seignoral and other privileged classes in France, whether clergy or laity, had, as the old Marquis de Hautlieu told Sir Walter Scott, "like your old Scotch nobles, the right of pit and gallows, or *fossa cum furca*, as the civilians term it; and beneath lies the question-chamber, or apartment for torture." The holy brotherhood of Marmoutier, were occasionally, however, not of the ordinary class of jailors. In the spring of 1417, under a formidable escort of horsemen muffled up in their cloaks, in the dead of the night, a prisoner whose person was still more concealed than those of the escort, was brought to the Abbey, and committed to the especial care of the Abbot, with strict injunctions of secrecy and safe-keeping.

The prisoner, who was well wrapped up in a horseman's cloak, and whose face was covered with a black velvet mask, was instantly hurried, or rather carried, through the gateway, and taken by private passages into the most secluded part of the conventual building, where, at the top of the celebrated *escalier*, leading to the cell of St. Martin, the Abbot in person, attended by a few of his most confidential monks, took charge of the prisoner. The astonishment of the Abbot and his brethren, who, it seems, had received no notification of the duty they were required to perform, may well be supposed, when from under the flapped hat and beneath the velvet mask and horseman's cloak appeared the person of an elegantly attired female. The quality of the fair prisoner, and the rigorous confinement of her person, which the Abbot was directed to enforce, were here both revealed in a written order from the King himself, delivered by the commander of the escort who had accompanied the stranger within the walls of the abbey. The prisoner proved to be no less a person than Isabella, the Queen of Charles the Sixth, who was sent to Marmoutier to expiate the crime, if not to await the punishment, of her too great intimacy with the Sieur de Bois Bourdon, who, seized at the same time as Isabella, had, without trial or inquiry, been sewed up in a sack and thrown into the river Seine!

Whatever fate awaited the Queen, she was not doomed to linger long in the cells of Marmoutier. Whether the quality of the prisoner, or the charms of the woman, awakened the feeling of pity, or, as is alleged, of some stronger motive in the breast of one of the monks, is not clearly ascertained, but it is at least certain, that whatever *liaison* the lady had indulged in before, or during her confinement within the sacred precincts of the abbey, a correspondence was established between Isabella and the Duke of Burgundy, who was said to have dwelt some time in disguise an inmate of the Convent of St. Julian of Tours, and evading the vigilance or corrupting the fidelity of her holy keepers, the Queen found means of escape, and threw herself on the protection of the Duke, who succeeded in carrying her off in despite of the care and precautions of the Abbot, and the positive and peremptory orders of the King her husband.

The possessions of the Abbey of Marmoutier, called also *Majus Monasterium*, were immense, extending even over some fair portions of England; among which, says Dugdale, was "the Church of the Holy Trinity at York, with divers other possessions," given by one Radulphus Paganellus, and "divers lands and tithes granted by King Henry the Second." These possessions were of course taken from their foreign claimants at the period of the Reformation,—that grand era in ecclesiastical history, which esta-

blished a signal and lasting precedent of the right of disposal on the part of the state*, and the subservience of an Established Church to the will and uses of the nation.

The history of this splendid Abbey, recorded in ancient MSS., as well as in printed books, preserved in the magnificent public library of the City of Tours, is full of curious, entertaining, and instructive matter; how such unnatural excrescences as Marmoutier could have been engrafted on a church called Christian, and with its mighty preponderance of almost unmitigated evil have been suffered to exist for so many centuries, at once the pride, the scourge, and the disgrace of human nature, is a problem which never yet has, and which probably never will be solved. Happily the death blow has been given to the Anti-Christian system every where, and although its offences against reason, morality, and pure religion may, under some modification and partial reform, linger on the face of the earth, and infest, infect, and demoralise society for a few years longer, the growing conviction of the great truth so explicitly taught by the great founder of the Christian religion, that "his kingdom was not of this world," ensures the early extinction of that greatest of anomalies, a *state religion*.

Of Marmoutier, once the retreat of saints; the resort of popes and kings—the residence and prison of queens—the mausoleum of princes—the chosen depository of miraculous relics—the scene, by turns, of slaughter and of prayer—of fanaticism half ennobled by its sincerity—of vices without a redeeming virtue—of humility and pride—of pious frauds, and barefaced hypocrisy—and all assuming the sacred name, or pretending to the sanction of religion; all that remains is barely sufficient to preserve the recollection of where the abbey once stood, and to convey a solemn warning to the oppressor, and a salutary lesson to the oppressed. Shortly after the Revolution of 1789, the celebrated Abbey of Marmoutier was sold as national property, and the *band noir* shortly levelled it with the ground, and converted on the spot, or dispersed by means of the Loire, from Tours to Saumur, and from Saumur to Nantes, the materials of which it had been composed. M.

INVECTIVE AND PERSONALITIES IN PARLIAMENT.

The invective, and the ridicule, and retort, and personality, which are frequently indulged within the walls of Parliament, and from which much amusement appears to be derived to the members and to the public, imply a sufficient degree of forgetfulness of the purpose for which Parliaments meet. A spectator might sometimes imagine that the object of the assembly was to witness exhibitions of intellectual gladiators, rather than to debate respecting the welfare of a great nation. Nor can it be supposed that if this welfare were sufficiently, that is to say, *constantly*, dominant in the recollection, there would be so much solicitude to expose individual weaknesses and absurdity, or to obtain personal triumph.—*Dymond's Essays*.

* Instances are perpetually occurring in Church history before the Reformation of secular interference with, and of the resumption, transference, and confiscation of ecclesiastical possessions, and various acts of parliament have been passed on the same principle since. Vast landed properties were not only given to foreign religious houses, but to God and some saint; as for instance, William the Conqueror, having deprived the three lawful owners of the town of Covenham, in Lincolnshire, with impious audacity scarcely credible, gave the same in 1080 to God and St Karileph! This *vested property* was afterwards arbitrarily transferred from St. Karileph at Le Mans, and given to the Convent of Kirkstede in Yorkshire!

PAST AND PRESENT OPINIONS ON THE USE OF TEA AND COFFEE.

SIR,

London, April 15, 1833.

I AM one of those inveterate tea-drinkers, who owe some gratitude to you for your exposure of that monopoly, which enhances the price of our favourite luxury. It may, however, console us under a grievance daily felt by scantily-monied wights who, like Dr. Johnson, seldom suffer their kettle to cool, to know that, in this respect, the former times were not better than the present.

I was once examining some original letters from the celebrated Antony Collins to Des Maizeaux. Amidst a variety of subjects gratifying to a literary taste, I found in a letter, dated "Hatfield Peverel, May 1712," the following request to his friend, who was about to visit him:—"I desire that you would call at Mr. Hulst's, in Stock's Market [now the site of the Mansion-house], and take of him for me a pound of coffee, a quarter of a pound of bohea, and a quarter of a pound of green tea. Pray desire him to use me well this time; for the last bohea tea which I had of him proves very bad, and is the worst I ever drank, though I paid him fifteen shillings for half-a-pound." Thus, it seems as if tea in 1712 could be procured only in London, and was as yet reserved for great "high days and holydays" even in the family of a country gentleman of fortune and a magistrate, who appears, from other circumstances, to have kept up a suitable establishment.

In the only "History of British India" worthy of the name, Mr. Mill says, (2d edit. i. 94.) that "in 1667-8 appears the first order of the Company for the importation of tea." This order was "to send home by their ships 100lb. waight of the best tey that you can gett." Again (ibid. 98.) "directions were forwarded to make attempts for opening a trade with China; and tea to the value of 100 dollars, was, in 1676-77, ordered on the Company's account."

Coffee had been introduced into England some years before, as well as chocolate. Antony à Wood, in his Autobiography (1772, p. 65, &c.) has the following notices:—"An. Dom. 1650. This yeare, Jacob, a Jew, opened a Coffey House, at the Angel, in the parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxon he sold it in Old Southampton Buildings in Holborne, neare London, and was living there 1671. An. Dom. 1654, Cirques Jobun, a Jew and Jacobite, born near Mount Libanus, sold coffey, as also chocolate, within the east gate of Oxon. An. Dom. 1655. In this yeare, Arth. Tillyard, apothecary and great royalist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All-Soules Coll. He was encouraged so to do by som royalists, now living in Oxon, and by others, who esteemed themselves either *virtuosi* or *wits*. This coffey-house continued till his Majestie's retorne and after, and then they became more frequent, and had an excise set upon coffey." One of the *wits* who patronized this *noveltie*, was Sir Christopher Wren.

Antony à Wood, who received coffee, on its introduction to Oxford, with no friendly greetings, some years after, thus complains (p. 273) of its dissipating powers:—"An. Dom. 1677. Why doth solid and serious learning decline, and few or none follow it now in the University? Answer: Because of coffee houses, where they spend all their time; and in entertainments at their chambers, where their studies and coffee houses are become

places for victuallers; also great drinking at taverns and ale-houses, spending their time in common chambers, whole afternoons, and thence to the coffee house."

To this *literary* censure of the *noveltie*, by a zealot for the olden time, I beg leave to demur, as I am now writing under coffee's exhilarating influence. I will, however, fairly refer to a *medical* authority against our modern fire-side luxuries, especially indulged when "we welcome peaceful evening in," while

———— the bubbling and loud hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups
That cheer, but not inebriate, wait on each.

There was published at Rotterdam, in 1705, and soon done out of French into English, "*Avis salutaire à tout le monde, contre l'abus des choses chaudes, et particulièrement du Café, du Chocolat, et du Thé; par M. Duncan, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier.*" Dr. Duncan describes "the partizans of coffee, chocolate, and tea," in their daily use of them, as "like those idolaters of Bacchus that were not contented to drink only for present thirst, but to drink also for that which is to come." He adds, to the disparagement of coffee, "Colbert, the superintendent of the finances of France, is a famous witness against it, by what he declared upon this head. The abuse of coffee kept him so much awake, that he could not sleep when he would, till death put an end to his watch." It is, however, asserted by a biographer of Colbert, in 1695, that a "disease occasioned by a stone in the kidneys put an end to his life." Such a disease, without the aid of coffee, might serve, while urging on its cruel progress, to keep awake any prime minister, though as somnolent as Lord North sometimes appeared on the Treasury Bench, of that theatre, into which I have crowded, with the politicians of my youthful days, eager

———— to feed upon the breath
Of patriots bursting with heroic rage,
Or placemen, all tranquillity and smiles.

SEXAGENARIUS.

THE FAMILY ENTERTAINER.

ON "PARTY," AS CONNECTED WITH POLITICS.—SUPERIORITY OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE system of forming *Parties* in governments, is perfectly congruous with the general character of political affairs; but totally incongruous with political rectitude. Of this incongruity considerate men are frequently sensible; and accordingly we find that defences of party are set up, and set up by men of respectable political character.* To defend a custom is to intimate that it is assailed.

What does the very nature of party imply? That he who adheres to it speaks and votes not always according to the dictates of his own judgment, but according to the plans of other men. This sacrifice of individual judgment violates one of the first and greatest duties of a legislator—to direct his separate and unbiassed judgment to the welfare of the State. There

* Fox, I believe, was one of them, and the present Lord John Russell, in his *Life of Lord Russell*, is another.

can be no proper accumulation of individual experience and knowledge amongst those who vote with a party.

But, indeed, the justifications which are attempted do not refer to the abstract rectitude of becoming one of a party, but to the unfailing ground of defending political evil—*expediency*. An administration, it is said, would not be so likely to stand, or an opposition to prevail, when each man votes as he thinks rectitude requires, as when he ranges himself under a leader. The difference is like that which subsists in war between a body of irregular peasantry and a disciplined army: each man's arm is as strong in the one case as in the other; but each man's is not equally effective.

Very well. If we are to be told that it is fitting, or honourable, or decent, that Senates and Cabinets should act upon the principle of conflicting armies, parties may easily be defended—but surely legislators have other business and other duties. It only exhibits the *wideness* of the general departure from the proper modes of conducting government and legislation, that such arguments are employed. It will be said, that there are no means of expelling a bad administration from office but by a systematic opposition to its measures. If this were true, it would be nothing to the question of rectitude, unless it can be shewn that the end sanctions the means. The question is not whether we shall overthrow an administration, but whether we shall do what is right. But even with respect to the success of political objects, it is not very certain that simple integrity would not be the most efficacious. The man who habitually votes on one side, loses, and he *ought* to lose, much of the confidence of other Members, and of the public. At what value ought we to estimate the mental principles of a man, who foregoes the dictates of his own judgment, and acts in opposition to it in order to serve a party? What is the ground upon which we can place confidence in his integrity? Facts may furnish an answer. The speeches, and statements, and arguments, of such persons, are listened to with suspicion; and an habitual and large deduction is made from their weight. This is inevitable. Hearers and the public cannot tell whether the speaker is uttering his own sentiments or those of others; they cannot tell whether he believes his own statements, or is convinced by his own reasoning. So that, even when his cause is good and his advocacy just, he loses half his influence because men are afraid to rely upon him, and because they still do not know whether some illusion is not underneath. The mind is kept so constantly jealous of fallacies, that it excludes one half of the truth. But when the man stands up, of whom it is *known* that he is *sincere*, that what he says he thinks, and what he asserts he believes, the mind opens itself to his statements without apprehension of deceit. No deductions are made for the overcolourings of party. Integrity carries with it its proper sanction.

Now if, generally, the measures of a party are good, the individual support of upright men would probably more effectually recommend them to a senate and to a nation, than the ranked support of men whose uprightness must always be questionable and questioned. If the measures are not good, it matters not how inefficiently they are supported. Let those who now range themselves under political leaders, of whatever party, throw away their unworthy shackles; let them convince the legislature and the public, that they are absolutely sincere men; and it is probable that a vicious policy would not be able to stand before them. For other motives to opposition than actual viciousness of measures, I have nothing to say. He whose principles allow him to think that other motives justify opposition, may very well vote against his understanding. The principles and the conduct are congenial; but both are bad.—*Dymond's Essays*.

SINCERITY AND MORALITY SUPERIOR TO POLICY.

To live with our enemies as those who one day may be our friends, and to live with our friends as those who some time or other may become our enemies, equally contradicts the nature of hatred, and the rules of friendship. It may be a good maxim in policy, but is a detestable one in morality.—*La Bruyère*.

ON DOMESTIC DUTIES.

SEEING that almost the whole of the day is devoted to business abroad, and the remainder of my time to domestic duties, there is none left for myself—that is, for my studies. For, on returning home, I have to talk with my wife, prattle with my children, and converse with my servants. All which things, I number among the duties of life: since, if a man would not be a stranger in his own house, he must, by every means in his power, strive to render himself agreeable to those companions of his life whom Nature hath provided, chance thrown in his way, or that he has himself chosen.—*Sir Thomas More*.

MOST DANGEROUS OF PREJUDICES.

SOME of the darkest and most dangerous prejudices of man arise from the most honourable principles of the mind. When prejudices are caught up from bad passions, the worst of men feel intervals of remorse, to soften and disperse them: but when they arise from a generous though mistaken source, they are hugged closer to the bosom, and the kindest and most compassionate natures feel a pleasure in fostering a blind and unjust resentment.—*Lord Erskine*.

THE WILLOW OF BABYLON.

‘On the top of the mound, formed by the ruins of the hanging gardens of Semiramis, stands an aged willow, of a species entirely different from any found on the banks of the Euphrates, near Babylon. When the wind passes through the decayed branches of the tree, it produces sounds much resembling the tones of an Æolian harp.’—*Buckingham’s Travels in Mesopotamia*.

WHEN Judah’s smitten children, afar by strangers borne,
Sat down by Babel’s waters o’er Salem’s fall to mourn,
Their harps upon the willows the weeping captives hung—
Harps once to songs of gladness and sweet thanksgiving strung.

How could they wake those numbers to please the victor’s will,
Which David’s voice had hallow’d on high Moriah’s hill?
How by the heathen rivers attune the sacred string,
When those who spoiled and wasted, commanded them to sing?

No! they remembered Zion, remembered her, and wept;—
The besom of destruction her palaces had swept:
Sad by Euphrates’ borders, forsaken and forlorn,
Silent they sat, enduring the proud oppressor’s scorn.

For it was then, O Willow! where thou art lonely now,
That he, who smote the nations, upraised his haughty brow;
When, wand’ring over temples and towers on Shinar’s plain,
His eye beheld, exulting, the splendours of his reign.

Pride fill'd the monarch's bosom : while gazing far and wide
O'er Babylon's vast wonders, his thoughts were big with pride :
Built by his might, he deem'd her, his majesty to crown,
The palace of his kingdom, the City of Renown.

Yes ! she was then the glorious, the pow'rful, and the great,
The Queen on many waters, the arbitress of Fate :
Princes were all her merchants, her daughters too gave birth
To counsellors, and captains, and nobles of the earth.

But now she lies deserted, her walls and towers o'erthrown ;
All desolate her temples, her pleasant places lone,
The fearful haunt of dragons, where horror ever broods ;
And owls and doleful creatures possess her solitudes !

Once in her lofty gardens, in rich luxuriance grew
All trees of rarest beauty, and flowers of every hue ;
But now a heap, behold them, where hissing serpents dwell,
And thou alone, O Willow ! their tale of woe to tell !

Oft when across thy branches the desert breezes sigh,
And with a hollow moaning their hoary stems reply,
Sound of unhealthy music, and melancholy strains,
Are heard at evening floating o'er those forsaken plains.

What spirit round thee lingers, in scenes so wild and drear,
Thus breathing forth its sorrows, where none are by to hear ?
What voice so soft and plaintive, amidst thy withered leaves,
Thus lonely and unheeded, in solemn accents grieves ?

Thou know'st not ! but if haply some denizen it be
Of that far world of spirits which mortals may not see,
Whose memory still recalls him to haunt this fearful spot,
And sigh for pomp departed, and power that now is not—

Oh ! he must mourn for ever ! for Babylon no more
Shall rise, O broad Euphrates ! on thy deserted shore ;
No more shall tower or temple beside thy waters frown,
Nor cloud-encircled Babel on palaces look down.

Within her gloomy borders no shepherd e'er shall tread ;
His tents around her ruins th' Arabian shall not spread ;
But safe amidst her horrors the spotted pard shall lie,
And satyrs to their fellows from secret caverns cry !

Mourn on, thou lonely Spirit ! o'er Ashur's dread decay ;
Fall'n is Chaldea's glory—for ever passed away !
Boast of all tongues and kindreds, her time shall ne'er return ;
Bewail for her, thou Desert Voice ! and thou, lone Willow, mourn !

THE
PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW
And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 18.

IN the morning sitting, which was very thinly attended, a number of petitions were presented; but no Minister of the Crown being present, (though in the arrangement for presenting petitions in the morning sitting, it had been agreed that one or other of the Ministry should always be in attendance) Mr. ROEBUCK remarked, that he was now speaking to almost empty benches; and that, were it not for a breach of privilege, or, in other words, the newspaper reporters, His Majesty's Ministers, the House, and the country, would know nothing of the petitions of the people.

In the evening sitting, Mr. BUCKINGHAM's motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the justice and practicability of progressively repealing all the Assessed Taxes, Stamp Duties, and duties of Customs and Excise, and substituting, in lieu thereof, a graduated Tax on Income and Property—stood first on the Notice Book; and Mr. Buckingham came down to the House, prepared to bring it on. On his name being called by the Speaker, LORD ALTHORP rose and said, that unless there were many pressing and urgent reasons which might induce the honorable member for Sheffield to persist in bringing on his motion this evening, he should be glad if it could be deferred; especially as considerable anxiety prevailed to hear the statement, which he, Lord Althorp, was desirous of making to the House, this evening, on the subject of Church Reform, and the commutation of Tithes.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM replied, that nothing could be further from his wish or intention, than to impede, in any manner, the progress of whatever measures the Government might have in view, for the relief of the country;—on the contrary, he was desirous of affording such measures his humble aid, on every occasion. The request of the noble lord, that he should defer his motion, to make way for his lordship's statement, would, therefore, be one that he should readily comply with; and, in his own justification, he might add this further reason for his ready acquiescence in the wish expressed; namely, that as, when he entered his notice of motion on the books, he purposely deferred it to a period, before which he had thought the Budget would have been produced, so now, he was equally desirous of waiting until

that financial statement of the year should be made; and on these joint grounds he would willingly defer his motion to Thursday the 9th of May.

We have been more explicit in the report of this conversation than we should otherwise have thought necessary, from the circumstance of its not being even adverted to in the leading morning paper, the *Times*, not even by a line; so that its readers would neither know the fact of its postponement, nor its cause. That this is a studied omission, we are aware, as it is not the only one. On the occasion of the late Public Meeting on behalf of the Poles, while all the other papers reported the speeches fully and fairly, the *Times* omitted that of Mr. Buckingham only. On the occasion of the late Anti-Slavery Meeting, at Exeter Hall, while the other papers gave an accurate list of the members of Parliament present, as well as of those who spoke, the *Times* omitted the name of Mr. Buckingham only. This is only the continuation of a series of petty and mean vindictiveness, the secret cause of which is well known, and may be one day unfolded fully, but, for the present, we content ourselves with noticing the fact, and leaving our readers to judge whether this unfairness of proceeding, to call it by no harsher name—is honorable to any paper, assuming to be the leading organ of public opinion, and the faithful recorder of public proceedings.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S motion having been thus deferred, the MARQUIS OF CHANDOS moved for, and obtained the appointment of, a Select Committee to inquire into, and report upon, the state and management of the beer-houses, which, he contended, were, at present, the nurseries of crime and pauperism, without affording any counter-acting advantage to the poorer classes—which seemed to be the prevailing sentiment of the members generally who spoke upon the question.

LORD ALTHORP then rose to submit to the House the outline of the measure which the Government had to propose, for the commutation of Tithes, which he detailed at great length. He began by stating, that very exaggerated notions prevailed with respect to the extent of Church property and income. It had been rated at so high a sum as nine millions a year; whereas, from returns in his hand, it appeared that the revenues of the bishops were only 158,527*l.* per annum; the revenues of the deans and chapters 236,358*l.*; and of the parochial clergy, about 3,000,000*l.*; making, in all, very little more than three millions and a half, instead of nine; and, if divided equally among the whole number, would give an average of 300*l.* a year only, to each person.

If this sum were *actually* so divided, and no one clergyman received either more or less than this amount, the cry for Church Reform would scarcely be heard; but the monstrous evil of the system is, that while some of the hierarchy are receiving 20,000*l.* a year, for doing nothing, the hard-working country curates are starving on 50*l.* and 100*l.* a year, with large families to maintain. Lord Althorp does not even propose to remedy this at all; and therefore, his mo-

derate estimate of 300*l.* a year each, *if* the whole were equally divided, is a mere fallacy—since it *has* not, and it *will* not be thus divided, by any measure now in contemplation; and until it is so divided, or some approach made towards a better distribution, the cry for Church Reform will continue as loud as ever.

With respect to the Tithes—what the country demands is that they should be got rid of altogether; either by the landlords redeeming them by the payment of a given number of years purchase, or by some other method, which shall make the fund produced by their redemption, a *national* fund, out of which the Church might be paid, if necessary, and the original purpose of Tithes in maintaining the poor, as well as the Clergy carried into effect; tho' even then the Dissenters would naturally and justly object to any *national* provision for an established Church, for which they, in common with the followers of that Church, would be taxed, in addition to supporting their own ministers and chapels. But the commutation plan of Lord Althorp, leaves the burthen of Tithes, as a pecuniary impost, just as heavy as ever, and aggravates the evil, by rendering that permanent and everlasting, which every one, except the Tithe receivers, had hoped was drawing near to extinction. His plan is simply this—that instead of the clergyman or lay impropiator demanding every year an exact tenth of the produce, and giving rise to disputes about proportions, value, &c. a year's time is to be allowed, for certain assessors or valuers, to be chosen by the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Magistrates of Quarter Session (who are mostly clergymen) to value the Tithes of each estate or parish in the country, upon an average of the last ten or fifteen years, and then to fix the annual amount to be paid for such Tithes, in a fixed sum of money, or in the fixed value, at the existing market price, of so many bushels of wheat, barley, and oats, as the Tithe may be worth. The *good* effect of such an arrangement would be, that it would prevent much of the annual bickering and heart-burning occasioned by the present *mode* of collecting the Tithes: but it will afford no relief whatever, from their actual burthen, either to the landlord or the tenant: while the *evil* effect will be—that those who have been harsh and unfeeling in demanding the uttermost farthing of their Tithe for the last ten or fifteen years, will be rewarded for their oppressive conduct, by the high rate at which their demand for Tithe will be permanently assessed: while, on the other hand, those Tithe-owners who have been most lenient and indulgent, in fixing their demands at a moderate scale, will be punished for their benevolence, by having their assessment permanently fixed at the low scale which such an average of the last ten or fifteen years will give: and the public at large will be permanently saddled with all the weight of this impost or burthen, which must continue to affect rents, and consequently enhance the cost of agricultural produce to the Dissenter as well as to the Churchman, and, in this manner, Methodists, Quakers, Catholics, and Jews, will be made, equally with Churchmen themselves, to support the established Clergy, who are thus to be paid by a permanent impost on the produce of the soil.

The plan was well received by Sir ROBERT PEEL, Mr. BARING, Sir ROBERT INGLIS, and all the friends of the Aristocracy and the Church—for they were shrewd enough to see that it was a great benefit to both those interests to have that made safe and perpetual, which was before fluctuating and insecure. But to the country at large, we are sure that it must prove a melancholy disappointment, after seeing it announced as a measure of Church Reform! It is undoubtedly a Reform *for* the Church, from which it will derive great benefit, and *by* the Church it will no doubt be well received; but to call it a Reform *of* the Church, is altogether a delusion: and if our anticipations be correct, we think the Dissenters of England will soon make his Lordship sensible of the fact, that *they* do not perceive in it that measure of relief, which they had been encouraged to expect at his hands.

The next subject that was introduced, was one on Sinecures, by Mr. HUME, the details of which were so curious and instructive, that we present them in the following extract from his speech:—

Mr. HUME expressed a wish that, in bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice, his object might not be misunderstood. On two former occasions he had submitted motions with the view of putting an end to offices in which no duty was performed, and consequently to save so much of the public money as was paid to the persons holding those offices under the name of salaries and allowances. Objections, however, were taken to the manner in which he introduced both the motions. Some persons thought that he had not sufficiently explained his object, whilst others were of opinion that the time at which he brought the subject forward was not well chosen. On re-considering the course which he had pursued, however, he saw no reason to induce him to suppose that he had done wrong. The motion which he was about to submit to the house was founded upon a broader basis than either of the two others, and the decision upon it would enable the people to ascertain how far the house was disposed to forward their anxious wishes for lessening the expenditure. He had received from many parts of the country explanations which had been made by Hon. Members who had voted against his former motions, but they did not satisfy his mind. In 1808, when the people were urgent in their demands for retrenchment, the ministers appointed a finance committee, which consisted chiefly of government officers or persons having the confidence of government. This committee entered into a laborious investigation on the subject of sinecures, a long list of which they published in the schedules attached to their reports. From these schedules it appeared that the emoluments of sinecure offices existing in 1809 were as follows:—

Sinecures in England and the Colonies	£199,137
Scotland	30,000
Ireland	82,000

Since that period many sinecure offices had been abolished by several acts which had been passed for the reform of the law courts in England and Scotland, and he regretted that he could not state the number of those remaining, because the returns which would have supplied that information, and which he had moved for, had not yet been laid before the house. He believed that the amount of the sinecures still existing was much exaggerated, but he wished the house to understand that it was rather to the principle of those offices than to the amount of emolument attached to them that he

objected. Why should the money drawn from the pockets of an over-taxed people be given to individuals who performed no duties for it? (Hear.) It was incumbent on the house to satisfy their constituents that they were determined in future to act upon just principles. It was really painful to reflect upon the amount of money which had been squandered in this manner. It was not going too far to assert that one-half of the national debt had been created by the payment of sinecures, for it was necessary to calculate, in addition to the sums actually paid, with compound interest upon them, that they were paid to persons who possessed influence in both Houses of Parliament to induce them to sanction measures which had contributed to swell the national debt. On the 3rd of April, 1816, a return was presented to the house, signed, "Henry Goulburn," containing a list of 33 sinecure offices in only eight West India islands, held by persons who did not reside there, the emoluments of which amounted to £53,000 annually. From those individuals he had selected seven, including the Hon. C. W. Windham, Lord Braybrooke, and Sir C. Greville, who, he found, had received, from the date of their appointment to the sinecure offices, which they held up to 1816, no less than £1,623,950, in principal alone. (Hear.) On the 13th of June, 1809, the finance committee made the following report to the house:—"That it is the opinion of this committee that the existence of sinecure offices, executed by deputy, is unnecessary and inexpedient as a means of rewarding public services." Shortly after the report was presented, he moved a resolution embodying the opinion expressed in it, which was negatived; and from that time until the other day, when he made his motion, the question had not been brought under the consideration of the house. Members were mistaken if they supposed that all sinecures were paid out of the Exchequer. Many of them were paid by means of fees, which impeded the business of the public offices, and clogged the wheels of justice. This system not only occasioned loss of money, but delay. Persons lost whole days in attending to pay money and pass the public accounts. Every device was resorted to in order to get a share of the public money in the shape of fees. It was a reproach upon a liberal government that £33,000. should be charged in the army estimates for the expense of paying our own money to our own troops. (Hear.) The Hon. Member, after eulogizing the Marquis Camden for the noble manner in which he had resigned the profits of his sinecure office, amounting to £23,117. per annum, to the public treasury, (hear) proceeded to mention some of the sinecures at present existing, as follows:—

Clerk of Idiots	£963
Clerk of the Hanaper, held by two young ladies, the daughters of an Earl (hear, hear)	—
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, Earl Bathurst	1,108
Clerk of the King's Bench, Lord Ellenborough (loud cries of "hear")	7,905
Keeper of the Seals in the Court of Common Pleas, the Duke of Grafton	2,286
Registrar of Affidavits in Chancery, Hon. W. H. Scott	1,816
Patentee of Bankrupts, Lord Thurlow	8,502
Keeper of the Hanaper, Lord Thurlow	1,192
Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Rosslyn	1,712
Clerk in Chancery, held for his children, the Earl of Rosslyn	925

He asked the house whether such a system ought to be continued at a time when government were discharging labourers from the public establishments? (Hear, hear.) His own opinion was that the present holders of sinecures ought to be deprived of them, but his motion would not raise that

question, as it left existing interests untouched. The Hon. Member then read his resolutions,—namely, first, “That on all future vacancies of sinecure offices, in the naval, military, civil, or colonial service of the country, no new appointment shall be made, nor any salary, allowances, or emoluments granted.” It had been suggested to him, however, he observed, that it would be better to leave out “naval and military,” and to say, generally, “sinecure officers at home and abroad,” which would convey no reflection; and the resolution was so altered. The second resolution was, “That no person shall receive an appointment to any situation to which emolument was attached, the duties of which were to be performed by deputy.” The object of this resolution was to prevent any office being held by individuals who transferred their duty and responsibility to others. This principle was affirmed, in 1822, in the instance of Receivers-General, and he now asked the house to extend it to all offices.

On the first resolution being put,

Lord ALTHORP said that, in respect to the substance of the motion, he felt no objection to it whatever. (Hear.) The Hon. Member, had, however, cited a number of offices, from the report of 1816, several of which he knew had been abolished. He was surprised that the Hon. Member had mentioned the case of Lord Thurlow, which was abolished by the bankruptcy bill. Lord Frederic Campbell too, who had held an office in the Chancery of Scotland, was dead. He, therefore, hoped that the house would not believe that all this list of offices still remained. He was not prepared to say how many had been abolished, but there had been several, and all would cease on the death of the holders. With respect to civil and colonial offices, he had not the least objection to the motion as it stood; but with regard to naval and military offices, a noble friend behind him (Lord Ebrington) had given notice of a motion for a committee of enquiry into military offices, and it was not his (Lord Althorp's) intention to oppose that motion,—so far from it, that he suggested to him to add naval offices,—and it would be better for the Hon. Member not to interfere with that motion.

Mr. HUME would be sorry to interfere with it in any way; he would, therefore, alter his motion by substituting the words “all future vacancies of sinecure offices in the civil and colonial service of the country.”

In this shape the motion was agreed to: and we trust the force of public opinion will continue to make these Sinecures so increasingly odious, as that ere long no Minister will dare to defend or to retain them.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 19.

The opening of the Chancellor's Budget for the year was brought on this evening, to which Mr. Attwood's motion for a Committee to enquire into the general Distress, gave way, although it had been several times before postponed. Mr. Pryme stated that he had also deferred his motion on Enclosure Bills, three times already, and was now obliged to do so a fourth. Indeed, whoever has watched the progress of public measures during the present Session, will have seen that scarcely a single motion has come on upon the day originally fixed for it; and that some have been postponed and deferred at least half a dozen times. This uncertainty is one of the many inconven-

niences of the present system : though, by proper regulations as to limitation of time, and order of succession, nothing would be more easy than to render it quite certain, that as soon as ever any one motion or order was disposed of, the next in succession should invariably begin : and then, in addition to the great advantage of doing only one thing at a time—the order of succession being invariably observed, every one would be able to form a tolerably accurate idea of when any particular subject would come on for discussion ; whereas, according to the present system of dropping or deferring a notice from the day on which it was originally fixed, the party giving it is obliged to search in the order book for some other suitable day ; and nearly all those beyond being already pre-engaged, he is obliged to put it on for a month or two, or else to place it at the end of a long list of other matters on any nearer day that he can select. In short, without actually witnessing the working of the present system, it is impossible to form an idea of its clumsiness and barbarism : and yet, any attempt to amend it is met with sneers and scoffing, or with determined opposition, as breaking in upon old and venerable institutions !

Lord ALTHORP opened his Financial Statement, by showing that since the present Ministers had been in office, they had made considerable reductions in places, salaries, and pensions, and would continue so to do as far as opportunities permitted. He then read the following statement :—

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1833.

INCOME.	
Customs	£16,769,621
Excise	16,529,131
Stamps	6,857,541
Taxes	5,003,937
Post Office	1,453,900
Micellaneous	238,520
	<hr/>
	46,852,650
Expenditure	45,365,507
	<hr/>
Surplus Income	1,487,143
EXPENDITURE.	
Debt	28,225,991
Other Charges	1,859,248
	<hr/>
Consolidated Fund	30,085,239
SUPPLIES.	
Army	7,006,498
Navy	4,505,000
Ordnance	1,634,817
Miscellaneous	2,133,953
	<hr/>
	£45,365,507

The result was, that he should have a surplus in his hands, of £1,487,143. The question was how to dispose of this to advantage. The appropriation of it to a sinking fund, for the redemption of the National Debt, he regarded as far less valuable than the remission of Taxes on the coming year: and he proposed to make the following

REDUCTION ON TAXATION.

1. Tiles—whole duty	£37,000
2. Marine Insurance—estimated diminution	100,000
3. Advertisements—ditto	75,000
4. Assessed Taxes—reduction of House and Window Duty on Shops	244,000
5. Cotton—reduction of additional Duty imposed in 1831	300,000
6. Soap—(half present duty)	593,000
	<hr/>
Estimated return on Soap	£1,349,000
	293,000
	<hr/>
Probable loss to Revenue	1,056,000
Surplus for the year ending 1834	1,572,000
	<hr/>
Estimated surplus after the above reduction	£516,000

The Noble Lord explained in detail the rates of diminution on those Taxes which were not to be wholly repealed. The duties on Marine Insurance were to be reduced one half. The duties on Advertisements, instead of being 3s. 6d. for each insertion, were to be 2s. for the first, 1s. 6d. for the second, and 1s. for the third and every subsequent insertion. The relief from the House and Window Tax was to apply to Shops only: and the Tax taken off from Raw Cotton was that which was put on in 1831. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed conscious, that this trifling relief, for so it must be considered, would be very unfavourably received by the people, suffering, as they are, under an intolerable load, which this will scarcely be felt to lighten; and he took corresponding pains to show that his plan contained nothing new or striking; but that, considering the fixed nature of the interest of the Debt, and the small portion of the Taxes capable of any modification or revision, it was as much as he could accomplish; and as, under all the circumstances of the case, could be reasonably expected.

Mr. HUME said that he agreed with the Noble Lord in the proposed reductions, as far as they went, but he thought they ought to go much further. It was impossible that the country could rest satisfied with the proposed amount of reduction. If the Noble Lord could go no further in direct reduction, he must go to a commutation of Taxes; for he would find that when his plan got abroad, complaints would pour in from all parts of the country praying for still greater reductions. The people would complain of the amount of Taxes, and for the best of all reasons, that they were not able to pay them. On the whole, he thought the reductions proposed by the Noble Lord would not give satisfaction to the country, and he repeated that if the Government were not prepared to go further, they

must come at last to a commutation of Taxes, and lay a Tax on Property. He was sure the House would not be allowed to separate—he meant that their constituents would not allow them to do so,—until they had made such a reduction of Taxes by a commutation, if no other means could be found, which would give a sensible relief to the distress of the country. He would have the Noble Lord apply the whole surplus to the reduction of Taxation.

Sir R. PEEL agreed in the remark of the Noble Lord that the duties of a Chancellor of the Exchequer were very unpopular, and that it was impossible to please all parties in reductions of Taxation, and he generally found that the opponents of persons in the situation of the Noble Lord were more disposed to aggravate than to lighten those difficulties. For his own part, he was not disposed to take that course, but he should have to avow opinions as unpopular. He would not say that the noble lord had not gone far enough in the reduction of taxation; he was rather disposed to complain of the noble lord having carried reduction too far. It was dangerous to proceed with reduction to an extent which might affect our ability to keep faith with the public creditor. He thought it bad economy to reduce the surplus so far as to cut off all hope of that legitimate reduction of taxation, which we might effect by maintaining public credit, and enabling ourselves to reduce the interest of the public funds. He thought that the noble lord had done well in not proposing an income or a property tax. Nothing but a case of extreme necessity could justify Parliament in subjecting the people of this country, in a time of peace, to the inquisitorial process which must be resorted to in order to render the impost productive; and to have recourse to such a machinery for the purpose of raising 2 or 3 per cent. would be most unwise. Such a tax was a great resource in time of necessity, and therefore he was unwilling, by establishing the disgusting inquisition with which it must be accompanied, to create such an odium against it as would render it impossible to resort to it in time of extreme necessity.

Now Sir Robert Peel seems wholly to have mistaken this matter. There is no need to have recourse to any machinery that does not already exist; for the collectors of the present assessed taxes would be fully adequate to all the purpose of collecting the tax on income or property; and as to any “disgusting inquisition,” it might be disagreeable to wealthy men, who now contribute so much less than their fair share towards the public burthens, as it would unfold the extent of their revenues, and make them pay more; but to the greatest number of the community, it would not be half so disgusting as the present inquisitorial process of the custom-house officer, and the exciseman, to say nothing of the coast blockade, and the host of informers and spies which the very system itself generates and maintains. We shall have more to say on this subject in its proper place; but we are prepared for the vehement opposition of the rich, who were never yet willing to tax themselves for the benefit of the poor, though “the greatest happiness of the greatest number” would be so

essentially promoted by such a commutation of taxes as is proposed, by levying them from income and property alone, that we conceive every family whose income is below £1000 a year, would be, if they carefully considered, and rightly understood the matter, in favour of it; and this would include twenty-three millions, at least, out of the twenty-four which constitute the total population of the country. If then, the interests of the many be of more importance than the interests of the few, to this we must come in order to secure them.

Mr. BARING contended that the whole course of our financial policy had been wrong, that we should never have reduced taxes at all, but have accumulated the annual surplus for the payment of the Debt, which had now become entirely hopeless, by the abandonment of every provision to that end.

Mr. Baring may in this be considered to speak the language of his class, the monied interest of the country. There is no individual now living, perhaps, who has made so large a fortune by operations in the funds as Mr. Baring, and it is therefore very natural for him to think public credit every thing, and public enforcement of payment, at whatever sacrifice of comforts or necessities, the chief duty of a finance minister.

But the tax-payers have some feeling of their own necessities, and some understanding of the manner in which the Debt was contracted, as well as the purposes to which the loans were applied; and they are disposed to believe—first, that the Debt should never have been contracted at all: next, that if repaid, it should be at the rate at which it was borrowed: and lastly, that as it was the property of the country as it then stood, which constituted the guarantee or pledge on which the loans were advanced;—that property, and that alone, ought to be answerable for the payment of both principal and interest: and that no Ministry, and no Legislature, could have a right to sell their posterity into everlasting bondage, in order to carry on their nefarious wars on public liberty and popular rights;—but more especially to mortgage for ever the toil and sweat of the labouring poor, the half of whose honest earnings are wrested from them, to pay the interest of a Debt, unjustly contracted by their profligate and unprincipled predecessors.

All this may be very shocking to the ears of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Baring, and gentlemen of large fortunes, like themselves: but to all below that class, to twenty-three millions out of twenty-four, at least, this appears to be the true state of the case: and unless the rich perceive this soon, and consent to relieve the poor from any payments on this account, the crisis will arrive, when a sudden falling to pieces of the whole machine will awaken the wealthy from their dream of fancied security, and then it will be too late for them to repent them of their blindness and infatuation.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—APRIL 22.

A conversation took place in the House of Lords this evening, on a subject of such general interest throughout the country, that we give the heads of it here :—

LORD SUFFIELD said he had a great many petitions to present for the Abolition of Slavery, but before he did so, he was anxious to move for the production of a document of some interest, to which he hoped there would be no objection. It was a memorial addressed to the Noble Earl (Grey) and the Right Hon. the Colonial Secretary, which had been presented on Friday last by 339 deputies from different parts of the kingdom, who had come up to London for that purpose. It had been stated in the newspapers that this was a deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society: but the fact was, that there was no member of that Society in it, but as a deputy from some part of the kingdom, except one individual, a Member of the House of Commons, who had consented to introduce the deputation. The statement was, he believed, inadvertently made by some of the papers, but by others he had no doubt that it was made with the intention of deprecating the value of the memorial. The Noble Lord then moved an address to the Crown, for the production of the document.

EARL GREY said, that as far as he was concerned he had no objection to the production of the document. His only doubt was as to the form in which it could be called for. It was a memorial addressed to him, in common with others of His Majesty's Ministers, and he doubted whether it could be considered such a public document as they could move for by address to the Crown. He would admit that the deputation was a most respectable one, and that the memorial was very ably drawn up. That, however, did not alter the question, whether they could call by address for a document which might be considered in the light of a private one. The calling for it in this way might establish a very inconvenient precedent. However, he had no objection to laying it before the House as a private document.

LORD ROLLE had no objection to the production of any document on the subject. His great wish was, that the Slaves should be placed in a situation of comfort and happiness.

LORD ROSSLYN considered the document as a private one. They might as well call for the production of a private letter addressed to any of their Lordships.

LORD SUFFIELD contended that if any document could be called a public one, it was that for which he moved.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE had no objection to the production of the memorial, but he doubted whether it could be called for by an address, or by an order of that House. The Noble Lord might obtain it by consent.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH contended that the motion would establish a dangerous and very inconvenient precedent.

The motion was then put and negatived.

LORD SUFFIELD then presented fifty petitions from various parts of England, for the total and immediate abolition of Slavery.

LORD ROLLE (as we understood) presented two petitions to the same effect.

The Marquis of SALISBURY said he had to present a petition against Slavery in England—he meant that slavery to which young children employed in our factories were subjected, and he would pray the good offices of the Noble Lord (Suffield) in aid of its abolition. He was sure that if the Noble Lord would bestow half the time and the valuable exertions for the abolition of this domestic slavery, which he had bestowed upon the abolition of Negro Slavery, it would be a most valuable aid to those who were engaged in putting an end to the former, and the Noble Lord might be quite as usefully employed.

LORD SUFFIELD said he had no objection to give any aid that he could offer for that important purpose, but if he had taken a more active part in endeavouring to put an end to Negro Slavery, it was because the poor Negro required greater aid, and he could not forget also that the factory children had a most powerful advocate in the Noble Marquis.

Now, we cannot perceive any just ground for this extreme alarm on the parts of LORDS GREY and LANSDOWNE, as to the danger of establishing a precedent in giving copies of such documents as the one adverted to. If it were useful to the public cause, it was surely as much a public document as any that can be imagined, coming from a public deputation, including delegates from all parts of the country, and addressed to the first Minister of the Crown. The inference will be, that there was something in its matter or tone which Ministers did not wish to make generally public; and this, whether a just inference or not, will excite distrust. They have done themselves injury, therefore, by giving grounds for such a feeling in any quarter whatever.

To the observations of the Marquis of SALISBURY, we equally object. This practice of setting the claims of one set of oppressed beings against the claims of any other set of similarly unfortunate individuals, is absurd as well unjust. The attention given by Lord Suffield, or by other persons, to the horrors of Negro Slavery cannot lessen, but would rather tend to increase, his feeling of sympathy for the distresses of the Factory Children. But, if any individual conceives it his duty to begin first with the removal of one class of evils, and other individuals should devote themselves first to the removal of some other class of evils, why should either be reproached, because they took up different subjects for the exercise of their first efforts of philanthropy, and reserved other subjects, to follow up, when their first should be attained? Surely it is desirable to encourage the exercise of benevolence for the removal of every evil that exists; and if some labour for the abolition of one, and others for the suppression of another, they each deserve praise for their respective labours, and not blame, because they did not do something else. In truth, however, those who feel for the oppressed in the one case, are also those who desire the removal of suffering in every other: and it is only those who feel for neither, that have recourse to this practice of contrasting one evil with another, and reproaching all who do not begin their labours in the exact way which they themselves would dictate.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 22.

An incident occurred at the opening of the evening sitting, in the House of Commons, which is well worthy of recording, as marking the tone and temper of the House, and showing the narrow and unworthy spirit of many of its members. We give the brief report of it from the Times.

Mr. T. ATTWOOD had a question to put to the noble lord, on the subject of the foreign policy of the country. It was well known that for a series of years it had been the object of Russia to get possession of Constantinople, and alarming rumours were in circulation, to the effect that Constantinople was by this time, or soon would be, in the possession of the Russians. He should be glad to hear from Ministers what steps they had taken to prevent the occurrence of an event so inconsistent with the interests of Europe, and the honour of this country. ("Oh! oh!")

Lord ALTHORP replied, that he did not think it would be proper to state what steps Government had taken.

The distant reader will be utterly at a loss to know what is the meaning of the exclamation of "Oh! oh!" which followed Mr. Attwood's question. It is, surely, a matter of *some* importance to England, whether Russia shall take possession of Constantinople, or not. It is not a petty turnpike affair, nor a question of personal dispute, but one of the most important that could be asked at the present moment, connected with the Foreign policy of the country. Why then, was it met with cries of "Oh! oh!"—a new mode of expressing impatience and contempt, introduced for the first time against Mr. Hunt, during the discussions on the Reform Bill:—was it because the question was unimportant? or because Birmingham was an inconsiderable town, whose members deserved neither courtesy nor attention? No; it was simply because Mr. Attwood, by the boldness of his opinions, and the part which he took, as President of the great Political Union of that town, has rendered himself obnoxious to the aristocratical section of the House, as well as to the timid and the subservient; and accordingly, whatsoever he might ask or say, would be almost sure to be ill received. If Sir Robert Peel, or Mr. Herries, had asked the same question, they would have been treated with the utmost respect; and cries of "Hear, hear," would have been re-echoed, instead of "Oh! oh!" Are the people of Tamworth, then, of more importance than the people of Birmingham? and has the small sea-port of Harwich a better claim to be heard, than the great and populous manufacturing district, of which Birmingham is the centre? Every one will answer, "No." It is clearly, then, not the Representative that is regarded in the House of Commons, but the Man. If the whole population of Birmingham were at the bar of the House, on one side, and the whole of the population of Tamworth and Harwich, together, at the bar, on the other—and each were to employ hired or paid counsel, to plead their respective claims, each would be at least equally heard. But when an unbought and unpaid Representative, the free and unbiassed choice of the people, is sent to be the chosen advocate of the people of Birmingham, *within*

the House, he is to be treated with contumely and scorn, because his opinions are too democratic for the prevailing majority of the House of which he is a member. This is a gross abuse of the freedom of debate, and deserves the reprobation of every honest man. When Mr. Attwood was at the head of the Political Union, and corresponded with Ministers, during the popular excitement out of doors, in favor of the Reform Bill, and of their return to office, he was treated with far more respect. But now, that he has served the purpose, and is no longer needed as an ally, this is the sort of treatment he receives at the hands of those, who, but for the exertions of men like himself, would never have carried the Reform Bill into a law, and many of whom would never have possessed a seat in that House at all.

The motion of Mr. M. ATTWOOD, for a Select Committee to enquire into the distresses of the country, and how far the Monetary System had occasioned the general embarrassment of all classes—was at length, after repeated postponements, brought on for discussion this evening. The debate lasted from six till one o'clock, seven continuous hours, of which Mr. Attwood's speech occupied three hours, at least; and therefore, any report of the details would be impossible, within the limits of our plan: but we will give the principal features of the views entertained, and arguments used, on either side.

Mr. ATTWOOD contended, first, that distress pervaded all the great interests of the country—the agricultural, the shipping, the mercantile, and the manufacturing;—that in none of these were the profits on capital at a remunerating scale; and that, consequently, the labouring population of the country, whose wages were greatly influenced by the rate of profits in every branch, were in a state of great destitution and distress. That was his ground for demanding an inquiry into the facts of such distress, which was the first object for which he desired a Committee. His next position was, that the changes in the value of the currency had had a very material influence in producing this distress; that the act of Mr. Peel, passed in 1819, compelling the Bank to pay in gold, had so enhanced the value of money, that all the public burthens were nearly doubled; that loans contracted in a paper currency, at the rate of £60. for every nominal £100. had now to be repaid in a metallic currency of £87. actual money for every £60. so borrowed: and that if the principal were not so repaid, the interest was raised in the same proportion; while the consequent decline of prices and wages had been such, as, operating with the increased burthens, to be paid out of decreased means, to bring all classes into a worse condition than if such change in the currency had not taken place; and on that ground he demanded a Committee to enquire into the truth or soundness of this opinion, and to report their opinion thereon to the House.

Mr. ATTWOOD, though full of matter, is a monotonous and tedious speaker, and has a habit of thumping the box or table, before which he stands, at the close of every sentence, and sometimes at every emphatic word. This, in so long an address, became very wearisome, even to those who agreed with his views, and he laboured also under

the disadvantage of not being cheered or supported in the usual way by those who sat around him, and who were prepared to vote in favour of his motion; so that the speech was less effective than it would otherwise have been, had these demonstrations accompanied it.

LORD ALTHORP rose to reply to Mr. ATTWOOD, and was received with loud cheers. Lord Althorp's usual manner is not superior to, though entirely different from, Mr. Attwood's. He is in general embarrassed for expressions—is never fluent—often repeats the same thoughts, and same words over again; but is always gentle, quiet, and full of blandness of manner. He never aims at effect—never vociferates, or swings his arms, or thumps the table, or gives any indication of earnest zeal or strong feeling: but always appears to be frank and unreserved in his statements, and chiefly bent on *persuading* the House, by mild means, to adopt his views. On this occasion, of replying to Mr. Attwood, however, he rose with more determination, spoke with greater fluency, evinced more energy, and was altogether more animated, and oratorical than we had ever witnessed before. It was thus that he used language which might have been expected from any other quarter rather than from him, when he said, that “by this motion of Mr. Attwood, the House were called upon to decide whether they were prepared to stand by the system on which all the contracts of the country depended, or whether, on the other hand, they were prepared (to use the words of the Hon. Member,) *to adopt a course of confiscation and robbery.*”

Now, it cannot be denied, that under the *existing* system, there is confiscation and robbery, inasmuch as the labouring poor who pay far more than their share of the interest of the National Debt, have a perpetual drain upon their hard-won earnings, to pay the interest of 800 millions, of which not more than 500 millions were ever actually lent, and even the portion of this Debt that was contracted was avowedly for the protection of the *property* of the country, in which the poor had no share, and for the safety of which the property of the rich should be alone made to contribute. There is *here*, therefore, confiscation and robbery practised on the poor; and by a reversal of the state of things, there would be confiscation and robbery practised on the rich. Both of these are, to us, objectionable: but if we were compelled to prefer the one to the other, we certainly should not choose the first.

LORD ALTHORP contended against the fact of general distress, which he asserted did not exist to the extent alleged; and, on that ground, he should resist the Committee: but as the real object of Mr. Attwood was to depreciate the currency, though an enquiry into the alleged distress was the pretext for such a step, he should meet the motion by an amendment, and call upon the House to adopt the following resolution, “That it is the opinion of this House that any alteration in the Monetary System of this country, which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value, is highly inexpedient.”

We agree with Lord Althorp entirely, in his amendment. We conceive that the Legislature never ought to have altered the standard

of value; and that it ought not to do so now. Any attempt on the part of any Government to raise or depress prices by enactments for fixing positive or relative value, is an interference with the freedom of commerce which ought never to be tolerated. The precious metals, gold and silver, are in such universal estimation, wherever known, as to form the best general standard of value and instrument of exchange: and as long as commercial intercourse exists between different countries, it is important to preserve this instrument of exchange free from either elevation or depression beyond the changes which the relation between the supply and demand will always effect. But, though we think thus strongly, and should oppose to the utmost any legislative interference that should alter the standard of value, we see no reason in this for refusing a Committee to inquire into the existing distress, and to ascertain how far the monetary system of past or present times has had an influence in producing this distress. If there be differences of opinion as to whether distress really exists or not, the enquiries of the Committee would set these at rest. If there be doubts as to its causes, supposing it does exist, enquiry might remove these doubts: and *when* the distress had been proved, and its causes ascertained, the appropriate remedy might be proposed. But, if the result of the Committee should be to shew that general distress did not exist—or if it did, that the monetary system had had no influence in producing it, surely this would be an object worth attaining; as it would then shew, beyond all question, that no change in the monetary system was either necessary or desirable. On every ground, therefore, of policy as well as justice, we should, though perfectly agreeing with Lord Althorp's amendment, nevertheless vote for the appointment of the Committee.

Mr. GROTE seconded Lord Althorp's amendment; and opposed the going into an enquiry, on the ground that it would be interminable and unsatisfactory. He contended that great general results, such as increase or decrease of exports and imports, and consumption of the necessities and comforts of life, were better criteria of prosperity or adversity than any cases that could be selected from particular interests or particular districts of the country; and a comparison of prices, with the issues of the Bank at corresponding periods, a better criterion for determining whether the monetary system had any effect in producing these changes than any other. He then read several documents to shew that the exports, imports, and consumption, had gradually been increasing for many years past, and that the issues of the Bank were greatest while prices were lowest; so that other causes must be sought for than the scarcity of money to account for their decline.

Now, we agree with Mr. Grote in deprecating all debasement of the standard of value: but we differ from him entirely in the standard of *general* comfort being the increased import of cotton wool, which we admit has largely increased, or the export of manufactured goods, which has also increased in an equal degree—it being notorious that such increase of imports and exports proves only that more work is

done in England from year to year; that by the increase of mechanical power, and the extension of the hours of labour, much more is done in the way of business than used to be done before; but the profit enjoyed by masters is less—the wages received by workmen is less—and, with *double* the amount of capital and labour, not more than half the profit is made, to divide among a largely increased population. The increased consumption of tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoa, which were cited as proofs of increased comforts, has arisen from two causes—first, the greater number of mouths to consume, and great decline in the prices of the articles themselves; but the misfortune has been, that in many cases, tea and sugar, and coffee and cocoa, instead of being *additions* to the consumption of families among the labouring classes, have been used as *substitutes* for beef, and mutton, and pork—for bread, and butter, and cheese; and that the use of these foreign products, which, with the rich, are additions to their more solid repasts, may mark a change from substantial to innutritious diet, and be a consequence of the increased poverty rather than a proof of the increased wealth of the labouring population. It was not long since Mr. Spring Rice read, in the House of Commons, a statement of the increased consumption of whiskey as a proof of the great increase of comforts among the population of Ireland; and the increased consumption of tobacco has also been cited as proofs of the increased comforts of the labouring poor of England. But, we know that tobacco and whiskey are both used as means of allaying hunger, and giving the artificial stimulus which satisfies for the moment the cravings of want; and that while their use proves nothing, as regards the good feeding of the parties using them, they are both destructive of health, injurious to morals, and are more frequently resorted to as temporary alleviations of care and distress than as additions to enjoyments previously possessed.

Again, a very large increase might take place in the consumption of every kind of necessary, of comfort, and of luxury, by the whole nation; but if, on enquiry, it should be found that this was chiefly made by additions to the enjoyment of the wealthy, whose riches might be progressively accumulating, while the poor might be getting every year lower and lower in the scale—this would not be a benefit but an evil. Every increase to the wealth of the already wealthy, if it be drawn from the taxes paid by the poor—and such increase of wealth does take place from this cause, when those who live upon the taxes, such as the army, navy, public servants, annuitants on the national debt, &c., are augmented in numbers,—though it may lead to greatly increased consumption among those classes, cannot be considered an index of prosperity among any but themselves—while it would be a proof of increased suffering and privation among those from whom these taxes were drawn to pay those classes by whom the consumption was effected.

Mr. COBBETT was for granting the Committee—and although he agreed with Mr. Attwood that the changes in the monetary system had *caused* great distress—yet, his remedy was, not an increased issue

of paper, or a depreciation of the standard of value, but an adherence to the gold and silver currency; and, with it, a cutting down of all the taxes to the standard of 1792. To contrast that scale of expenditure with the present year, 1833, he read the following statement, compiled from official documents :—

In the year 1792 the whole cost of the navy, including ordinaries, extraordinary, and every expense, was—

The whole expense of the army	£1,985,482	0	0
The whole expense of the ordnance	1,819,460	0	0
	422,001	0	0

£4,226,943 0 0

The interest of the debt was - - £9,000,000 0 0

The whole annual expenditure - - 15,000,000 0 0

In the year 1833 the whole cost of the navy, army, and ordnance, was as follows:—

Navy - - - - £4,658,134 0 0

Army - - - - 8,766,254 0 0

Ordnance - - - - 1,455,223 0 0

£14,879,611 0 0

The interest of the debt - - - £28,000,000 0 0

The annual expenditure - - - 46,000,000 0 0

In 1792, admirals - 44 In 1833 - - 170

In 1792, captains - 622 In 1833 - - 1,084

Made since the peace, 110 admirals and 413 captains.

There is now one commissioned officer to every eight sailors and marines. One captain to every fourteen; and one admiral to every 125.

In 1792, Admiralty and Navy Boards - £58,000 0 0

In 1832, the same cost - - 147,000 0 0

The half-pay, allowances, and pensions, in 1833, 1,625,603 0 0

As much as the whole navy in 1792, all but 359,879*l*.

The wages of 22,500 sailors and marines, (including officers) for a year, 687,375*l*.

113 of the privy councillors (leaving out royal family and bishops) receive 650,000*l*. a-year.

That was the way that we had been made poor—that was the way in which our substance was wasted. If, since the peace of 1814, our affairs had been managed as they were in the year 1792, we should have paid, in taxes, 216,000,000*l*. of principal money less than we have paid since the peace; and, including interest, here is a sum of 400,000,000*l*. of money. Half the debt might thus have been paid off by money that has gone into the pockets of the aristocracy.

Mr. RICHARDS advocated the granting of the Committee; and Mr. FORSTER opposed it: their views on the subject being almost diametrically opposed.

Mr. POULETT THOMSON, as a member of the Government, followed in nearly the same train of argument as Lord Althorp. He denied the existence of general distress at all; and read extracts of letters he had received in answer to enquiries sent by him to the principal

authorities of the towns of Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham, from each of which the returns shewed most favourable results. We select the principal passages relative to each of the four :—

The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Glasgow had informed him that during the last year things had very much improved, and that the prospects of the ensuing year were so favourable that many persons entertained fears that a *little further prosperity* would be productive of the evils of overtrading. Calico printing was in a prosperous state, the silk manufacture went on very well, and the hands in different classes of trade and manufacture had full employment; and, with the exception of the hand-loom weavers, received good wages.

In Sheffield, in 1818, the poor-rates amounted of 31,000*l.*; in 1820 they were 37,000*l.*; in 1830, 18,000*l.* and in 1832, 17,000*l.*, showing a diminution of more than one half since 1820, and in those ten years of misery and distress, the population had materially increased, while the rates had fallen above one-half. (Hear.) The Master Cutler of Sheffield informed him that the workmen of that place were as well off and as comfortable as they had been during any time for the last thirty years.

He held in his hand a letter from a gentleman residing in Manchester, who had forwarded him a return of the wages of labour as compared with the price of provisions, with which, however, he would not trouble the House. The writer stated that his account showed that since 1813 there had been a progressive improvement in the condition of the people: in consequence of inventions facilitating and increasing the production of yarn, and owing to the employment of their children, the people were better fed and clothed than formerly; their employment was never more regular; and, putting out of the question of course the hand-loom weavers, wages were good, and the state of trade satisfactory.

What was the report he had received from a gentleman of Birmingham well qualified to form an opinion on the subject? He stated that, from an experience of more than fifty years, he felt justified in saying that he never saw the artisans of the place better fed, clothed, and housed, than at present; as respected the town itself he perceived every symptom of improvement; the property of the place, and within four miles of it, had increased in value 25 per cent. within the last fifteen years; the increase of parochial expenditure was trifling compared with the increased population; almost all transactions were conducted upon money terms, the canals had a larger amount of tonnage passing through them than had been ever before known, and all the public institutions were well supported.

If these statements be correct, and we do not call their accuracy in question, why should the Ministers object to the granting a Committee, before which it would be so easy to establish them by proof? Why should not these very gentlemen, who furnished these letters from Glasgow, Sheffield, Manchester, and Birmingham, be called before the Committee, and allowed to substantiate their assertions, by evidence of the most incontrovertible kind? We will insert here a few statements of rather an opposite description, as to other places, and on undoubted authority; and let the reader judge whether abundant reasons do not exist for an Enquiry, at least, into the general state of the case.

In a Survey made in January, 1833, the condition of the Poor, in

thirty-three Townships of the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, and two in Yorkshire, mostly employed in the manufacture of cotton, woollen, and silk, attested by upwards of fifty churchwardens, overseers, constables, and others employed: the result of the whole was thus:—

Population of the Districts	-	-	-	203,349
Number of Families visited	-	-	-	8,362
Number of Individuals in these	-	-	-	49,294
Out of Work	-	-	-	2,287
Unfit for Work	-	-	-	23,060
Number of Workers	-	-	-	23,947
<hr/>				
Total Weekly Wages	-	-	-	£4447 18 0
Average Weekly Wages of each	-	-	-	3 8½
Average Weekly Receipt of each Person	-	-	-	1 9½
Average Weekly Rent paid	-	-	-	0 3
Average ditto, with Fuel, Light, &c.	-	-	-	0 6½
For Food, Clothing, per head, per week	-	-	-	1 3½

On such a statement as this, it would be an insult to the humanity of our readers, to make any comment: it will speak for itself, and cannot fail to move the heart of every one that reads it. We super-add another equally melancholy statement, from another part of the country, near Glasgow. It is still more recent than the preceding, being dated Kilsyth, April 5, 1833; and is thus given in the Glasgow Free Press of the following day:—

CONDITION OF THE OPERATIVE WEAVERS.—The subject to which the following affidavits have reference, is so extremely important and interesting; that we stretch a point, notwithstanding their length, to give them a place. In explanation it may be necessary to state, that in consequence of the incongruous information which has been elicited of late in the House of Commons, respecting the real condition of the labouring classes, it was thought proper, at a public meeting, to appoint a committee to enquire into the state of those in and around this place. As the population, with few exceptions, consist altogether of hand-loom weavers, the committee considered it unnecessary to carry their researches farther than that class; and to arrive with accuracy at their real earnings, a number of weaving agents were desired to examine their books with the greatest care, and find out what was the net money each weaver had got, whom they had employed during the last three months. The average is seen in their depositions; and, to put it beyond the possibility of a quibble, it was thought proper to take them upon oath. A petition founded on the facts is in course of preparation, praying for inquiry into the cause of distress, and will be despatched to Mr. Grillon immediately. If many such petitions and affidavits were laid before the House, a motion similar to that of Mr. Attwood's would not be rejected a second time:—

AFFIDAVITS.

Upon this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the Bailie and Councillors of the burgh of Kilsyth, James Morrison, weaving agent, who depones and saith, that he has been employed as a weaving agent in Kilsyth for several years. That it is consistent with his knowledge, that the price paid for hand-loom weaving, during the said period, has, compared with the former state of trade, house-rent, and provisions, been very low. That, from daily intercourse with those employed by him, he is aware that great destitution and poverty prevails among them. And he farther depones and

saith, that in order to ascertain the average amount of wages received by said hand-loom weavers, deponent hath examined and collated his books and accounts, and findeth, that, during the last three months, the said average rate of wages paid to, and received by, said hand-loom weavers, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of three shillings and tenpence-halfpenny per week, from which one shilling per week must be deducted for loom-rent and candles, leaving them only two shillings and tenpence halfpenny per week, for house rent, food, clothing, children's education, church accommodation, and other numerous incidental charges. And deponent farther saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge and belief, that the said average amount of wages has been lower than just now stated, within, and during the last twelvemonths. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

Upon the same day appeared Daniel M'Farlane, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 54; has been employed as a weaver about forty-three years, is generally acquainted with the different descriptions of work that have been wrought in and about Kilsyth for more than twenty years: that he has been acquainted with the condition and habits of the working population during the period above stated, and that he has observed a great deterioration in the domestic comfort of the people around him, arising in his apprehension from the great reduction in the rate of wages paid to workmen, in all the departments that he is acquainted with in the manufacture of cotton goods. That the people generally are poorly fed, and worse clothed; that people in his situation of life are frequently compelled to neglect the education of their children, partly from poverty, and partly from the pressing demands made upon them, to avail themselves of the earliest possible opportunity of increasing their income, by the labours of their infant children. And deponent farther states that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all other things. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

DANIEL M'FARLANE.

JAMES INGLIS, *Bailie*.

Council Chambers, Kilsyth, March 26th, 1833.

Kilsyth, 28th March, 1833.

I have long been acquainted with the above deponents, and have no reason to question the truth of what they have said. In course of discharging his duty, the subscriber had been called for more than thirty years, statedly and occasionally, to visit many families in this place and neighbourhood, and is well acquainted with their circumstances. He has of late years observed a progressive deterioration in household furniture, and the dress of parents and children. He knows that in various cases the education of the young has been neglected through poverty, and the attendance of the aged on the public services of religion has been given up through want of proper clothing. That friendly and charitable institutions are allowed to languish, and the necessaries of life in many cases procured with difficulty. Every thing, indeed, bespeaks a state of wretched destitution, and unless some means be devised for alleviating the public distress, the most deplorable consequences may be expected.

JOHN ANDERSON, *Minister*.

I feel myself called upon to declare that the preceding facts and statements are consistent with the knowledge and experience of seventeen years, which I have had among the class of the community referred to.

JAMES INGLIS, *Bailie*.

Kilsyth, 1st April, 1833.

Kilsyth, 1st April, 1833.

I have examined the above statements, and am acquainted more or less with the individuals who have made said statements upon oath, and I attach entire credit to the fidelity and accuracy of their report as to the lamentably low state of the weaving department of our trade. I have known this place for nearly twelve years past, during which period the weaving conducted here has been all along in a depressed state, and the effects are but too apparent in the diminution of comfort in domestic life, neglect of education, and attendance on religious ordinances, occasioned in many instances by depressed circumstances.

W. BURNS, *Minister of the Parish of Kilsyth.*

We, subscribing to the above statements, as consisting with our knowledge, have, in addition, to state, that the weekly earnings as above, low as they are, go on the supposition that the weavers have constant employment, and labour the usual hours, that is, 14 hours a day!

JAMES LANG, *Elder.*

ALEXANDER HENDERSON, *Elder.*

We have given these at some length, though there are seven other affidavits equally appalling; each sworn to, and signed by the official authorities, because we deem such statements of equal importance with any of those given by Mr. Poulett Thomson or Mr. Grote: and if any one can say, after this, that a state of distress, requiring legislative enquiry and legislative relief, does not exist in the country, then is all evidence useless, and all testimony vain.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 23.

SIR HENRY WILLOUGHBY opened the adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Attwood, in which he defended himself and those who supported the motion for a Committee, from the imputation of a design to act fraudulently towards the public creditor, or to any other class; but while he *knew* that the majority of the twenty-five millions of the population of the country were in a state of suffering, and a large number destitute of the requisite supply of food and clothing, and while he *believed* that the existing Monetary System had had a great influence in producing this state of things, he was justified in demanding enquiry to put the truth or falsehood of this view to the test.

Mr. CLAY opposed the motion, on the ground that the alleged distress was greatly exaggerated, and that the object of the motion was to depreciate the currency.

Mr. WHITMORE said, that if the motion should be carried, it would throw the whole country into confusion.

Now we must say, that this is taking a most extraordinary view of the effect of granting a Committee to enquire,—for that is all that is asked. One would think that the motion before the House was to decide at once that the standard of value should be lowered, from the alarm expressed by many members. Even if the Committee came to the conclusion that it would be *desirable* to lower the standard; though, without the evidence leading to this result, such a conclusion could not be arrived at;—it would be still open to the House to deter-

mine whether such a recommendation should be adopted or not: and therefore we do not believe that the least confusion or alarm would happen out of doors, if the Committee were granted to-morrow. It is a powerful argument, however, to the fears of the timid, and as such it has been skilfully used. Mr. Whitmore's remedy for the distress was Emigration, a plan for which he intended soon to bring before the House. We contend that population ought to be a source of strength and wealth, if well governed; and, that to export productive beings to other lands, instead of providing them with employment at home, which it is quite in the power of the Government to do, is an error of the greatest magnitude, as we shall take an early occasion of shewing more at length.

Mr. FRYER insisted that the alleged distress was not exaggerated, but exists in full force. He did not attribute this, however, to any operations of the currency, but to the oppressive burthen of the Corn Laws.

Mr. CAYLEY shewed that notwithstanding the Corn Laws, the agricultural interests were in a most deplorable condition: and said that while the fundholder was now receiving his interest on £87, for every £60 he had lent to the Government, the landholder was now receiving £40 or £50 for rents fixed by existing leases at £100. He warned the Government of the situation in which they were placed. They had relief on one hand, and revolution on the other. If they gave relief in the way that he proposed, a child might guide the machine of Government with a silken cord; if they refused it, an angel from heaven would not be able to manage it. He prayed God to inspire his Majesty's Ministers to grant what they had yet the power to grant. In a very short time they would neither have the power to grant nor deny; for the flood-gates of the State would be burst open, the waters would rush out, and they would be overwhelmed by one wild deluge of dismay, revolution, and ruin.

The only other two speeches of the evening were those of Mr. Baring and Sir Robert Peel; each of which were of great length, and in opposition to the motion.

Mr. BARING gave a history of all the financial discussions and changes, from the days of Mr. Vansittart and the Bullion Committee, down to the present time. He thought the return to cash payments in 1819 was ill-judged in many respects; but that measure having been completed, he could never advocate its change. He was willing, however, to admit of these improvements: 1st. That silver as well as gold should form part of the standard of value. 2nd. That country bankers should be allowed to pay their own notes in Bank of England paper, which might be made a legal tender for that purpose instead of gold. And 3rdly, that if these changes should prove to be beneficial, in giving greater security to paper money, he might then be disposed to permit the re-issue of one pound Bank of England notes.

SIR ROBERT PEEL did not rise till past twelve o'clock: his speech lasted till past two. It was a very able and eloquent address—going over the whole question of finance, from his entry into public life, up

to the present time. He defended the return to cash payments in 1819: and did not shrink from the full responsibility for all its consequences, though it was somewhat hard to fix them all on him, since the Bill which he brought in had received the full sanction of the whole body of the Legislature, having gone through both Houses of Parliament without a dissentient voice. He was exceedingly happy in his sarcasms on Mr. Cobbett, who, however, had, from the lateness of the hour, left the House long before Sir Robert Peel rose: and he protested equally against the modifications suggested by Mr. Baring, to not one of which could he give his assent. He was for adhering to the existing standard, and not permitting the legal tender of Bank of England Notes by the Country Bankers, or the re-issue of one pound notes by the Bank of England. He believed that much of the existing distress was owing to the late political excitement about Reform, which he thought was now happily passing away; and he conjured the House not to grant the Committee, as all commercial and money transactions would be suspended during the long protracted enquiry, and much misery would ensue.

When Sir Robert Peel sat down, which he did amidst loud cheers on all sides, for it was impossible not to admit the talent and eloquence of the orator, however differing from the views of the statesman,—Col. TORRENS rose to move the adjournment of the debate: and a scene of riotous confusion arose, which brought back the stormy nights of the Irish Coercion Bill debates. For several minutes, neither the Colonel nor the Speaker could be heard, amidst the Babel of conflicting sounds vociferated on every side,—as adjourn, adjourn!—go on, go on!—divide, divide!—bar, bar!—chair, chair!—order, order!—question, question! &c. &c. The tempest somewhat abating, Lord ALTHORP rose, and wished the debate to be *continued*, it being then past two o'clock! The adjournment, however, was persisted in, moved and seconded, and a division took place: For the adjournment, 98, and against it 398; there being then 496 Members present: and 50 at least had left the House from the impossibility of remaining longer. The body of the House was crowded in every part, even the side-galleries were nearly full; the heat was intense, and the want of ventilation suffocating. In short, to sit, as most of those present had done, from 4 o'clock, when the House met to ballot for election committees, till two in the morning, ten successive hours, in a cramped seat, without room to change the position for relief, in a heated atmosphere of animal evaporation, wearied by the tediousness of many of the speakers, and the hearing scarcely any thing in the shape of fact or argument which they had not often heard and considered before, is enough to destroy the constitution of the strongest; and if men were doomed to such an infliction for six months in succession, as a penance, it would be accounted one of the severest punishments that could be imposed. The adjournment was ultimately granted, and the House broke up at half-past two o'clock, so that it was four at least before most of the Members could get to bed.

We have seen an extract of a Letter from some new Member for

one of the Country Boroughs, in the *Sheffield Iris*, of Tuesday last, which so strongly depicts the feelings entertained by himself on the fatigues he had undergone, that we transcribe it here, believing, as we do, from the expressions which we have heard from many, who, like himself, have left their business, their families, and their homes, to come to London, under the best wishes and strongest hopes of being able to take their full share in the general business of Parliament, and thus effect some good for their country, that we transcribe some portion of it here. It is thus :—

“An M. P. for one of the new boroughs, in writing to his friend in the country, describes, in glowing colours, the fatigues he has undergone since he took his seat, all of which, he says, “I could bear with patience, could I console myself with thinking I had given satisfaction to my constituents, but this is denied to me. I am daily assailed by their letters, inquiring what I am doing, and expressing their surprise that they never see my speeches reported in the newspapers. If I am silent, it is not that I am afraid to speak, for to confess the truth I have heard as good speaking in our political union, and I think I could acquit myself as well as many, and perhaps better than some whom I have heard; but my friends are not aware of the difficulty of edging in a word. There are three fellows,—O’Connell, Hume, and Cobbett, who would require a house for themselves, and who would allow no one, if they could, to speak but themselves; besides twenty others, all ready to bounce off, like so many horses at the starting post at Doncaster, and thrusting themselves forward to catch the speaker’s eye for the call. Taking then, the labour, the expense, the inconvenience, and the sacrifice of domestic comfort in living so far from home, and the derangement of my family economy, and loss in trade consequent upon my absence, you will not wonder that I am heartily sick of a parliamentary life. I own that I was not totally unprepared to encounter some difficulties, but those I have experienced have greatly exceeded my estimate. I have only now to add, my dear friend, that if in the event of a dissolution, you should be inclined to succeed me in the representation of the borough, I shall not stand in your way, but, on the contrary, I shall afford you my most strenuous and active support.”

HOUSE OF COMMONS:—APRIL 24.

The third night’s debate on Mr. Attwood’s motion, was opened by Colonel TORRENS, who went into an elaborate history of the coinage and currency of the country, from the year 1257 up to the present time. He denied that Mr. Peel’s Bill had protected us from any of the difficulties for which it was assumed to be a remedy: and he thought that the present system, if persevered in, would sooner or later, produce some tremendous crisis, which would plunge us into a state too fearful to be contemplated. He approved of the plan of a *Government* paper currency, to the extent of 40 millions, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might advantageously employ 30 millions, at the rate of five millions per annum for the reduction of taxes; and the other ten millions would be most advantageously employed in providing labour for the Irish poor, at home, to prevent their great influx into this country. He was against lowering the

present standard of value; but he would, nevertheless, vote for the Committee of Enquiry, both of which, he maintained, were compatible with each other.

Mr. STEWART spoke in favour of, and Mr. STRUTT against, the motion: and Mr. ROBINSON, who advocated the going into Committee, though he was against lowering the standard of value, quoted the following striking observations from a speech of Lord Brougham, on a motion for enquiry, not very dissimilar to the present. The following is the passage of his speech:—

‘In 1822, the present Lord Chancellor brought forward a motion for an inquiry into the state of the country, on which occasion he drew a vivid picture of the distresses of all classes of the community, and alluded to the measures which it might be necessary to resort to in order to remedy it. These were his words—“His decided opinion on the subject was, that where the pressure was so great, and the interests so mighty—for the very existence of the State was bound up in the prosperity of the land—the country had only one limit to relief—the making that relief decidedly effectual—that if one measure of reduction would not do, recourse must be had to another, and from thence to another; and that if all reductions should be found insufficient, the country must prepare for other measures—for measures only to be justified by a paramount unreasoning necessity. Once more, then, if economy was not found effectual, Parliament was bound to do that which would be found effectual; for, at all events, and at all hazards, it was their duty to save the State. God forbid that any man should even whisper such an expedient as that from which every well-cultivated mind must recoil—the compounding with the public creditor, or tampering with the currency, while Parliament possessed the power of relieving the existing distress by a diminution of taxation.” It was evident that the noble lord, when he delivered that passage, expected that the country would be placed in a situation in which it would be necessary to resort to measures very different from those which they had adopted for the relief of the people.’

Sir HENRY PARNELL was against lowering the standard of value, but he advocated the going into Committee, and truly observed, that great good, and no evil, could result from this. After arguing in favour of retaining the present standard, he said—

‘It was for these reasons he would give his vote against the motion of the hon. member; but, in doing so, he wished to be understood, he was by no means opposed to inquiry into the state of the country. He was anxious, on the contrary, that inquiry should take place (hear, hear), and he was sorry the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not proposed on the present occasion that committees should be appointed to make this inquiry. He did not mean an inquiry into all those subjects which had been introduced into discussion in this debate, but a practical inquiry into the state of trade and into the condition of the working classes. He thought an inquiry into the state of trade would not only be attended with the good effect of ascertaining to what extent distress really existed, but into that of showing means by which the interests of it might be promoted. He conceived it would lead to the taking off many restrictions which now fettered it. With respect to the working class, an inquiry into the wages and the expenses of this class would produce a great deal of useful information (hear), and besides leading to measures for the improvement of its condition, would make it known how far distress really existed.’

Mr. LAMBERT warmly advocated the going into the Committee: and concluded his arguments in favour of a revision of our Monetary System, by saying:—

The house had been told that there was no distress in the country. He had been astonished at hearing that statement from the quarters whence it came. They would find themselves deceived, when the middle classes were exhausted and reduced to the last penny, and a few capitalists were surrounded by a starving multitude. He was disgusted at the theories of over-population and the specifics of emigration. To hear a wealthy philosopher stand up and say to a starving and once-happy population, "Go elsewhere; here you are superabundant!" When those with whom he now voted asked for general enquiry into these subjects, they were told that it would lead to too great lengths; and if they asked for inquiry on one point only, they were then told that was precisely the point which should not be inquired into: just as if, on the commission of a murder, when a man was suspected of being the murderer, it should be said, "Let us not enter into the slightest examination that may bring the crime home to him." He called on the House of Commons not to signalize itself by agreeing to an amendment which would put aside the demand for inquiry. He entreated them not to stifle inquiry at the bidding of the minister. He had supported his majesty's ministers on former occasions, with some cost to himself; and with the same determination with which he supported them, did he implore the house to consent to the motion for an inquiry, whether some relief could not be afforded to the country by an alteration of its monetary system.

Mr. WALTER opposed the motion, but urged no new argument on the subject.

Sir C. BURRELL denied that the relaxation of the currency was the object sought for by those who desired this investigation. The only relaxation of the currency which they desired was such an addition to the paper currency as should be based upon and convertible into gold. If the plan which had been proposed by the late Sir Robert Peel had been followed, much of the distress which had since taken place in the country would have been avoided. The plan of that right hon. baronet was, that a country banker should deposit £20,000 for instance, or any given sum to the proposed extent of his business,—that this sum should be invested in the public funds,—and that while the banker should receive the interest, he should be allowed to issue notes to the amount of his deposit, the deposit itself being retained as a security to the public for his paper issues. That would have afforded to the country an efficient circulation, and at the same time would have been a perfect security to the holders of the notes. It was said that our system of coinage worked well, but how could that be said to work well which put the country to an expense of £1,400,000 a year! They were told that a paper currency would drive the metallic currency out of circulation, and would cripple the resources of the country. But let them look to the state of Russia. In that country the paper ruble was the only legal tender, whilst the silver ruble was not a legal tender, and yet at the present moment all Europe trembled at Russia. This would show that a paper currency was not that system by which the resources of a country were likely to be paralyzed.

Mr. MORRISON opposed the motion; and spoke at some length. He was not for altering the standard of value, but bringing down taxation in every possible way.

Sir JOHN WROTTESLY rose to speak, but his voice was drowned amidst clamorous cries of "Question;" which continuing for some minutes to prevent a word of what he said being heard, he declared that if the House would not listen to the observations he had to make, he was determined that no other speaker should be heard. This gave rise to further cries of "Order, order;" and at length attention being restored, he spoke in favour of going into a Committee. Sir John Wrottesly is a man of fortune—a County Member—a very moderate reformer—one who seldom intrudes on the House—and has been in Parliament some thirty years;—and this is the reception he now receives! Such conduct on the part of the clamouring Members is truly disgraceful.

After a short speech against the motion from Mr. JOHN SMITH, Mr. ATTWOOD rose to reply, and, in the course of his address, the following scene is reported as having taken place;—we quote the exact words of the *Times* report, in order that it may not be supposed to be an exaggeration or partial statement of our own.

'By agreeing to the motion which he had proposed, the House would be tied down to no particular measure; but if they adopted the amendment proposed by the Noble Lord, they would be pledged to a line of conduct which, if a war should break out in six months, and the probability of such an event was made a pretext for keeping up extravagant establishments, they would immediately be obliged to depart from it. (*At this period an hon. member who had frequently coughed in a very peculiar manner, repeated the noise in so loud a tone as to raise a cry of "Order;" and from one hon. member the (for the House of Commons) unusual exclamation of "Turn him out."*)

And is it come to this? that the House of Commons, the legislative assembly of the land, in which more of grave dignity, and solemn earnestness of attention, ought to be found, than in any other assembly of the country,—should be disgraced by scenes and sounds unworthy even the shilling gallery of a provincial theatre? Alas! "how are the mighty fallen," that we are come to this: when in a momentous discussion on the greatest of all questions that can be discussed,—whether national distress prevails; and, if it does, by what steps it can be remedied;—an honest and zealous representative of the people should be assailed by brute sounds of disgraceful vociferation, and cries of "Turn him out!" This is the consequence of Nocturnal Legislation, when all the angry passions are more liable to be excited than by day: and when the joint operations of late hours, weariness, impatience, and intoxication, after intemperate dinners, which occurs almost every night, produce feelings and conduct which would never occur by day.

At the close of Mr. Attwood's speech, the House divided.—For his Motion, 139; against it, 331. Lord Althorp then put his motion, not as an amendment as originally proposed, but as a substantive motion,

—"That any alteration in the monetary system of the country, which should have the effect of lowering the standard of value, would be inexpedient and dangerous." Upon which Mr. ATTWOOD moved as an amendment,—“That a Select Committee be appointed, having regard to that motion, to enquire into the general distress of the working classes, and to suggest some measures of relief.”

Lord ALTHORP argued against this being put as an amendment; and wished to have it put as a substantive motion.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said that the distress was asserted to exist,—he believed that it had been alleviated—and that the poor were *well-fed* and *well-clothed*!

It is extremely difficult for us to say what the honorable baronet's notion of good feeding and good clothing may be:—but if instead of living in splendour in St. James' Place, visiting the mansions of the nobility, and mixing with the aristocracy at the fashionable clubs, Sir Francis could be prevailed upon to make a tour through the country—visit the manufacturing poor of Oldham—Macclesfield—Glasgow—and Kilsyth, on the way,—he would return from his journey with more accurate impressions.—Lord STORMONT expressed astonishment, as well he might, at Sir FRANCIS's assertion that there was no distress;—when the honorable Baronet corrected or rather varied the form of his assertion, by saying “that there were *two sorts* of distress;—that there *was* distress among the HIGHER and MIDDLE CLASSES:—and that there MIGHT BE ANOTHER KIND of distress amongst the working classes, but from what he had *heard* from *well-informed* persons, we had reason to *flatter ourselves* that there was *no distress* amongst THEM.”—We have quoted the words from the *Times* report, to avoid all risk of misconception: and certainly we must say, that tho' the speech of the honorable Baronet was short, it contained more of novelty and originality than many longer ones that had been delivered on the same subject.—The *two sorts* of distress are these:—one arises from having more money than can be usefully employed—this is the distress of the HIGHER classes.—The remedy for this is easy: and as Sir Francis is himself no doubt one of those subject to this kind of distress, he might patriotically be the first to try the experiment: namely, by giving up, at once, the amount of surplus wealth in their hands which they can not profitably employ, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and educate the ignorant among their fellow beings. The *other sort* of distress, that felt amongst the LOWER classes—is just the opposite to the former, and arises from their not having money enough to pay their taxes and support their families in comfort.—The remedy for this is to relieve them altogether from the burthen of the former, that they might apply the amount thus saved to increase the latter.—There is abundant wealth in the country—no one doubts that—and more than enough of sufficient substance and comfortable clothing for every man, woman, and child in the kingdom.—What is wanted is a *better distribution*: and this can only be obtained by relieving the poor from every species of contribution to the taxes of the country, con-

fining the taxes on the middle classes to a moderate amount, proportioned to their means ;—and making the rich bear, as they ought to bear, their full share towards supporting the burthens of the State. But as long as “men of property” are generally preferred as legislators—as long as “great wealth,” whether in lands or funds, is held to be a recommendation in a Representative—and the two Houses are composed chiefly of rich men—so long will the middle and lower classes be made to bear the burthens with all the weight that they can sustain—while the higher classes will so legislate as to exempt *themselves* and their relatives from the payment of their due share ; till a growing feeling of indignation against this injustice shall rouse the whole nation to shake off this incubus on its industry and its happiness : and *then* the distress of the HIGHER classes will be more intolerable than even that which is felt by the LOWER classes now. May Heaven avert this impending calamity ! But the only human means by which it can be avoided is that revision of our whole system of taxation, to which the Ministers and their supporters, in a sort of blindness and infatuation, appear determined to shut their eyes.

In the division on Mr. ATTWOOD’s amended motion—the Members were—For the Committee of Enquiry only, 134 ;—Against the Committee of Enquiry, 271.—After this, Lord ALTHORP’s original amendment, “That any alteration in the monetary system, which should have the effect of lowering the standard of value, would be inexpedient and dangerous,” was put, when the numbers were, For this amendment 304, Against it 49.—The House then adjourned at half-past 3 o’clock—so that it must have been half-past 5 before many of the Members got to bed !

We were present during the whole of the two previous days’ debates—till half-past one on Monday—and half-past two on Tuesday night ; but from weakness still remaining after our late illness, had great difficulty in sustaining this ; and were unable to continue the attendance on the third night—up to the still later hour to which it was protracted.—It will be seen, however, from what we have said in our remarks on this debate, that had we been present at the division, we should have voted for Lord ALTHORP’s amendment—as believing that a depreciation of the standard of value would be inexpedient and dangerous ;—but we should also have voted for Mr. ATTWOOD’s amended motion for a Committee of Enquiry—not having heard a single argument of any force against such Enquiry—but believing that it could produce no evil, and might effect incalculable good.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A Gentleman of Landed Property has been so favorably impressed with the excellent Letter of a Country Gentleman dated from Brighton, and published in No. X of the Review, on the subject of the Cottage System of Cultivation, and the provision which this would afford for the unfortunate Polish Exiles now in England, that he desires to open a confidential communication with the writer of that Letter, if he will favor the Editor with his name.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FROM APRIL 16 TO APRIL 24.

Leave of Absence.

To Mr. Wedgewood, ten days.

To Sir Edward Scott, ten days; Mr. William Stewart, a fortnight; Sir Thomas Winnington, a fortnight.

To Sir Robert Frankland, a month; Mr. Colquhoun, a fortnight.

To Mr. Cornish, three weeks.

New Writ issued.

New Writ for Worcestershire (Western Division)—in the room of the Hon. Thomas Henry Foley, now Lord Foley.

New Writ for Inverness Burghs,—in the room of John Baillie, Esq. deceased.

New Members sworn in.

John Charles Ramsden, Esq. for New Malton.

Henry Thomas Hope, Esq. for Gloucester City.

Samuel Irton, Esq. for Cumberland (Western Division.)

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Parnell, baronet, for Dundee.

John Edwards, Esq. for Montgomery Borough.

Election Committees.

Hertford Borough.—Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do not issue his Warrant for a New Writ for the electing of two Burgesses to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Hertford, before Thursday the 2d day of May next.

Notices of Motion.

Mr. Robert Palmer.—Select Committee, to inquire into the Law relative to the passing of Irish Vagrants, with a view to its amendment; and to report their opinion thereon to the House.—[Deferred till Wednesday 1st May.]

Mr. William Brougham.—Bill to establish a General Registry of all Deeds and Instruments relating to Real Property in England and Wales.—[Deferred till Wednesday 1st May.]

Mr. Ruddell Todd.—That it is expedient to take into consideration the condition of the Poor of Ireland, with a view to ascertain the best means of affording employment to the able-bodied, and of supporting the aged and infirm.—Deferred till Thursday 2d May.]

Sir Francis Vincent.—Select Committee to inquire into the practicability and expediency of compelling pawnbrokers to insure goods pledged with them against losses by fire.—[Tuesday 30th April.]

Mr. Hume.—To call in question the right of his late Majesty to grant a Pension to Lord Douglas.—[Wednesday 1st May.]

Mr. James Grattan.—Motion on the condition of the Peasantry of Ireland.—[Deferred till Thursday 2d May.]

Mr. Cobbett.—To move for an inquiry into the case of Richard Newsham.—[Thursday 2d May.]

Mr. Halcomb.—Select Committee, to inquire into the Law respecting the Fishing Trade, with a view to its amendment; and to report their opinion thereon to the House.—[Friday 3d May.]

Mr. Halcomb.—To call the attention of the House to the existing state of the Poor Laws of England, and for leave to bring in Bills for the amendment of the same.—[Tuesday 7th May.]

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF RUSSIA IN GERMANY.— FOREIGN POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By A. V. KIRWAN, Esq.

THE actual progress of the Russians should be a source of serious alarm. It was so to Mr. Pitt; and in this respect his pupil, Mr. Canning, participated in his fears. The doctrines of England seem now, however, to be committed to men who consider history (to use the words of the Irish Chancellor) as no better than an old almanack. Let us consult a little this worn-out monitor—no longer the Polar star of the voluminous concoctor of the thousand and one protocols.

From the time that Peter the Great captured Azoph, and advanced into Moldavia, the Russians seem never to have abandoned their project of planting their standard on the walls of Constantinople; and every succeeding year has been a sanguinary and persevering struggle to advance their object. Tcherkask Taganrog and the Crimea were first added to their conquests; and by the treaty of Kinardjee, in Bulgaria, signed in 1774,* a large tract of land lying between the Bog and the Dnieper was ceded to the Czar.

It was now that Catherine, like Peter, began to build new cities in her enemies territories, and to give final permanency to the possession of them. The foundation of Cherson was laid in the mouth of the Dnieper, on the spot from whence Swatislas, many centuries before, had set out to invade Constantinople. To indicate the object of the creation of this city, Catherine caused an inscription to be placed over the western gate in these words—"THIS IS THE ROAD TO BYZANTIUM."†

In her object of making this city a naval arsenal to command the Black Sea, her Imperial Majesty was frustrated. The men-of-war built there rapidly decayed—an effect which was attributed to the

* The defeat of the Turks, by the Russians, which led to the Treaty of Kinardjee, in 1774, obliged the Ottoman Porte to recognize the independence of the Crimea. Previous to the conquest of the Crimea, the Tartars of that country were subject to the Sublime Porte, and proved of the utmost service, from the numerous hosts of light cavalry which they contributed, in defending the frontiers from invasion. By the cession of the Crimea, these Tartar tribes transferred their allegiance to their new masters; and, under the more modern appellation of Cossacks, have been employed by the Russians to perform those services against the Turks, which they had previously used with such success in their favor.

† PALLAS. *Reise durch Verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches.*

fresh water of the Liman or lake on which the city was built. The Turkish territories on the north of the Euxine were divided by the great rivers that pour into that sea; and it seems to have been the object of the Russians to have advanced in every campaign, from water to water, always securing the permanent possession of the places they had left behind their march. At the conclusion of the campaign, in 1791, by the Treaty of Jassey, Oktchakov was ceded to them; * and so they advanced from the Dnieper to the Niester, and secured all the intervening country.

After the campaign of 1812, they obtained, by the Treaty of Bucharest, the land lying between the Niester and the Pruth, pushing on their territories to the latter river. Having thus annexed irrevocably to Russia all the Turkish possessions on the North of the Euxine, and strided from the Don to the Danube, we now see their fleet reposing on its shadow in the waters of the Bosphorus. How long it may so repose—how long it may be ere it unfurl its sails and prepare for action—is a matter resting altogether in the good pleasure of the Emperor Nicholas. But it may be safely averred that if, within a few years, Russia does not possess Constantinople, appropriating to herself a considerable portion of the British commerce in the Levant, and furnishing Oriental products to the markets of Italy and Germany, the virtue must be laid rather to the account of her moderation than to the effect of our decisive reclamations. So much for Russia in the East. We have now to do with her conduct nearer home; and in this paper we propose to shew that her influence in Germany tends to destroy the balance of power in Europe.

The idea of a Balance of Power is not entirely owing to modern policy. Xenophon, in his *Institutions of Cyrus*, represents the combination of the Asiatic powers to have arisen from a jealousy of the increasing force of the Medes and Persians. In the politics of Greece, the anxiety with regard to the Balance is most apparent. Thucydides represents the league which was formed against Athens, and which produced the Peloponessian war, as entirely owing to this principle. And after the decline of Athens, when the Thebans and Lacedemonians disputed for sovereignty, we find that the Athenians threw themselves always into the lighter scale, and endeavoured to preserve the Balance. They supported Thebes against Sparta till the victory of Leuctra; after which they went over to the conquered, from their jealousy of the conquerors.† In the oration of Demosthenes for the Megalopolitans, one discerns the utmost refinements of this principle of a Balance. It was this orator who first discovered the dangerous rise of the Macedonian power, and sounded the alarm through all Greece. And in the whole politics of Greece we find that every pre-

* *Sobranie gosouidarstrennighk gramot e degovorof chranjaschtschüchia w' gosouidarstvennoi Kollegii innostrannich del Moskwa. Tom. 1 et 2.*

† *Xenoph. Hist. Græc. Lib. 6 et 7.*

vailing power was sure to meet with a confederacy against it, often composed of its former friends and allies. The advice of Alcibiades to Tisaphernes was always to support the weakest side in every contest. The pursuit of this counsel prolonged, for near a century, the Persian empire; while the neglect of it, for a moment, in the reign of the aspiring Philip, reduced his dominion with a rapidity of which history presents few instances.

The successors of Alexander shewed a great jealousy of the Balance of Power. The fortune of Antigonus* threatened them anew with Universal Monarchy, but their combination at Ipsus saved them. The Ptolomies first supported Aratus and the Acæans, and then Cleomes, King of Sparta, as a counterbalance to the Macedonian monarchs.† Hiero, King of Syracuse, though the ally of Rome, sent assistance to the Carthaginians, during the war of the auxiliaries; esteeming it wise that no such force ought to be thrown into one State as to incapacitate the neighbouring States from defending their rights against it. The idea of the Balance of Power in England dates from a remote period. It is true that, after we lost our possessions in France, we concerned ourselves but little with foreign affairs: yet even so early as the time of Henry VII., this monarch saw that all accessions to the French power were dangerous to England; and this made him enter into a strict alliance with the Emperor Maximilian and the King of Spain. Shortly after, England engaged in a war with Charles VIII., to hinder Brittany from being united to the crown of France. The successor of the seventh Henry spent immense treasures in keeping the Balance even between the two great empires of Europe, during the reigns of Ferdinand and Charles V., and Louis XII. and Francis I.

Elizabeth followed the course of her sensual father. During the civil wars, which lasted from the reign of Henry II. to that of Henry IV., the Spaniards had overrun France, had it not been for the seasonable assistance which the Virgin Queen yielded to those of the Reformed Religion. James I. pursued for a time a different policy from his predecessors, based by the hope (instilled by Gondemar) that an alliance with Spain would render him more powerful over his own people; but at length the clamors of all England produced a rupture with Spain, which was no sooner declared, than the most vivid demonstrations of joy were visible from one end of the kingdom to the other.

A part of the foreign policy of Cromwell was, to a certain extent, destructive of the Balance of Power (his alliance with France in preference to Spain) but he entered into this league from domestic motives, with the purpose of awing the people of England, and from the desire of maintaining himself by despotic power, after he had dispensed with the form of a Parliament. Charles II. pursued a similar course,

* Diod. Sic. lib. 20.

† Polybius, lib. 2, cap. 51.

and increased the strength and reputation of France, at the expence of Spain and Holland. But in pursuing these anti-national leagues, he had to run counter to his people and parliament. A perseverance in measures alike destructive of the Balance of Power, and the superiority of England, led to the overthrow of his brother. In the reign of Anne, we re-adopted the true system of foreign alliance, and the victories of Marlborough arresting the conquests of Louis XIV. attest the wisdom of the counsels, while they reflect a splendid lustre on the military renown of England.

It will be perceived from this short *précis* that England, like Greece, has always endeavoured to hold the Balance of Europe; and that though some of our princes during this time, by the corruption of their Courts, have been induced to favour the most aspiring monarchy, yet that the Parliaments of England have always used their utmost care to provide that no one Foreign Power may gain any undue ground upon another. In this, the Parliaments, adopting a policy of common sense, have followed out to the letter the Reflexions of Machiavel.

“When a prince, or a commonwealth, (says Machiavel) arrives at that height of reputation, that no neighbouring prince or people dares venture to invade him, unless compelled by indispensable necessity, he may do what he pleases. 'Tis in his election with whom he will make war, and with whom he will be at peace; for his neighbours being afraid of his power, are all glad to be his friends; and those potentates, who are furthest off, and have no commerce with him, look on as unconcerned as if the consequence could have no relation to them: and in this error they many times continue, till the calamities are brought home to their own doors; and then 'tis too late, for they have nothing but their own private force to oppose, which is too weak, when the enemy is grown so strong.”

Having thus, as we think, shown that a system of Balance has been followed by the Parliament of England, it becomes our duty to place that system on practical bases. The following, we think, may be called maxims concerning the Balance of Power.

1st, If a European State attempts, by unlawful enterprises, to attain a degree of power which enables it to defy the danger of a union of several of its neighbours, or even an alliance of the whole, such a State should be treated as a common enemy. If, on the other hand, it had acquired that degree of force by an accidental concurrence of circumstances, and without any acts of violence, whenever it should furnish a just occasion, no means which political wisdom could devise for the purpose of diminishing its power, should be neglected or untried.

2ndly, It should be a principle of the European Federal System, that no one of its members should ever become so powerful as to be able to coerce all the rest put together.

3rd, That any State which infringes this system of Balance should

be coerced, either by the collective strength of the European family, or by any individual State. Thus, the fear of awakening a common opposition, or of drawing down a common vengeance, would be, in itself, sufficient to keep each State within the bounds of moderation.

It is not, however, so much to the amount of power possessed by any one kingdom, that we object: the real question is, whether such State possess that power in such a manner as not, with impunity, to encroach upon the rest. Should Europe, by neglecting to oppose the proper obstacles, suffer any one empire to attain to such a degree of preponderance as might convert substantive parts of its territory (such, for instance, as the late case of Russia and Poland, wherein the latter was made a province of the Russian Empire, in defiance of the Treaty and Constitutional Charter) into provinces of the principal State—from such preponderance must ultimately, and perhaps, not distantly, arise the unavoidable ruin of the smaller, the oppression and degradation of the greater, and the constant peril of the middling States.

The Federal System is not grounded on degrees of power, but upon the external limitations of this power. The State which is not prevented by any external consideration from oppressing a weaker State, is always, however weak it may be, too strong for the interest of the whole: the State which can be made to respect the rights of the weakest, though the most powerful of all, is not too powerful. The true acceptance of a Balance Power, then, is a principle among the family of States, by virtue of which, no one among them can injure the independence or the essential rights of another, without meeting effectual resistance on some side.

Having now proved the presiding principle of a Balance, and having attempted to define what that Balance should be,—we next propose to show that the Empire of Russia, from the influence which she has obtained in Germany, as well as from her general aspect, presents a fair occasion for the application of those principles on which depend the integrity and equipoise of the European system. If it was just for the Allies to put this European system in practice in their wars against Louis XIV, and, in our own days, against the rapacious system of conquest adopted by Napoleon, we contend that it is also just and most necessary for a Confederacy of States at this moment, to put some bridle on the more designing, though less overtly grasping, policy of Russia. The determined tone which marked the demands of Russia, at the Congress of Vienna, proved that the danger of her preponderance was not prospective, but present. The tenacity with which she then stickled for the possession of Poland, coupled with her intimation that non-compliance would cause a military occupation of the country, denoted a “foregone conclusion” at some future day, with respect to Constantinople, if not to Germany. The Power that then insisted, could not, at that juncture, be resisted; and the Congress yielded to a manifestation of force. Russia availed herself of this first step made, to take a second; that second was to strengthen her interests in Germany.

Though Prussia might have been overrun in a single campaign, yet it was more prudent for the Northern Colossus to extend her power in this direction, by family alliance. A like system was pursued in reference to Wurtemberg and Baden. Detached then from the interests of the West of Europe, Russia had, shortly after the Congress of Vienna, secured to herself in Germany, by family alliances, one considerable, and two inconsiderable, States, furnishing her with a pretext to interfere in the politics of the Diet. Nor was this pretext long wanting: she did interfere, at the Congresses of Troppau, Laybach, and Aix la Chapelle. To Russian interposition was mainly owing the assertion, in unqualified terms, of "the right of putting down Revolution, wherever it displays itself, in independent nations;" the sovereigns at Congress constituting themselves the judges of the existence of the case.

In the promulgation of these sentiments, Prussia may have been a passive, and Austria an active ally, of Russia; but the truth and fact was, that by the means of these two powers the Northern Barbarian had the effective command of the whole of Germany. The object of European Statesmen at this juncture should have been to detach these German powers from the Russian alliance. We do not think this object was sufficiently looked to by Lord Castlereagh: certain it is, that Mr. Canning made efforts for this purpose, but all those efforts, from an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, only tended to rivet more firmly Russian influence in the heart of Germany. Matters remained in this posture till the Congress of Carlsbad, when edicts against the Press were registered by Muscovite influence. Germany now became filled with Russian spies.

In 1817, a popular fermentation arose. The Students of the Universities embraced the Teutonic party, and proclaimed with eagerness the Union of Germany. These proceedings attracted the attention of Russia, and at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was held a few months after, a Memoir was presented on the subject, by M. de Stourdza, a Counsellor of State, of Greek extraction, in the Russian service. Fifty copies only of this Memoir were printed, for the use of the Congress. While the work was going through the press, a picquet of soldiers, under the direction of a Russian, were stationed in the printing-office. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, the work appeared at Paris, and even in London, in the Times newspaper. The Students and Professors felt themselves highly piqued at this interference in their affairs.

The Memoir was answered by Professor Krug and many others. Russia, however, was determined to have a rejoinder, and Kotzebue, a hired spy of the Cossack, came forward with his pen. For this temerity he became the victim of the dagger of Sandt. It required but this catastrophe to fix more firmly the power of the Muscovite. Russia seeing this, assumed a bolder and a haughtier tone towards all the powers. The Bourbons became almost tributary to her. The Duke de Richelieu was her chosen Minister and fast friend. The

following in the track of the "*Ursa Major*" of the North, now became a political necessity as well as an inclination with Prussia. And Austria followed in the footsteps of Russia, at the discussions regarding Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, was too happy to be abetted by her neighbour.

The Congress of Verona was now held. Russia had been then all victorious but for the management of Mr. Canning. As it was, however, Spain was invaded, but by the Duke of Angoulême, rather than the hero of the Balkan. Russian counsels were active at Madrid, though the capital of Spain was not garrisoned by Russian troops. In Germany, Russian interference and preponderance continued to grow more apparent. Every means of force and fraud were tried to extinguish the longings for Constitutional Government.

At length, the French Revolution of 1830 broke out. The position of Russia, as regarded Germany, was now altogether changed. Poland was aroused. Her soldiers caught the contagion of the time; and instead of marching to the Rhine, to put down the Revolution in France, as was intended, they turned their arms against the Government of the Grand Duke Constantine. Their heroic struggle is well known. This is not the place to dwell on it. But it is the fitting occasion to remark that now was the time for England to play a mighty part among the nations.

Had Canning lived, Russian influence in Germany had ceased; and Poland had risen into the rank of a nation. But the spirit of the time was a coward spirit. Poland fell, and Russian influence again ruled the ascendant in Germany. The Czar and his cabinet now felt that the contagion of liberal ideas had spread from France; and that if the progress of the malady were not arrested in the German soil, the pestilence might at length reach Russia herself. Hence the interference of the Muscovite in the resolves of the German Diet of the last year; and the famous decrees emanating from Frankfort in June, 1832. These decrees were passed at the instance, and by the influence, of Russia, in defiance of the remonstrances of the whole people, and against even the wishes of some of the Sovereigns of the smaller states.

We ask then, is there not here evidence of a preponderant influence in Germany, and has not the occasion arisen, on which we should make some effort to check this influence? The only question is, a question of time; for, sooner or later, the battle must be fought, whether in the plains of Greece, the Bosphorus, the Mediterranean, or on the soil of Germany. A steady and regular Balance of Power is as necessary to our political relations as to the interests of our Commerce and the general peace. For twenty years we battled for a steady Balance of Power against Napoleon; but on the ruins of Napoleon has arisen the more dangerous power of Russia. Grasping, insidious, and intriguing, this empire now aims at more than European ascendancy. Unchecked in her influence in Germany, she has increased in the extravagance of her demands. During the last year her

Minister at Dresden demanded of the Government at Hanover the surrender of an unfortunate Pole, who had been one of the Provisional Government at Warsaw, and who had fled to this neutral State for protection. The Government of Hanover yielded up this unfortunate man. Nor have the Russian intrigues stopped here. They have been incessantly directed to influence the German Confederation to keep open and unsettled the Belgian question. In this effort their Cabinet has fully succeeded; and the result is, that now, while France and England have been devoting their whole energies to the petty questions of Luxembourg, Liemburg, and the tonnage duty on the Scheldt, a Russian fleet rides unmolested before the walls of Constantinople.

Reverting then to the observations we have made at the commencement of this article, we ask, is not Russia in the course of obtaining such a degree of power, as enables her to defy the danger of a Union of her neighbours? Has she not laughed at the united remonstrances of England and France? Have the debates in the English Parliament of last year caused her to cease her interference in Germany, or to stop her butcheries in the Kingdom of Poland, now a province of Russia? No! she scorns our remonstrances, and bids us have a care of our own dear Ireland. Have the Protocols of our Foreign Minister and the persuasions of our Cabinet tended to limit her intrigues in Holland? Certainly not; for Holland, which for the last two centuries has been either English or French, is now in heart and soul Russian; and in the event of a war, a Russian party may be said to be within a day's sail of us.

Has this Empire then furnished the just occasion for the exercise of an influence which should leave no means untried for the purpose of diminishing her power? In fine, has she infringed on the system of Balance? And does she possess her power with those external limitations which prevent her from oppressing weaker States, injuring their independence, or interfering with their essential rights? Does the European Interest, in fine, require the exhibition in her regard of that effectual resistance which would make her respect the rights of the weakest? All these questions we must answer in the affirmative. If there be those who would in every case insist on the Non-Interference Policy, we should say that to render such a system safe, it must not be, like Irish reciprocity, all on one side. It must be really and truly reciprocal. Before we resolve not to meddle with others, we must have some surety that others do not meddle with us. There is much in fashion. At one period it was the fashion for the Athenians to be the most bustling and warlike people in Greece, but finding their error, says the Historian, *they abandoned all attention to Foreign Affairs, and in no contest ever took part on either side.* Now we confess, we think in both instances, the Athenians were wrong, but their last fault was much worse than their first. Indifference in National Politics is as hateful as indifference to the sex. Yet we very much fear that that which was true at Athens, thousands of years ago,

is now but a type of what is occurring in England, we pray Heaven with different results.

A great orator, now in a high place, said some years ago that England was bound to keep the peace, in recognizances of £800,000,000. The phrase was neither patriotic nor true; yet it has done much mischief. Opinion is the principal support of power; and States are seldom any longer strong or wise than while they are thought so by their neighbours; for all great things subsist more by fame than any real strength. After the death of Charles V, the Spaniards for some years preserved their empire by the opinion mankind had conceived of the depth and wisdom of his counsels. But when a nation puts its own weaker parts forth, its protection is no longer relied on, and its alliance no longer courted. Other countries first despise, and then venture to insult it; for mankind are apt to imagine that where there is no wisdom, there is no strength. We therefore deeply regret these words. They were lauded at the time by those of the "hand and mouth" school of politics, who never see farther than the passing day. We would fain hope that he who used them unadvisedly, was not at the season aware of their full import; and we are sure that he never meant to throw them out as lures to our enemies and the enemies of Europe. Their impolicy is however *now* apparent, for advantage has been taken of them in the quarter where a movement was most to be dreaded. The leader of the then Opposition, is now a Minister. Let him repair his speech by his acts. Let him tell his Cabinet not to temporize with a great danger; and let him assure his brother Ministers that though Russia has advanced from the Don to the Danube, from the Dnieper to the Niester, and from the Niester to the Pruth,—though she has gained the districts of Gocksa and the province of Erivan,—though she has quartered herself in Moldavia and Wallachia,—though she has supplanted England in Holland, stands preponderant in Germany, and floats proudly before Constantinople,—yet, notwithstanding all this, Great Britain, if she sees the necessity, had never in so great a degree the power, to redress the Balance of Europe, and that to-morrow, if she will, she can, like the great luminary in his orbit,—

——Repair her golden flood,
And warm the Nations with redoubled ray.

Here is a part worthier of her. **LET HER STRIKE HOME.**

In any thing herein stated, let us not be understood as forming an exaggerated estimate of the strength of Russia. There are few more aware of her real weakness than we are. The question however is not one of strength or of weakness. The question is, what are her designs? and what may be their consequence? We say, they are dangerous, and subversive of the Balance of Power. For the present, however, we must have done; but we shall again revert to the subject; and the rather, as since this article was composed, we have been favored with a communication from a distinguished Pole, containing some observations on the Power of Russia, worthy of notice.

THE COMMERCIAL ENQUIRER.

EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.—EXPORT TRADE TO INDIA.— GREAT CAPACITY OF ITS EXTENSION.

THE period is at length arrived when the concerns of our East Indian Empire will demand the attention of Parliament. In whatever light we contemplate the questions which it will now be the duty of the British Legislature to determine, we shall find that they exceed in importance, commercial, political, and moral, all those which the history of this country has yet had occasion to record. The direct sovereignty over an immense continent, the inhabitants of which are certainly not overrated at 100 millions,—the condition, usages, laws, religion, of whom, all equally dissimilar to our own, are diversified among themselves by every variety of form and combination, exercised at a distance of 14,000 miles, by a people, whose immediate territory in population, fertility, and extent, scarcely bears an assignable proportion to this vast dependency,—even if it absorbed all the energies and all the resources of its rulers, would still be an object well calculated to impress the mind with awe and admiration. But when we reflect how small a fraction of British industry, wealth, and power, is employed in the administration of these splendid possessions,—that they are, in fact, governed by a Joint Stock Company, whose European servants, civil and military, at home and in Asia, do not, in all probability, much exceed 50,000 men, all of whom are imbued, in the early twilight of their reason, with principles totally inconsistent with any notion of equitable rule,—formed, to the most arduous of all undertakings, by no preparatory discipline or institution, with little knowledge of the manners, or respect for the prejudices, of the people submitting to their yoke,—esteeming in the deliberate conviction of system and education, the sphere of their authority as a temporary exile, and the millions whom they are permitted to coerce, as the mere instruments of their own aggrandisement;—there is something in the aggregate of the images which the spectacle presents, so extremely wonderful and imposing, as not only to check all precipitancy of determination, but almost to dishearten and discourage the hope of effectual interference in a state of things under which such anomalies have so long existed, and continue to exist.

It is, however, no longer within the option of Parliament to institute or decline an investigation, which the circumstances of the East India Company, the distress of our manufacturers, the impatience of our merchants and shipowners, the stagnation of trade, the altered scheme of our commercial polity, the state of India, of Europe, and of the New

World, conspire to enforce. Indolence may shrink from the prospect of the intricate labyrinth in which the criminal neglect of twenty years will have involved the affairs of India,—corruption may dread the exposure of excesses unequalled by any enormities in our domestic history in the worst of times,—the retainers of monopoly will strain every nerve, and employ every artifice, to procrastinate their fall, until the time is past for deliberate decision;—but unless the people of England are utterly lost to all sense of responsibility in the high trust committed by Providence to their care, as well as of the vital interest which, on their own account, they have in its due administration, they will, by every constitutional endeavour, early and perseveringly interpose to convert a charter of Monopoly and Exclusion, into a charter of Free Settlement and Free Trade for themselves, and of Rights and Privileges for the natives of India. They, indeed, ought to be the first objects of our solicitude. To raise them in the scale of social existence, by improving their moral condition,—to better their temporal circumstances, by wresting from fiscal rapacity some portion of the fruits of their ill-required toil,—to prepare them for a gradual participation in the blessings of freedom, by providing an effective protection against the wanton acts of irresponsible power,—ought, and we trust, will be the prime consideration in this grave deliberation of policy and dominion. The people of Hindoostan are not excepted from the rule which declares the happiness of the subject to be the end and purpose of Government. If practices have grown up under our connivance, in flagrant violation of that eternal law,—if the long lease, which we ratified in 1813, has been abused by our representatives, to the waste or dilapidation of our estate,—if the peasant of Bengal still lives on 18s. a year,* with no clothing for ornament or use, but the ‘cotton rag around his loins,’ surely it is high time to inquire if the extreme of misery, thus evidenced, is to last for ever, and what chance there exists of meliorating so deplorable a condition.

Besides, however, the motives which duty, humanity, and compassion suggest, for a speedy and effectual revision of our relations with the East, we have abundant reasons to engage earnestly and zealously in the work. Justice and expediency are, in this question, closely and inseparably allied. Let any man, at all acquainted with the present condition of this country, and the history of its trade during the last ten years, reflect on the difficulties under which the productive classes have suffered, by the continuing surfeit of the few regular markets to which the products of our industry have access, and the violent alternations of prosperity and distress to which the failure of precarious and hazardous adventures have exposed them, and he will soon learn to appreciate the blessings of a certain, uniform, and extensive demand. There is no branch of industrious occupation which is not afflicted and paralysed by the evil of superabundant production. Wherever you go, want of employment is the prevailing cry,—excessive population the universal complaint,—schemes of emigration the deceitful panacea. Cooped up, as we are, within the

* See Minutes of Evidence, 12th April, 1813, p. 124.

narrow precincts of the Atlantic, by the absurd impolicy of our own restrictions, the States of Europe have little inducement to extend their intercourse with England. Hardware, woollen, and cotton goods, we can indeed produce, of a quality and price superior to any other nation. The preparation of their raw material, and its manufacture, employ a large proportion of our people; in the intermediate stages between the producer and the consumer, millions have earned an honest and comfortable subsistence. The skill of our workmen, and the excellence of our machinery, ensure for them, wherever they are admitted, a ready and advantageous sale. It is, however, the policy of our good friends and allies on the Continent, rigidly and systematically to exclude them from their ports. In almost every part of Europe bounties and protecting duties encourage foreign capitalists to contest the market with the British merchant. America has also acceded to the alliance; and unless we can make it their interest to dissolve the confederacy, or discover fresh fields of enterprise for ourselves, London may soon be as Amsterdam, Liverpool as Antwerp, Manchester and Birmingham as Bruges and as Ghent,—immense cemeteries of departed wealth—the mere monuments of commercial grandeur.

We have, however, happily within our reach an easy remedy for every vexation which foreign jealousy can inflict upon us. If the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain will but take an enlarged and comprehensive view of their own interests, and resolutely oppose every domestic conspiracy against them, the restraints imposed upon our intercourse with Europe are matter of very little concern. Beyond the bar which our own laws have drawn, from the Straits of Magellan to the Cape of Good Hope, lie immense regions, producing the choicest materials of European luxury, some of which use has rendered necessities of life, all of which are eminently contributory to its enjoyment. Nations, rich and flourishing, populous beyond all precedent, in our Western World, know just enough of our productions to induce them to inquire for them with unexampled avidity. There, no tariffs impede their introduction, or enhance their price, beyond the abilities of the consumer. The few and furtive opportunities of access which we have had through the medium of foreigners and the East India Company to China and the Eastern Seas, have enabled us to acquire information respecting the wants and the taste of their swarming population, which has rendered it perfectly notorious that British manufactures would there meet with a constant and extensive demand. In the few years that have elapsed since private trade with Hindoostan has been indulged to the merchants of England, and, according to the returns of the last year, it already exceeds in value the whole of our trade with the north of Europe, including Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, by 991,779*l.*; that of all Germany by 2,767,803*l.*; that of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the Levant, by 697,082*l.*; that of our colonies in North America and the United States, by 707,053*l.*; of Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, by no

less than 6,251,463*l*. We have the best authority for believing that this is not a tithe of what it would be, if fairly laid open to the skill, enterprise and capital of the private merchants of Britain, and to the natural and unfettered energies of our Indian subjects. Yet, though the dulness of business, and the depression of manufactures, are, in all commercial societies, the everlasting theme of complaint and lamentation,—though the workmen of Manchester and Glasgow are, every now and then, dependent on contribution for subsistence, or in arms against the contrivances by which human labour is abridged,—though Ministers and Parliament are wearied by petitions, and remonstrances, and deputations on all other subjects, it was not until the last three years that the country generally was awakened to protest against that most odious of all monopolies, the East India Company.

In order to a correct apprehension of the matters now at issue between the advocates of Free Trade and Monopoly, as well as of the spirit in which the contest has been carried on, it will be necessary to take a succinct and summary view of the relative situations of the respective litigants since the commencement of the dispute. Many, we have reason to know, opposed upon principle, by interest and affection, to every form of mercantile restriction, and who are firmly convinced that the prosperity of trade is best secured by complete immunity from restraint, are still unwilling to engage in a contest requiring, as they erroneously conceive, a familiar and intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs. Alienated by this delusion from an inquiry, which they are very competent to conduct, they suspend their opinions on a question of vital interest, which it would cost them but little trouble to understand and decide. The cause of justice, policy, and truth, is thus deprived of the support of that public opinion which can alone sustain it against the concentrated opposition of skilled and interested enemies; and theories and fictions, deserving of no sort of credit, are, through mere indolence, taken upon trust.

Before the acquisition of the territorial revenues of Bengal, A.D. 1765, the East India Company's trade with India was carried on upon the common principles of traffic, namely, by sending out such commodities as found a demand in the India market; and where that demand was not adequate to the reciprocal call of the European market for Indian goods, by a large annual exportation of treasure, chiefly in silver.* From the favour of the princes of the Mogul race, the Company obtained extensive privileges, and were exempted from several duties to which natural born subjects were liable. Their dustuck, or passport, was respected at all the toll-bars and custom-houses of the country, and much private trade was surreptitiously carried on under its protection. This privilege, indeed, soon covered with its immunity all the merchandize of Bengal, and became a source of so much injury to the native traders, that Cossim Ali Khan, a nabob, who owed all his greatness to the Company, could contrive no means of evading its abuse, but the total emancipation of trade from every

* Vide Report of a Committee on the Affairs of India, A.D. 1783.

description of duty or imposition. For this measure of impartial justice and unquestionable right, the Presidency of Calcutta determined to eject him from his throne, to which they raised Jaffier Ali Khan, whom they had formerly deposed. From the facility of this prince, they exacted an assignment of part of the territorial revenue of his dominions; and the office of Dewan, or Collector, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, brought the administration of the remainder under the control of the Resident at his court. A great revolution then took place in the trade carried on between the Company and India, the immediate effect of which was not less ruinous to that country than it was delusive to the people and Government of England.* Large fleets of ships, freighted with all the most valuable commodities of the East, annually arriving in the Thames, imposed upon the public eye; and, as men reasoned upon the common principles of commerce, naturally gave rise to an opinion of the happy condition and growing opulence of a country, whose surplus productions occupied so large a space in the commercial world. But this export continued to attach consequence to the trade, and consideration to those by whom it was ostensibly conducted, long after a reciprocal supply from Europe had ceased. The territorial revenue, by the above-mentioned assignment, had become the property of the proprietors of East India Stock, and to them, in some shape or other, it must be sent. To send silver into Europe, was to send it to a market where it had long been most profitably employed in remittance to Bengal, to be there expended in the purchase of Indian merchandise. But the agents of the Company had discovered a more summary mode of supplying the European market, viz. to set apart a certain portion of revenue for the purchase of the productions of India, which they afterwards consigned to England. This was called the "Investment;" and, as long as the resources of that fertile country were equal to this drain upon its industry, the amount of the Investment was considered as a certain criterion of the state of their affairs.

While this new mode of trade continued, the list of exports from England to India contained very few articles suited to the wants and desires of the native inhabitants, but consisted chiefly of military and naval stores, clothing for troops, and other objects for the consumption of European residents. The gradual impoverishment of the provinces from which the dominion of the Company enabled them to extract this annual tribute, soon warned its agents that the unrequited exportation of the produce of the country could not continue; the progressive decrease of the Investment alarmed the Directors: and, as well to appease their dissatisfaction, as to maintain the exterior appearances of prosperity on which their credit at home depended, their delegates in India endeavoured and succeeded, for a while, to supply their exhausted treasury by violence and rapacity. All the wild contrivances of insolvent tyranny were successively put in practice to extort funds for the Investment from a ruined and beggared popu-

* Vide Report of a Committee on the Affairs of India, A.D. 1783.

lation, until Mr. Hastings, in 1780, announced to the Directors, that "it would be necessary to make a large reduction, or, possibly, a total suspension of their Investment; that they had already been reduced to borrow near 700,000*l*., but that that resource must cease at a certain and no distant period." This prediction, as might be expected, coming from such authority, was speedily verified; and the difficulties of the Company, and the miserable condition of their subjects, rendered interesting by the brilliant eloquence of Burke and Sheridan, the struggle for power between Pitt and Fox, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings, combined to awaken the attention of this country to the political condition and commercial opportunities of India.

By the adjustment which followed Mr. Pitt's Bill, the natives were relieved from the excessive pressure of the Investment; a maximum of dividend was enacted, to withdraw all temptation to extortion; the exclusive privileges of the Company remained inviolate; their revenues were in some degree restored; and, as far as appeared consistent with the security of the territory already acquired, measures were taken to discourage its further extension. These, however, were totally inoperative. Commercial gain, the original object of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East," had for ever ceased to be a subject of concern; the restriction on the dividend confirmed the indifference, while the rapid and inevitable enlargement of their dominions multiplied opportunities of Directorial patronage and candidates for lucrative employment. To a certain extent, and of a certain description, the exports of the Company increased with every accession of territory and the establishments of Europeans, to which such accessions gave rise;—but, pretending an insuperable prejudice in the minds of the Hindoos against articles of foreign manufacture, they took no pains to recommend to their use the staple commodities of this country. Yet, notwithstanding the diligence with which the Company inculcated the unfitness of the Indian market as a vent for British manufactures, and the authority which the lesson received from the publicity of their own undeviating practice, the impatience of absolute prohibition was so great, that it was deemed necessary to provide in the 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 87, by which the charter was renewed, that three thousand tons of shipping should annually be appropriated to merchandise, on account of Private Traders. This concession does not appear to have had any effect in allaying the jealousy entertained of the exclusive privileges of the Company, which was further heightened and inflamed when the commercial treaty, concluded in the same year (1793) with America, by which the vessels of that country were admitted without any restrictions to the ports of India, became more generally known. No more, however, could at that time be obtained; and, either on account of designed vexations, by which those who availed themselves of this scanty privilege were embarrassed, or the unavoidable formalities and delay attending its exercise, the consignments to India by free traders were very inconsiderable, and the tonnage allotted to them by law was usually purchased by foreigners.

In this state things remained, until in the year 1812 the approaching expiration of the renewed charter revived the question between the advocates of Free Trade and the Company. The time was most unpropitious to the latter: an unusual gloom obscured the commercial prospects of the country, our manufacturers were distressed, our trade contraband in almost all the ports of continental Europe, and a general distrust prevailed of the wisdom of a policy so very analogous to that pursued, with the avowed object of our destruction, by the ruler of France. Add to this, the actual condition of India had become better known than it was at the previous renewal of the charter: persons whose authority and station placed them above subservience to, or even connexion with, the Company, and whose means of information were ample and unsuspected, favoured a modified relaxation of the charter; and the flourishing condition of the trade which had grown up between America and India since the treaty of 1793, was matter of mercantile notoriety and envy. When the Company adduced their books in proof of the regular annual loss on their exportations, they were told that their affairs were ill-conducted; that it was contrary to the nature of things that commerce should thrive under the cumbrous establishments of their imperial dominion; that the adventures of individuals would be managed with more economy and greater activity than those of a proprietary, whose dividend no prosperity could increase, and whose stock was no longer sought for but as the means of influence and patronage. If the Company averred the disinclination of the Hindoos to consume articles of foreign manufacture, authorities were not wanting to discredit the assertion; besides, the inhabitants are not all Hindoos, and the Mussulmans were never remarkable for distaste of the luxuries and accommodations of life.

Petitions from Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Greenock, Belfast, and indeed from almost every town of any considerable note, covered the tables of both Houses of Parliament. The petitioners prayed to be heard by counsel against any further prolongation of a monopoly, which, without conferring the slightest benefit on the Proprietors of East India Stock, excluded the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain from the better half of the habitable globe. They represented the alacrity which they had always evinced to contribute their fair proportion to the exigencies of the struggle in which the country was then engaged, but professed their utter inability to comprehend the wisdom of extending the Continental system, which pressed so heavily on their intercourse with Europe, to our own territories in the East, and the other opulent provinces of Asia. They pointed to the prosperous condition of the trade which the Americans had carried on with India since the treaty of 1793, argued the high value set by other States on their connexion with the East, from the great sacrifices made to maintain it, and protested with becoming spirit, against the continuance of an Alien Law in India, for the special hindrance and vexation of the merchants, shipowners, and manufacturers of Great Britain.

Arguments so conclusive to the minds of all disinterested parties, necessitated either compromise or full acquiescence; and, had it not been for political considerations, such as danger of Colonization, prospect of future Independence, example of the United States, intractability of the Company itself, *et alia enormia*, discretely whispered to his Majesty's Ministers, it is probable that they would not even then have consented to any more burthensome conditions than the mere fiscal regulations to which the Americans were subjected. But, however inconclusive the logic of the Company appeared to the commercial classes of the community, they succeeded in impressing on the Government of that day, the propriety of subjecting private adventurers to India to the control and supervision of the Company; a sort of compromise took place between the friends of Free Trade and of Exclusion, and, by 53 Geo. III., c. 155, it was (among other things) enacted:

1. That private trade, under certain restrictions, should be permitted in vessels not less than 350 tons.

2. That no ship or vessel engaged in private trade, under the authority of that act, should proceed to any place within the limits of the Company's charter, situate on the Continent of Asia, from the river Indus to the town of Malacca inclusive, without a license from the Court of Directors; and that no such ship or vessel, unless specially authorised, should proceed to any port or place within the last-mentioned limits, except to Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Penang.

3. That *none of his Majesty's subjects* should sail to visit, hunt, or reside in any part of the Company's territories, without the permission of the Company, under the pain of forfeiture of ship, goods, &c. fine and imprisonment, and arbitrary deportation to Europe.

Never did Parliament legislate in such utter ignorance as on this occasion. No county job, no turnpike act, was ever hurried to the foot of the throne with the indecent precipitation which disgraced the progress of this important bill. It is impossible to read its various clauses and not to perceive that its scanty measure of relief was the result of a corrupt bargain between Government and the Company. There was but one debate of any importance in the House of Lords; and the contradictory evidence presented to the Commons could obviously justify no more than an experimental measure.

As a mere cautionary trial of the comparative credit of conflicting witnesses, its provisions would have not been very reprehensible; and, bewildered in the maze of varying relations, the Minister of that day might reasonably have asked time for further inquiry; but inasmuch as all the most objectionable privileges were confirmed to the Company in as full and ample manner as they had before possessed them, common prudence should have dictated a little parsimony in the time for which they were granted. But, in the eyes of the noble Lord who then dispensed the favours of the Crown, time was of little consideration; and, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Canning, it was resolved by the collective wisdom of the country, that a lease of the toil, fortunes, and lives of 100,000,000 of human beings, and of the whole of our Eastern trade, was of no sort of value for any less term

than twenty years. The House of Lords were so little satisfied with the share they had in this legislative prodigality, that six years only had elapsed before they appointed a Committee to inquire into its expediency, the report of which, though very civilly drawn up, embodies a severe censure on the inconsiderate haste with which the 53 Geo. III was passed.

The evidence taken before their Lordships on this occasion is well deserving the attention of the country. The information communicated by Messrs. Goddard, Crawford, Rickards, Ellice, and Lyall, respecting the trade to India and the Eastern Seas, will furnish in the approaching discussion abundant reasons for distrusting the theories of the Company; and the arguments adduced by their servants in support of the monopoly, demonstrate the real weakness of their cause, and, above all, *quo animo*, they have hitherto resisted the extension of Free Trade between Great Britain and the East.

Mr. Grant, the father of the present President of the India Board, being called before the Committee, is questioned as follows:—

Have the goodness to inform the Committee what you consider to be the present state of the Free Trade from Great Britain to India?

Mr. GRANT.—Among other papers which have been prepared at the India House to be submitted to this Committee, there is an account of the present state of the Free Trade from Great Britain to India, which, with other documents hereafter to be mentioned, I have now brought to be laid before the Committee. The papers I have to submit, consist partly of figured statements, and partly of observations and opinions which are hypothetical and argumentative; but, as far as I know, have nothing in them contrary to truth.

Whose observations are they?

Mr. GRANT.—They come from the India House, and with the assistance of materials, are a good deal framed by myself, or by my directions; I believe, harmonizing in general with the opinions of the other Members of the Court, though they have not been laid formally before them. As far as I know, they contain nothing contrary to the truth.

The witness then delivers in—

An Abstract of an Account of all Goods Exported from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, during each of the last six years, specifying the Quantity and Value, &c. as above.

Years ending 5th Jan.	Company's Trade.	Free Trade.	Total.
1815	£1,732,720	£570,177	£2,602,397
1816	1,753,302	1,454,728	3,208,030
1817	1,539,130	1,868,397	3,407,527
1818	1,313,494	2,708,025	4,021,519
1819	1,250,065	3,052,741	4,302,806
1820	1,358,327	1,650,338	3,008,625

Mr. Grant then states, that these statements do not furnish the facts required, because they include the trade both in India and

China, without affording the means of separating the amount of either from the general amount of the whole : but it might, nevertheless, be inferred from this statement, that a very considerable decrease had occurred in the last year (1820) in the exports, when compared with the previous years of the period that the Free Trade had been carried beyond the bounds of commercial discretion ; and, secondly, that as the Company's trade had decreased during the increase of the private trade, the speculations on the part of the individual merchants, whether advantageous to them or not, may have had, in some degree, the effect of injuring the commercial transactions of the Company. For further illustration of his argument, and more particularly to clear up the obscurity in the former statements, arising from the confusion of the Indian and Chinese trades, Mr. Grant furnishes the Committee with an account of the imports by the free traders into India from 1814-15 to 1817-18, being the latest date of which such statements, at the time of Mr. Grant's evidence (1821) could be obtained, prepared at the Custom-houses of the Company, in India.

Value of { 1814-15.....	72,32,410 rupees.
Imports { 1817-18.....	2,75,89,998

Mr. Grant then proceeds to state, that with the exception of part of the cotton piece-goods, woollens, the metals, and perhaps a few others of inferior import, all the articles composing these statements are exclusively calculated for European consumption, which could not, in the nature of things, be carried beyond the moderate European population, and of which there was then a prodigious glut in all the Indian markets.

In further confirmation of his views, Mr. Grant produces a paper exhibiting the number and the tonnage of the ships licensed in the four years ending 1819-20, from which it appears that there was a considerable falling off in the last year :—

In 1816-17.....	124,526 tons
1817-18.....	147,748
1818-19.....	127,581
1819-20	73,821

Now, the object of all these figured statements was to show that the Free Trade with India, at the time when Mr. Grant gave his evidence, was unprofitable to all concerned in it. As far as we know, no person had ever imagined that the trade with India would be exempt from the ordinary vicissitudes to which other channels of mercantile adventure are subject ; and we believe there is no doubt that, in the year 1819, there had been a considerable degree of ' commercial indiscretion.' But we have to observe, with respect to the abstracts from the Custom-house returns to the House of Commons, that we have carefully examined the nature of the articles, both in the lists of the Company and of the free traders, and we find that, while the exports of the Company to India still consist to a great extent of military and naval stores, and of articles suited to the consumption of Europeans, that the assortment of the free traders comprises almost the whole of the cotton and woollen goods, for which it is most desirable, as far as this country is concerned, that new markets should

be discovered, and which, as we shall hereafter show, are best adapted to the wants of the Native population. Furthermore, we note that the glut from which Mr. Grant (in 1820) predicted ruin to the free traders, ceased without any diminution of the exports of the following years; and that so far from any such diminution having taken place, the effect of it, probably on account of increased consumption consequent upon the fall of prices, was materially to extend the consignments to India in the three years ending in 1823, as will be seen from the following continuation of the second abstract delivered by Mr. Grant to the Committee:—

Years.	Company's Trade.	Free Trade.	Total.
1821	£1,721,114	£2,308,681	£4,029,795
1822	1,754,652	2,836,007	4 590,660
1823	1,279,021	2,867,056	4,146,077

As to the statement from the Company's Custom-house in India, it proves nothing whatever, but the rapid increase of trade since the last renewal of the charter. The argument drawn from the decrease of tonnage, licensed by the Company in 1819-20, though certainly plausible when used, is, as must be obvious to all persons acquainted with the nature of the trade, extremely fallacious; and the prognostications which then appeared sufficiently probable, were not realized by the event. We find that the tonnage licensed by the Company was—

A. D. 1821.....74,426 tons.

1822.....70,821

1823.....76,836.

Exhibiting, certainly, a considerable decrease as compared with the years 1817-18-19, but when viewed in conjunction with the increase on exports, manifestly not justifying the conclusions for which it was adduced.

Mr. Grant, after some preliminary observations on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, and on the style and composition of some of the petitions in 1812, and the extravagance of the anticipations in which they indulged, says, that 'besides the prejudices of the natives, there are other powerful hindrances to the consumption of our commodities,—climate, taste, immemorial habit, inability. The greater part of the population of India go more than half naked, live on rice, dwell in huts, and do not, probably, one with another, earn more than 6*l.* a year.'

As long as the cause of trade continues to be, that one country is peculiarly adapted to the production, or manufacture, of commodities differing from those with which another is furnished to superfluity, and that, by a reciprocal interchange of such commodities, the comforts and conveniences of life may be increased, the advocates of Monopoly certainly evince a correct conception of the task which they have undertaken, when they rest their case on the unique anomalous character of the native population; for surely nothing but the irresistible obstinacy of some such fact will ever insinuate into the creed

of any man at all acquainted with the principles of traffic, the physical capabilities of the globe, or the moral nature of his species, so absurd a proposition, as, that the trade between two such countries as England and India, acknowledged to be in its infancy, is incapable of increase. But that we may be the better able to judge of the degree of credence to which these alleged irregularities are entitled, it may be well to observe, that at the last renewal of the charter, when ingress to the Peninsula of India had been, in a manner, hermetically sealed against all persons not bearing the passport of the Hon. Company, and when almost all the arguments, by which the pretensions of that body were combated, were *ex concessis*, extorted by cross-examination, or betrayed at intervals of communicativeness by unwilling witnesses, the point of prejudice now used by Mr. Grant as a kind of makeweight, or auxiliary, occupied a much more prominent position in the array: and, until the work of that distinguished Orientalist, Mr. Henry Colebrooke, 'On the Agriculture of Bengal,' became more generally known, had been urged as a conceded obstacle to the sale of British goods, which no perseverance of adventure, no consultation of taste, no depression of price, could possibly overcome. To the testimony of Mr. Colebrooke, for many years, was opposed the unvaried experience of the Hon. Company of the unprofitable nature of the speculation; and, in 1813, when similar information was obtained on the evidence of Mr. Rickards, it was met by apprehensions and forebodings of surfeit and satiety in the Indian market, 'hypothetical and argumentative' from 'the Chairs,' and renewed and positive contradictions from Mr. Grant. But supposing that gentleman to have been right in his estimate of the condition and abilities of the people, could he mean to contend that the misery and deterioration indicated by such peculiarities are to be perpetuated, and that no measures are to be taken to improve the former and extend the latter? Or, if he admit that it is the duty of the Company, as exercising direct dominion, and of Parliament, as paramount sovereign of India, to provide for the happiness and prosperity of their subjects, what more effectual process can be suggested for the attainment of this first object of all government, than their conversion to a just appreciation of the comforts—or, if his philosophy so deem them—the luxuries of and superfluities of European life?

If we examine the records of European civilisation, we may there trace the progressive growth of arts and manners from much more humble beginnings, and under much more discouraging circumstances, than we should have to encounter in endeavouring to revive a taste for what is not even yet quite forgotten in the once rich and opulent provinces of India. Has it not always, and in all places, been the constant course and routine of commercial intercourse, to refine and civilize the barbarous, to enlighten and improve the ignorant, to stimulate industry, and to enlarge at once the sources of wealth, and the capacity for its enjoyment? That some change must take place in their means and habits of life, before any considerable consumption, by the mass of the people, of articles not now known to them, can be depended on, is probably true. That it is

now stationary, (if it were so,) we should attribute more to the difficulties by which it is impeded, than to any abstract hatred of innovation in the people. The experience of mankind furnishes no exception to the rule, that the transition from nakedness to apparel of decoration or utility, is simultaneous with the transition from poverty to wealth; the surly stupidity of Diogenes is not vindicated by the philosophy of Bramah and Vishnoo; and it is not less absurd to suppose that the Hindoos adhere, through taste and fashion, to the cotton rag 'which covers their loins,' than it would be to foretell a rage among our English belles for the graceful drapery of the fair Peguese.

It is, indeed, one of the most serious evils of the distant delegated dominion, exercised by the British Legislature over our Eastern Empire, that it necessitates dependence for information, respecting the wants and circumstances of the people acknowledging its rule, on agents too far removed from the seat of supreme power to be awed by its supervision, and who not only are not, as they ought to be, the obsequious instruments of their superiors, but regulate and control their policy, by distorting and discolouring the data on which it must proceed. Deriving, as they do, enormous wealth and boundless patronage from the system under which the people of India are condemned to live,—habituated by early education to the contemplation of the most oppressive bondage which the history of the world attests,—taught to regard their Indian fellow-subjects as predestined instruments of their own aggrandisement,—the servants of the Company are the very last persons on whose evidence Parliament can confidently rely in legislating for our territories in the East. Thus, however, it has been in our former attempts to make laws for India, that the relations of men, whose interest it was to conceal or disfigure the truth, have succeeded in casting so much discredit on the testimony of unprejudiced witnesses, that, bewildered by conflicting statements, and relying, as is natural, on official reports, we have been induced to turn over, for cycles of years, the government and commerce of these immense possessions to men whose constant endeavour it has been to conceal their real condition in order more effectually to prolong their own misrule. In this respect, the partial relaxation of the Charter in 1813, though it has done nothing to improve the condition of the Native population, and comparatively little to extend the field of commercial enterprise, has yet been productive of one great good:—it has confirmed, by unimpeachable returns, the statements of unprejudiced witnesses, and taught us that all the experience, facts, and conjectures, which we derive from the Honourable Company, are totally unworthy of credit.

'It is true enough,'* says Mr. Rickards, 'as asserted by the rulers of India, that the great mass of the population, Hindoos, Musulmans, and others, are obliged to live all their days on rice, or the coarsest and the cheapest grains, and to go only half covered with a slight cotton cloth;

* See "India, or Facts," &c., p. 67.

that the expenses of a labouring man, with a wife and two children, are only about 3*l.* per annum, the article of clothing being only 6*s.* for this family of four persons. All this I have already admitted. Those who have visited Ireland, may conceive the possibility of human beings, when necessity compels, contriving to drag on a miserable existence in this state of abject poverty and want; but to believe that 100,000,000 of human beings should be so much in love with this simple system of wretchedness, as to be one and all "resolute to maintain it against innovation," being what from age to age they have been accustomed to venerate, requires a degree of faith in mysteries and marvels, which the strength of natural reason is unable to reach, and which the inspired high-priests of the great temple in Leadenhall-street must therefore be left to expound.

'In the meantime, I would ask any Indian gentleman who has been in the habit of visiting the palaces of the native princes of India, or the habitations of the wealthier natives, Hindoo, Musulman, or others; of meeting their splendid retinues and equipages abroad; attending their processions, their religious feasts, their marriages, and other domestic ceremonies, whether the grandeur and magnificence of their displays, the luxuries, the indulgences, the enjoyments, the profuse expenditure of every kind which he has, in these places, or on these occasions, witnessed, have left on his mind any impression of that unalterable simplicity and poverty, of that semi-demi state of clothing and starvation, which the Honourable Court would have us believe to be almost an object of idolatrous worship to the natives of India? Or, if there be still any believers in this monstrous and unnatural creed, let me beg of them to peruse with attention the following statement, taken from the accounts annually laid before Parliament, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 15th, 1827 :—

*Total Official Value of Exports from the United Kingdom to the East Indies and China, together with the Mauritius, distinguishing the Company's Trade from that of the Free Merchants.**

Years.	East India Company's Trade.	Private Trade.	Total Exports.
1814	£ 1,117,515	£578,889	£1,696,404
1815	1,118,302	946,264	2,064,566
1816	952,674	1,232,968	2,185,642
1817	881,440	1,898,186	2,779,626
1818	820,566	2,365,185	3,185,751
1819	887,498	1,486,058	2,373,555
1820	1,129,917	2,142,894	3,272,811
1821	1,536,657	2,766,388	4,303,045
1822	989,070	2,886,864	3,875,934
1823	982,839	3,372,592	4,355,431
1824	1,050,700	3,344,100	4,394,800
1825	1,000,907	2,944,169	3,945,076
1826	1,292,833	3,584,300	4,877,133
Average per ann.	13) 13,760,918	13) 29,548,557	43,309,775
	1,058,532	2,272,989	

* It will not escape the attention of the reader, that the scale in which the value

In 1813, the year from which these statements commence, it had been contended, even with more pertinacity than in 1821, by "the Chairs," and their spokesman, Mr. Grant, that it was absolutely visionary to hope for a market among a race of men condemned to irremediable poverty through choice and religious restriction; the simplicity of whose habits precluded all wants, and whose hatred of innovation rendered their creation impossible. In opposition to a tribe of witnesses produced before the House of Commons on the subpœna of the Honourable Company, with Sir Thomas Munro at their head, Mr. Rickards was almost alone in contesting an error which time and opportunity have now so amply refuted.* On his experience and knowledge of the inhabitants of the East, he does not now hesitate to affirm, that the increase, since the partial relaxation of the charter in 1813, is not a tithe of what our trade would be if fairly thrown open, without impediment or restraint, to the capital and energy of private enterprise; and, indeed, when we come to analyse the two last statements, as well as a specification of the various articles of export and import, which is annexed to them in the account laid before the House of Commons, and consider them in conjunction with information to be obtained in every coffee-house in the City, and resting not upon official documents, but on the indisputable notoriety of trade, we shall find that the views of Mr. Rickards, as to the future prospects of commerce in the East, are likely to be as fully realised as his former anticipations.

It appears from the annexed specification, that the chief articles of export, of which the official value is given in the above statement, are cloths, camblets, and woollen goods of all descriptions, cottons, plain, printed, and dyed, cotton twist and yarn, iron and steel, copper, tin, lead, &c., while the imports are tea, sugar, rum, indigo, coffee, cotton,

of exports is calculated in this account differs materially from that which formed the basis of the statement communicated to the Lords' Committee by Mr. Grant. Not having within our reach the data on which that gentleman's estimate proceeded, it is not easy for us to extend it further than we have already done, without incurring the suspicion of twisting it to the purpose of our argument. The clue to the reconciliation of the difference between the two accounts would probably be found in the known discrepancy between the official and the invoice, or real value. The former is a value assigned, so long ago as the year 1694, to every article of import and export. As it may, or may not, have relation to the current value of the present time, it has become a test only of relative quantity at different periods, and is obviously illusory if considered as a basis of actual valuation.

* It is impossible to speak in terms of adequate commendation of the benevolent solicitude evinced by this gentleman for the happiness of India. Others, after having raised colossal fortunes on the miseries of that unfortunate country, have left it, without compassion or regret, to the mercy of its spoilers. He has the generosity to do justice to a calumniated race, whose amiable qualities a kind disposition has enabled him to appreciate, and to them he dedicates his work, as a "pledge of his remembrance, esteem, and regard." When the long night of India's oppression shall have passed, and education introduced its natives to their benefactors, surely the memory of such a friend will be treasured in especial honour, embalmed with that of Grenville and of Burke, in the recollection of a grateful people.

wool, raw and waste silks, silk manufactures of all descriptions, taffetees, &c. But this specification is by no means so clear as might be wished. From it, it is impossible to ascertain of what description of goods the exports of private traders consist, and in what the Company chiefly deals. It will be found, however, on examination of the more voluminous statements of which this is a very compendious summary, that all, or nearly all, the woollen and cotton goods imported into India, are on account of the free merchants. In addition to them, large quantities of manufactured silks, cutlery of all descriptions, marine stores, glass ware of all descriptions, porcelain, jewellery, gold and silver plate, furniture, carriages, harness, hosiery, haberdashery, and, in fine, almost every article of luxury, comfort, or convenience, which British industry can produce, forms part of the assortment of the private traders. The exports of the Company partake, of course, of a trifling extent of the same goods. Small quantities of woollens, and of cottons, and of the various metals, enter into their lists; but the chief articles are still naval and military stores, clothing for troops, and so forth; in short, they seem determined that they will not be accomplices in converting the Hindoos from their ancient prejudices. India has long ago ceased to be a field of commercial speculation for them; their power, their patronage, and their dividends, are wholly independent of it, and were it not for their exclusive privileges in China, the style of Company of Merchants trading to the East, is no more applicable to them, than to the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain.

It is impossible to arrive at an exact estimate of the Company's India trade, until it is distinguished from that of which they have a strict monopoly in China. But this is undeniable, that, taking the average of the last thirteen years, the official value of the East India Company's export trade to India and China, is 1,058,532*l.*, whilst that of the private trade to India alone, is 2,272,989*l.*

These statements speak for themselves. They are a complete refutation of all that the servants of the Company have asserted for the last thirty years, and should furnish an instructive lesson to the British Legislature. Whether, in the approaching discussions, the "Chairs" will think proper to revive the absurd imposition respecting the habits of the people of India, it is impossible to conjecture. It is said to have "electrified" the House of Commons when used, in 1813, by Sir Thomas Monro; and Mr. Grant seems not to have thought it too bad or too shallow for their Lordships, in 1821. No doubt, however, we shall hear enough of the dangers of free intercourse between Europeans and Native Indians; we shall be told that the peace of the country, and the stability of the Government, will be endangered by the outrages to be committed by the former on the civil and religious prejudices of the latter. Depend upon it, a desperate struggle will be made for retaining the power of arbitrary deportation. We hope and trust that the country and the Legislature will resist such exorbitant demands. It is impossible that Government should sanction the exclusion of British subjects from advantages which all other Euro-

peans, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and Americans, enjoy. It is impossible that Parliament should legislate on a heresy so absurd as the belief, that the English are the only Europeans between whom and the Hindoos, intercourse cannot exist without constant violence and contention. It is not the interest of private traders to irritate prejudice and foment disturbance, as it has too often been of the East India Company. The unfettered spirit of commercial enterprise is shrewd and sagacious. The merchant knows well that the progress of increased demand for new commodities must of necessity be slow, and that, even in countries where facilities of communication abound, it has ever required the utmost activity, vigilance, and accommodation to create new desires, and, by affording easy opportunities, to invite their indulgence. This can only be done by persons who live among their customers, conduct their own concerns,—whose access to the most promising markets is unrestrained, and whose persons and property are free from the tyrannous *surveillance* of unbridled power.

If, on the recommendation of their Lordships' Committee, the Company would expand their view of their own interests, and, instead of busying themselves with the petty expediences of the current year, or in concerting schemes of future deception, would consider what is for their "good upon the whole," they would soon discover how much more prudent it would be to make concessions at once, than to wait till the impatience of the country renders important sacrifices necessary.

Let them be well assured that Parliament will never more be "electrified" by their facts, their conjectures, or their experience. If a disposition to concede be not soon manifested, the question will not be what part of the charter shall be expunged, but what shall be permitted to remain. It has long ceased to be of any commercial benefit to themselves;—its expiration is anxiously expected by the people of England. It would be wiser in them to anticipate the hopes which are so generally entertained, and to facilitate their fulfilment, than to perplex, confuse, and mislead the Government by false or fallacious relations,—fictions which are infinitely injurious to others, and of no kind of utility to themselves.

But if they still persist in their opposition to the proposals of the Government, happily it is not any longer in their power to impose on the credulity of the country. Light has broken in on the obscurity in which India was formerly enveloped; the veil of fraud and imposture by which its real condition was concealed, has been rent asunder, by the Lectures delivered to more than 500,000 auditors, in all the principal Towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the last three years. The merchants, manufacturers, and shipowners of Great Britain, know the value of their inheritance; and nothing but their own supineness can rob them of its fruits.

THE SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATOR.

GENESIS.—CHAP. II.

SITUATION OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN.—FOUR GREAT RIVERS OF PARADISE.

THE description of the Garden of Eden, the original Paradise of our first parents, is the first topographical delineation that occurs in the Sacred Volume ; and is on that account alone eminently curious and interesting. The correspondence of the locality with existing circumstances, is, however, the most remarkable feature in the case. The description applies to the state of the earth previous to the great Deluge ; and as on that occasion the waters covered all the face of the globe, save only the loftiest mountains, it might be expected that all the lower lands, of which the Garden of Eden formed a portion, would be much changed, both positively and relatively, by this general and deep immersion ; that rivers flowing near each other might unite in one channel, and that different forms and directions would be given to most of the great streams or water courses, left to furrow the surface of the earth, by changes of levels, alterations of declivities, and such other derangements, as so great and general a convulsion could hardly fail to bring about. Notwithstanding this, we find a wonderfully accurate correspondence of the existing locality with the records of the earliest account of the site on which this Paradise stood.

It is said that “ the Lord God planted a garden *eastward* in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed.” (v. 8.) By this term, “ eastward,” must be understood, eastward of Palestine, where the Scriptures were first written, which is the direction of Mesopotamia, the site of the original Paradise—as compared with Judea or the Holy Land. The term “ Eden,” like most other proper names in Eastern tongues, has a specific meaning in the Hebrew language, signifying pleasure and delight. There are several instances of places so called in other parts of the Old Testament ; on account, most probably, of their agreeable situation—(see particularly 2 Kings, c. 19, v. 12 ; Isaiah, c. 27, v. 12 ; and Ezekiel, c. 27, v. 23.) There is still a village most agreeably situated in the ascending slope of the western side of Mount Lebanon, which we saw in crossing that mountain during our Travels in Palestine (4to. p. 475), bearing the name of Eden, and so called to this day.

It is remarkable that the ancient Persians, in the Zendavesta, the sacred book of Zoroaster, call the first abode of pleasure for man by the name of Eriën, and describe it as watered by a river, and more

beautiful than any other spot in the wide world—(*b. 2, p. 298.*) This term, a little varied in the form of Iran, is the name now given to the open and level country east of the Tigris, in opposition to Turan, the name of the mountainous country in the same quarter. This portion of Persia, bordering on Armenia, is called, in the Pehlevi, or ancient language of the Medes, Heden, differing only in the aspirate from the Hebrew Eden; and its meaning, in the former, is a place of happiness and repose—(*Zendavesta, part 2, p. 53-65.*) The Arabic name of the same locality is Firdaus, and the Syriac Fardaiso, which differs but little from our own word Paradise, especially as the *f* and *p* are frequently confounded in many tongues. In Armenian, the name is Pardez, which is nearer still; and all these terms have exactly the same meaning, which proves them to have sprung from one common origin, namely, a luxuriant and delightful garden, well watered and planted with trees.

The description in our own Sacred Volume is thus:—"And a river went out of Eden, to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first river is Pison: that is it which encompasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold.—And the gold of that land is good. There is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the East of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."—(*v. 10-14.*) The names of the two last are distinctly known—namely, the Euphrates and the Tigris—and determine the locality to be at the southern extremity of Mesopotamia;—below or to the south of Nineveh and Babylon, the two greatest cities that stood on these two streams, at the spot now called El Kourna, or the Horn, where the junction of the two streams named takes place, from whence they run in one united volume into the Persian Gulph. So much interest and importance is attached to these two noble rivers, that the celebrated French geographer, D'Anville, has a large quarto volume entirely occupied with Dissertations on the Tigris and Euphrates; and a large portion of Major Rennell's admirable work, in illustration of the Geography of Herodotus, is occupied with the description of these two streams, and the cities and stations that stood on their banks.

The Euphrates is the only one whose name is exactly retained from the Greeks, and they derived it from its original Hebrew name, Ephrath, or the fruitful, by which term it is still known in the East. It rises in the mountains of Armenia, and flowing slowly but deeply along the eastern edge of Mesopotamia, passes by the ruins of Babylon the Great, through whose centre it flowed, till, joined by the Tigris at the Horn, they both mingle their waters, and flow together into the sea.

The Tigris received its name from the Greeks, in allusion to the swiftness of its course, compared with the Euphrates. It rises also in Armenia, and flows along the eastern edge of Mesopotamia, separating it from Koordistain, going by the ruins of Nineveh, and after-

wards flowing through the modern Bagdad and the ancient Clesophon and Selencia, till it joins the Euphrates at the point before named ; from whence the united stream is called the river of the Arabs, all the way from the point of junction to the great town and port of Busso-rah, and thence onward to the sea. In the language of the country, the Tigris is called Diglath, or Dikelat—and by the Chaldeans and Syrians it was called Dekelit ; in each of which forms may be clearly traced the Hiddekel of the Hebrews.

It is generally thought that the Pison, or Phison, is the river called the Phasis, by the Greeks, having its source also in the Armenian mountains : and the land of Havilah, which it encompasseth, would then correspond with the Colchis of the ancients, which has always been celebrated for its gold. The two other substances named, as found here, namely, bdellium and the onyx stone, were, one, an odoriferous gum, much used by the ancients for fumigation ; and the other is thought to apply rather to precious stones in general than to any particular gem. The Hebrew word used is Shehem ; but though the Vulgate, or Latin translation, always renders this by the term onyx, yet the Septuagint, or Greek translation, gives it variously as topaz, emerald, beryl, sardonyx, sapphire, and onyx. This last, which is a kind of chalcedony, derives its name from the Greek language, and has been given on account of its resemblance in colour to the whitish band at the base of the human nail. The distinction which appears to be made between onyx and sardonyx arises from the colours of the former being arranged in a confused manner, and those of the latter in regular bands. Of these, the ancients made those beautiful cameos which are still so highly prized—the one stratum or colour serving for the base, and the other for the alto-relievo, in which the figures were cut. It may be remembered that Moses was directed to take two onyx stones, and engrave on them the names of the children of Israel (Exodus, c. 28, v. 9, 10), which, from their being directed to be set in gold, and worn on the shoulder of the ephod, by Aaron, as a memorial before the Lord, may be deemed sufficiently indicative of the precious estimation in which the gem was held.

Gihon, applied to the first river, is a general term, signifying any stream—and as such is applied to several rivers of Asia. The most general impression is that the particular river here meant was the Oxus, which flows from the East towards the Caspian Sea, and loses itself in the Lake Aral. The land of Cush, round which it flowed, is called Ethiopia—but this also is a name given to more countries than one, and is difficult to identify. Notwithstanding the obscurity, however, which attaches to some portions of the topographical description, its main and prominent features will be seen to correspond more accurately with the existing divisions of the country and its streams, than, after the changes effected by the Deluge, and the great lapse of time even since then, could have been expected.

The Hindoos fix the site of the first Paradise in the island of Ceylon, where beautiful landscapes, rich and luxuriant trees, and gold and precious stones, abound ; but where the rivers are wanting.

Adam's Peak is the name given to the highest mountain; the pretended impression of Adam's foot, on a most gigantic scale, is shewn there: and Adam's bridge is the name given to the rocky ledge by which Ceylon is in some degree connected with the continent of India. The Mohammedans fix on Damascus as the seat of the original Paradise or Garden of Eden; and the enchanting beauty of the spot might well justify its selection. The inhabitants of that beautiful city shew to strangers a spot called El Roobby, or the Four Streams, which they consider to be the four streams referred to by Moses as watering the Garden of Eden. But it is clear that the Tigris and Euphrates so precisely indicate the real site, that this local tradition is not to be entertained.

RICH AND POOR.

He is rich whose income is more than his expenses; and he is poor whose expenses exceed his income.—*La Bruyère*.

THE TRUE END OF INTELLECTUAL CULTIVATION.

THE highest purpose of intellectual cultivation is to give a man a perfect knowledge and mastery of his own inner self; to render our consciousness its own light and its own mirror. Hence there is the less reason to be surprised at our inability to enter fully into the feelings and characters of others. No one who has not a complete knowledge of himself, will ever have a true understanding of another.—*Novalis*.

ERRORS OF OPPOSITES TO EVILS.

THE wisest man is not safe from the liability to mistake for good, the reverse of some inveterate and grievous ill. The clearer his discernment of existing evils, and the more absolutely his whole soul is engaged in the contest against them, the more danger that the mischiefs which chiefly occupy his own thoughts should render him insensible to their contraries, and that in guarding one side he should leave the other uncovered.—*Jurist*.

STANDING ARMIES AND LONG PARLIAMENTS.

I had in those days (alluding to the period in which he was employed by the Earl of Oxford) a moral antipathy against standing armies in time of peace, because I always took standing armies to be only servants hired by the master of the family, for keeping his own children in slavery. As to Parliament, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic Institution which made them annual, and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until that ancient law was restored among us. For, who sees not that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty, which traffic would neither answer the design nor expense, if Parliament met once a year. I could never discover the necessity of suspending any law upon which the liberty of the most innocent persons depended; neither do I think that this practice hath made the taste of arbitrary power so agreeable as that we should desire to see it repeated.—*Swift*.

THE LITERARY EXPOSITOR.

Three Years in North America. By JAMES STUART, Esq. Third Edition, revised.—2 vols. 12mo. Whittaker and Co. London.

THE public approbation of this interesting and useful work is sufficiently marked by the demand for a third edition: and the high estimation in which we hold it, is such, as to induce us to wish that this edition may soon be consumed, and lead to the demand for a fourth. It is a matter of the highest importance that the British public should be accurately informed with respect to the condition, resources, state of society and feeling, in America. Political as well as philanthropic considerations are involved in this—and he who materially assists in the accomplishment of this good is the author of a national benefit. In this light we regard Mr. Stuart. His volumes are among the most agreeable; and, besides this, may be truly called the most valuable that have recently appeared on the country to which they relate. The interest of the narrative is sufficient to reward the mere reader for amusement: while the tendency which all the information, and all the sentiment contained in it, must have to cultivate the more friendly feelings between Englishmen and Americans, gives to the work a great additional value. In every sense, therefore, political, commercial, moral, and social, it is an acceptable addition to our literature—and as such, we strongly recommend it to general perusal.

The Parliamentary Pocket Companion for 1833. Second Edition. Whittaker and Co.—London.

THERE are few persons who take an interest in politics, and who read the Debates in both Houses of Parliament, that do not desire to know something of the biography and political character of the several speakers that pass in review before them. If this be the feeling in ordinary times, it must be much stronger at a period like the present, when a reformed Parliament includes so many more new Members than were ever before assembled at the opening of a Session. The work before us is better calculated to gratify this laudable curiosity than any of the same class that we have yet seen. Its industrious Editor has given a practical proof of the possibility of accomplishing the "*multum in parvo*;" and in a size and shape which makes the little volume literally what it professes to be, a "Pocket Companion," there is included more information respecting the Members of both Houses, the population, rates, and constituency of all the Boroughs sending representatives, and every other particular of Parliamentary interest, than in any work that has ever fallen under our observation.

We are bound, also, to say, that the strictest impartiality appears to have been exercised, and perfect fairness dealt out to all—whether Conservative, Radical, Whig or Tory. It is a companion, in short, which no Member of either House should be without; and we think there is no club, news-room, library, or place of public resort, where it would not be quite as useful as, and far more entertaining than, any Guide, Directory, or other book of constant reference that could be laid upon their tables.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

INEQUALITY OF TAXATION.—WHO SHOULD PAY THE INTEREST OF THE NATIONAL DEBT?

SIR,

Lincoln, April 18th, 1833.

You have proved yourself, on many occasions, a friend to the industrious people of this country, but particularly in recommending a Property Tax. The working class would have no share of the burthen of Taxation, if justice were done them, for they have nothing to protect or to lose; as we are told that the debt was incurred to protect *Property*, from the rapacity of Napoleon Bonaparte. If this be true, (which I deny, for I believe the war was entered into and carried on for the exclusive benefit of the aristocracy and the landowners) it is an affair of the rich, and the interest of it ought to be paid by them, and them only.

That the fundholders will first obtain the wealth of the productive class, is undeniable; but this they will be in possession of in the course of two or three years, *if they continue to be exempted from Taxation*; and then the land will most assuredly become theirs. I believe nothing can prevent the landowners and the industrious part of the community from becoming the prey of the fundholders, but a Tax on the funds. This, we shall be told, would be a breach of faith. But pray what is it to have borrowed 50*l.* that is, 100*l.* in the 3 per cents. in a *paper* currency, and to pay 80*l.* in a *metallic* currency? Is not this a breach of faith, which will one day bring upon the authors of it their fit punishment, if they meet with their deserts?

From what I can learn, the authors of this fraud are the persons who have most benefitted by it. Nearly the whole weight of Taxation is borne by the working class, who are getting more enlightened on the subject every day: they see clearly that the dread of invasion by Bonaparte was a mere pretext to carry on the war, for the advance of rents, and affording employment for the sons of the aristocracy. The poor are well satisfied that if the French could have got possession of this country, which is impossible so long as we retain our naval ascendancy, that they would not have been injured, as it was Bonaparte's policy to *improve* the condition of the poor, to cause them to be satisfied with him, and to make free with the property of the oppressors of the working class. If I am right in my statement, I hope the public will refuse to pay any more Taxes, until they are equitably levied.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,
AN ENEMY TO INJUSTICE.

ANCIENT CHARACTERS.

Sesostris.

But Glory weeps to breathe a nobler name—
 The noblest of old Egypt,—numbering *him*
 With those who, lured by sanguinary fame,
 Made the life-star of sorrowing nations dim.

Sesostris—Sethos of old song!—thy breast
 The dæmon and the angel sway'd by turns;
 At times all-hallow'd, and at times *possess'd*
 With the dread lust of ruling o'er men's urns;—

Or of surveying, from surrounding thrones,
 Nations of slaves that own'd a stranger-lord,
 That knelt on fields yet white with kindred bones,
 To kiss thy sceptre, and to curse thy sword.

Alas! what shall the weak do, when the wise,
 The just, and glorious, thus are led astray?
 How shall the mob see, when the lynx's eyes
 At times are darken'd in the blaze of day?

Ill graced it *thee* to be Dominion's dupe—
 To wear, with meaner babes, her leading-strings—
 From the high manhood of thy mind to stoop,
 And yoke thy go-cart with a team of kings.

Great as thou wert, what mightst thou not have been,
 Had not the necromancer, Empire, done
 His work within, without—on sense and scene—
 Till the blind eagle soar'd to a false sun!

Posterity should but have heard thee hail'd,
 Friend of the wise, and father of the free;
 Rank'd with the starry few, whose hearts were mail'd
 Against imperial imbecility;—

The starry few, who shed among mankind
 Light from the lore they lov'd, the deeds they did;
 Who oped fresh veins, explored new beds of mind,
 For gems to pile Truth's diamond pyramid.

Which of these Alps, thou charioteer of kings!
 Once held thy relics, or now bears thy name?—
 Mourn, Grandeur, mourn!—Oblivion's murky wings
 Wave from the watch-towers of departed Fame!

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 25.

THE subject of the Vote by Ballot was brought forward this evening by Mr. GROTE, in a very long and able speech, embracing all the arguments for, and anticipating most of the objections to, this mode of taking the votes at elections. There are some subjects on which the arguments are so palpable, and so plain, that we feel it almost a waste of time to recapitulate the reasons in favour of, or to combat those against them; and the question of the Ballot is one of these. How any but an interested person can fail to see that it is *essential* to the independence of a voter that he should be able to exercise his vote without exposing himself to any evil consequences for so doing, is to us matter of astonishment. It is clear, however, that there are such persons, and that, in the House of Commons, they constitute a large majority:—another proof, added to the many we have had before, of that House being greatly in arrear, instead of being in advance, of the state of intelligence and liberality of opinion out of doors. The question of the Ballot is lost, for the present Session at least; and with many this will lessen the desire to know any of the arguments by which it was supported or opposed: but, as there will be still many who would like to see some of the more striking passages, at least, of a few of the speeches on either side, we will endeavour to gratify them. After an introduction, in which he expressed his approbation of the Reform Bill, and his desire to see it made complete, Mr. GROTE said,—

‘The House were aware that secret suffrage was preferred in France, and in twenty out of the twenty-four states of the American Union. Open suffrage had been hitherto the practice in the unreformed parliamentary elections of this country, but however well open suffrage might have chimed in with that borough-holding ascendancy under which the unreformed Parliament was cast, he thought he should be able to show that secret suffrage was the only arrangement compatible with the genius and purposes of a reformed Parliament,—the only sure method of attaining a House of Commons possessing the confidence of the people. (Hear.) He believed that the Reform Bill gave them a constituency of about 1,000,000 of persons.

What would they have said if there had been a special clause in the Bill, dividing that constituency into two classes—voters *juris sui* and voters *juris alieni*—self-judging voters and servile voters, voters entitled to a will of their own, and voters under legal compulsion to express only the will of another? (Hear, hear.) What if the Bill had classified all the tenants on a great man's estate, all occupiers of houses under him, as so many lip-voters, necessary indeed as mechanical instruments for transmitting the determination of the great man to the hustings, but constrained under legal penalty to utter no other determination than his? What if the Bill had enacted that every tradesman should be compelled to give his vote at the dictation of one or other of his best customers, under the penalty of 50*l.*, whenever he chose to exercise his own free-will? What if the Bill had imposed formally upon all voters who happened to be clerks, or journey-men, or servants, the peremptory obligation of voting in the way that their employers prescribed? (Cheers.) If any one of these many enormities had been directly prescribed by the Reform Bill, it would have been torn in pieces, amidst the execrations of the whole community. Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, would have denounced it with one unanimous voice. There would not have been one single advocate from any political party to vindicate this formal abolition of the right of private judgment in any portion of the electors. (Cheers.) Nobody would in that case have dwelt upon the necessity of straining the influence of property to the utmost—nobody would have talked of the right of the landlord to control the votes of his tenants in return for the permission granted them to reside upon his land. Every one would have been full of indignation at the bare thought of according a vote without formal liberty to dispose of it. (Hear, hear.)

‘Such would have been the infallible burst of sentiment if the Reform Bill had contained any particular abolition of the freedom of voting in the manner which he had described. But it was not by the law alone that the freedom of election could be subverted,—that same state of subjugated voting now existed in its full malignity, without the help of the Reform Bill, by the mere force of extra legal causes. What need was there of laws to enact that the tenant should only obey the dictation of his landlord, or of penalties to be inflicted if he disobeyed? (Hear, hear.) The landlord had himself the means of enforcing his own dictation without the aid of the magistrate, and of inflicting a penalty far more terrible than any which the magistrate could inflict—ejection from house and home. (Hear.) What occasion was there to decree by law that customers should have power over the votes of their tradesmen, and employers over those of their labourers? (Hear.) The power existed as surely, and the penalty was as certain and as terrible, whether they legalized it or not. Now, if dependence and subjection of voters, when created specially by law, be abhorrent to your feelings, why should the same things be less abhorrent when it broke in upon them per force, without the aid of law? (Hear.) Its mischiefs were precisely the same, whether it were a weed of natural growth or a poison artificially planted. You are not less bound to extirpate the weed, than to refrain from planting the poison. (Cheers.) It was not the name, it was not the legalized establishment of dependent voting which was mischievous—no; it was the thing called dependent, compulsory, spurious voting, which was of such deadly working, whether it existed factitiously, by means of the law, or naturally, in spite of the law. What signified though it were covered with a thin film of freedom, and ushered in by the empty proclamation of “every voter to do as he pleases?” If, nevertheless, the voting be really under compulsion, you have the same mischief to answer for, with the addition of a wretched piece of hypocrisy to screen it from public recognition. (Cheers.) He should be told, no doubt, that as matters now stand,

the law interfered with no man's vote; and every man might, if he pleased, refuse to obey dictation. So he might, no doubt, if he chose to abide the consequences. So he might also, even though his dependence were pronounced and enforced by law, if he chose to abide the legal penalties. If a penalty of 50*l.* were imposed by law upon every voter who did not vote in a particular way, they would feel assured that this penalty would be quite sufficient to bias the votes of 99 men out of 100. How much more, then, when they left in private hands the power of inflicting upon him a penalty so much heavier and more unmeasured! (Cheers.) Could they really expect that in the face of these extreme hazards, a defenceless man would vote freely and conscientiously, merely because they permitted him to do so by law? No; while they left the voter under the sweep of this ultra-legal jurisdiction, be assured that compulsory voting was the certain, the constant, the almost universal consequence.'

He then combatted the argument raised against the Ballot by those who said it would induce habits of perjury, by making men promise one thing and do another; for their respect for their promise would induce them, under open voting, to make their acts correspond with their words; while, under the Ballot, they would break this promise, and thus be guilty of a great sin. In answer to this, Mr. GROTE said,—

'But suppose he was juror in a particular case, and pledged himself beforehand to find for the plaintiff, right or wrong; or suppose he was subpoenaed as a witness, and pledged himself to depose to false statements in court; because he had given this iniquitous promise was he to be held warranted in committing the iniquitous act to which it pledged him? Not if he had promised it ever so frequently and solemnly. To promise to do wrong was in itself a heavy sin; but to do actual wrong in execution of that promise was a second sin still heavier than the first, and instead of clearing the conscience of the promiser, imprinted upon it a still deeper stain of guilt. (Hear, hear.) So it was with the electoral trust; a voter was criminal when he promised to violate it, but he was still more criminal when he violated it in fact, pursuant to that promise. He would, in illustration of this truth, read a few lines out of Shakspeare, whose words would stick to their memory much more tenaciously than his:—

"It is great sin, to swear unto a sin;
But greater sin, to keep a sinful oath.
Who can be bound by any solemn vow
To do a murderous deed, to rob a man,
To force a spotless virgin's chastity,
To reave the orphan of his patrimony,
To wring the widow from her custom'd right;
And have no other reason for this wrong,
But that he was bound by a solemn oath?"

Those lines were no less exact than forcible. He prized as highly as any man the sanctity of a promise, but it was preposterous to treat promise-keeping as if it were the sole and single duty which a man had to perform. It was amongst a number of other duties; and whenever any higher and more commanding obligation interfered, the keeping of the promise became a crime and the violation of it a duty. Now, the very worst effect which the ballot could possibly produce, was to enable these compulsory and immoral promises to be violated with impunity; but it neither would nor could create any new breach of faith—it neither would nor could introduce

any additional lie into the business of voting. Voting openly, the dependent keeps faith with his superior and breaks faith with his country. Voting secretly, he breaks faith with his superior and keeps faith with his country. In either case there is a breach of faith, but in breaking faith with his country he commits a gross and heinous iniquity; in breaking faith with his superior, he merely returns to the path of virtue and conscience which that superior had been forcing him to abandon; he cheats the prime author and artificer of the lie, who ought to be the last to complain if the dependents whom he has tried to suborn prove faithless towards himself.' (Cheers.)

It has been also argued that the elective franchise was a sacred trust, which a man was responsible to the public for exercising rightly; and therefore all the world ought to know how his vote was given. But, it was asked—

'What was the real nature of that trust? Wherein did a man discharge it faithfully, and wherein did he fail of doing so? It consisted in this, that a man should announce his genuine and conscientious preference between two or more candidates at the poll. His preference must be genuine—that is, it must be his own, not the preference of another man, expressed with his voice: it must also be conscientious—that is, not derived from any sinister temptations held out to him individually, apart from the rest of the community. When an elector had delivered at the poll his own genuine and conscientious preference, he then executed his duty fully, whether he agreed or differed with others. One of two things must be supposed; the general body of electors, if left to themselves, and to their own free will, will either be disposed to execute the trust faithfully, or they will not. Either they have taken, as a body, a paramount interest in good government, or they have not. If they have, no better security was wanted for the faithful discharge of their trust; care only must be taken that they are not either individually coerced by menaces, or individually tempted by bribes. If they are not, they will be found disposed of themselves to choose dishonestly. But, assuming this to be the case, can they be forced to choose honestly by merely making them choose in public? He contended that the thing was totally impracticable. That which was sought from the voter, an honest expression of opinion, could never be obtained except from his own free-will. The utmost extremity of force could not wring it from him, if he were not disposed to give it freely. It was a secret of his own conscience, which no human being could fathom, and which none but himself could disclose. If an elector were disposed to vote dishonestly, he might do so just as easily in the face of the fullest congregation, as in his own closet. The wisdom of his vote might be judged of by others; the honesty of his vote could never be known except to himself. No human supervision could force a man to deliver an honest vote, if he would not do it of his own accord; because no human discernment could ascertain whether his vote were honest or not. Therefore would he maintain that, so far as regarded the attainment of honest and conscientious voting, publicity was utterly fruitless and impotent, if they supposed the voter to be himself dishonestly inclined. But he should go further, and show that publicity of votes, as the means towards responsibility of voters, though impotent towards good, was most potent and effective towards mischief. It could not convert a single voter from dishonesty to honesty, but it made thousands of honest voters dishonest against their inclinations; for so soon as votes were individually known, the door was opened for tampering with voters as individuals, and each voter became controllable by one or a few private masters, who exercised a paramount influence over his happiness. This was the real—the

mighty—the all-subduing control to which publicity condemned the elector. Under the mask of responsibility to the public, you fastened upon him the base and dismal chain of private dependence. Such was the ignominious subjection publicity entailed in one form or another upon half the voters who came to the poll.

The argument, however, upon which the opponents of the Ballot chiefly rely is, that it would destroy the influence of property, and bring candidates and voters down to one common level. This was most effectually answered thus:—

‘ They were often told that the influence of rich men over voters was a very salutary thing, and that the Ballot was mischievous, as tending to destroy it. Gentlemen did indeed draw a distinction between legitimate influence and illegitimate influence; meaning (as far as he understood) all such influence as the present law did not forbid, as contrasted with bribery, which it does forbid. He himself acknowledged a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate influence. But he drew the line through very different points, and he thought that much of that influence which the law now tolerated, was incalculably more pernicious than the bribery which it affected to condemn. (Hear, hear.) How much influence over voters ought a rich man to have? As much as he could purchase? No, certainly; for even the present law forbids the idea of his purchasing any influence at all. He (Mr. Grote) said not as much as he could purchase, but as much as he deserved, and as much as unrestrained freemen were willing to pay him. (Cheers.) Amongst unconstrained freemen, the man of recognised superiority, moral and intellectual, would be sure of obtaining spontaneous esteem and deference. These were his just deserts, and they came to him unbidden and unbespoken. (Hear, hear.) But they would become to him multiplied tenfold, if, along with these intrinsic excellencies, he possessed the extrinsic advantages of fortune—if he were marked out to the attention of mankind by the conspicuous blazon of established opulence and station; and if he were thus furnished with the means of giving ampler range and effect to his virtuous dispositions. These were the primary elements which, when combined in the same person, raised to its highest pitch the admiration of mankind, (cheers) and ensured their willing obedience; this was the meed which awaited men of birth and fortune, if they employed their faculties industriously, and to the proper ends. He did not deny that poorer men might attain it also; but with them the ascent was toilsome, the obstructions numerous, and the success at best uncertain: (Hear, hear)—with the rich man the road was straight and smooth, the willing public met him half-way, and joyfully hailed the gradual opening of his virtues. (Hear, hear.) He was the man to whom they delighted to pay homage, and their idolatrous fancy was even disposed to forestall and exaggerate his real merits. This was, in his opinion, the legitimate influence of wealth and station—to serve as the passport, as the ally, as the handmaid, of superior wisdom and virtue. This influence was as gentle and kindly as it was lasting and infallible; (Cheers) it was self-created and self-operating, derived from the most universal propensities of the human will; and it was, moreover, twice blessed; for it blessed as well the few who exercised it, as the many over whom it was exercised. (Cheers.) If our great and wealthy men would be content with this legitimate influence—if they would employ their superior opportunities in acquiring that mental superiority which really fitted them to guide and govern their countrymen, then would their ascendancy be assured beyond all competition, under any system of voting, and the business of governing the mass of the people would be as easy as the management of the flock by the shepherd. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.)

But it was the curse of our species, both here and elsewhere, that the great and wealthy men would seldom or never pursue this straight and righteous path to dominion. (Cheers.) They would insist on governing mankind without taking the trouble to acquire those qualities which make mankind willing to be governed by them. "*Diversissimas res pariter expectant; ignaviæ voluptatem et præmia virtutis.*" They chose to rule by mere dint of naked wealth and station, unallied with those beneficent ingredients which bestowed upon rulers an empire over human hearts, as well as over human persons. Then came the strain and tug to make the influence of wealth alone, in worthless and ungifted hands, equivalent to that of wealth and mental excellence united. Wealth in itself, apart from all personal merit, ensured the power of conferring individual favours, and inflicting individual injuries; it enabled a man to deal out bribes (open or disguised) with one hand, and blows with the other. It could not, indeed, obtain for him the heartfelt esteem of a willing public; but it served as a two-edged sword, to steal away the simulated demonstrations of esteem, and to extort those votes which he had not virtue enough to earn. That was, in his opinion, the illegitimate influence of property,—when it superseded and disinthroned the diviner qualities of the man and the hero,—when the favours and injuries which its possessor could deal out, were made to stand in the place of talents and virtues, and to usurp that recompense which the people delighted to bestow on the glorious compound of mental superiority with worldly station. (Loud cheers.) Now, when he was asked whether the Ballot would impair the influence of wealth and of wealthy men, he replied, that in all those cases where this influence was really legitimate and beneficial, not only would it not be impaired, but it would be strengthened and exalted. Under open voting, the influence of wealth was alike in every hand,—alike, whether combined with worthlessness and mediocrity, or with the rarest virtue and ability. Ejection of tenants, dismissal from employment, or privation of custom, were engines which the worst man could employ, as well as the best; nay, the worse he was, the more effectually would he employ them, since he would be less restrained by scruples of justice or tenderness. When votes were given openly, they had the hurtful influence of wealth stretched to its utmost pitch, while the salutary influence was abridged and counterworked at the least, if not entirely trodden down. (Hear, hear.) But the Ballot decomposed this confused heap of good and evil, with the exactness of a chymical agent. It banished from the mind of the voter both the hope of private favour, and the fear of injury; (Cheers) but that affectionate and willing homage which wealth, combined with mental excellence, so infallibly awakened, was left in full empire over his heart, and became the determining principle of his vote. Fear not that the rich man, who employed wealth and leisure as they ought to be employed,—in elevating his own mental character, and in affording conspicuous evidence of active virtue; fear not that such a man would lose one particle of influence by means of the Ballot. His standard was planted in the interior of men's bosoms; his ascendancy was sure and operative in the dark as in the light; his admonitions and recommendations needed no coercive force to ensure attention.'

The concluding passage was equally unanswerable: but the boldness of such opinions as these will be looked upon with horror by those to whom they apply, and will undoubtedly make the opposition of the aristocracy to the Ballot greater than ever. This, however, will be no evil, since their opposition will be counteracted and overcome by increased zeal on the part of its advocates, so that its final victory and adoption cannot be deferred beyond a session or two more at farthest.

'The question had been started, whether an uneducated gentry were not the greatest of all national evils? Certainly, if not the greatest, they were among the greatest of the national evils; nor was the counterpart of the proposition less true, that a gentry well educated, and of enlarged sympathies with the people, were among the foremost of all national blessings. He was sure that the most effectual way of assuring and perpetuating to themselves that blessing, would be to render the vote of an elector inaccessible to all coercion, and attainable only by those who should have earned his genuine esteem. (Hear, hear.) That was the only price which could stimulate the listlessness, or soften the natural pride of one whose wealth placed him above the communion of his fellow-men; and by rendering the suffrage secret, lock this precious prize in a casket, which could neither be stolen by fraud, nor ravished by tyranny; reserve it in the inmost sanctuary, as a free-will offering to ascertained merit, and as a stimulus to noble aspirations. If he had no other ground to ask for the Ballot, he would ask it on this—that it was the only schoolmaster of a frivolous and self-indulgent aristocracy.' (Cheers.)

SIR WILLIAM INGILBY seconded the motion. LORD DARLINGTON and MR. PETER opposed it; and MR. TAYLEURE spoke in its favour.

MR. F. T. BARING was put forward by the Government as their champion, for when matters of this kind are not made a Cabinet question, the leading Ministers rarely take a part, but leave the contest to the minor Members on the Treasury bench: but throughout his whole speech, not a passage presents itself of sufficient worth for extract.

DR. LUSHINGTON made a short but very powerful speech in favor of the Ballot, and mentioned the intimidation and influence used by the West India body against his own election for the Tower Hamlets, in proof of its necessity for the voters' protection. And Major FANCOURT made a long and very agreeably delivered speech against it: his main arguments being, that the secrecy of the Ballot would increase the bribery, and make it double instead of single; that the Reform Bill ought to have a fair trial before any change in it should be introduced: and that our venerable constitution abhorred the secret and cowardly mode of proceeding which the Ballot would introduce.

LORD ALTHORP admitted, that on the only occasion on which this question had been before debated, he had voted for the Ballot—that he approved of it still, though he thought the evils of open, and the benefits of secret, voting had been greatly over-rated by both parties. But he should feel it his duty to oppose the motion nevertheless: because a great many had given their support to the Reform Bill, on the understanding that the Ballot and Triennial Parliaments were to be postponed until a fair trial of the Reform Bill had been made.

But surely this trial *has* been made, as far as the question of open or secret voting is concerned, by the election that brought the present Parliament together: and if, with such examples as Liverpool, Norwich, Stafford, Newry, Hertford, and other places, whose iniquities have been exposed by Committees of Parliament since the House met, be not proof of the inefficiency of the Reform Bill *without* the Ballot, then, no evidence that *could* be adduced would be deemed sufficient.

Mr. COBBETT was never a very strenuous advocate for the Ballot; but he would vote for it on this occasion. Mr. PELHAM opposed it, and said that in his county, Lincolnshire, it was extremely unpopular. Mr. O'CONNELL advocated it as indispensable to the completion of Reform; and Sir ROBERT PEEL made what was considered the most powerful of all the speeches in opposition to it. We, therefore, give as large a *proportion* of extracts from it, as from that of Mr. GROTE, so as to put our readers in possession of the strongest arguments on either side.

'He (Sir R. Peel) would take a brief review of those arguments. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman had said that there would be no canvassing under a Ballot. What! would that be a benefit, that, after a dissolution of Parliament in which a man had acted for several years, there was to be such a languor and apathy that a man was not to go before his constituents to explain his conduct, and the reasons for his votes? If you did this, you would indeed sever the link of connexion between the constituency and the representative. (Hear, hear.) This connexion was in itself a great advantage, and the severance of it would be a strong argument against the Ballot, if the Ballot were to put an end to canvassing. The Learned Gentleman had admitted that the Ballot would be nothing unless secrecy were observed; but how could it be observed if the public functionaries who were to take the Ballot, and who might not probably be always selected for their highly strict and honourable principles, were to be made acquainted with it? If they should become acquainted with the votes, they would acquire a power over the voters, which would make them the petty tyrants of the districts in which they resided. In order, then, to remove one of his objections to the Ballot, it must be proved to him that the public functionaries who were to preside over it were for ever to remain ignorant of the manner in which they voted; but was it to be expected that the voters themselves were to keep the secret as to how they had voted? Was it credible that they would remain silent on a subject of such importance? Were they to keep it secret from their wives? (Hear, hear.) Why, what an abominable system which would destroy the confidence between the nearest connexions in life! (Hear, hear.) But, he would ask, could it be expected that men in their private societies, in their families, in their clubs, or in their markets, were not to mention it, and if they did, how was it possible to prevent it from getting abroad? (Hear, hear.) If this strict silence were to be observed, there would be an end of all public discussion. His objection to this system of Ballot was, that it would make the constitution of that House more democratic than it now was. He thought that at present it was democratic enough; (hear, hear) and therefore he openly opposed it on that ground. He thought there was quite infusion enough of democratic principle in the House for a mixed constitution such as ours. (Hear.) Let the House see what would be the effect of destroying the influence of property. If a man of 10,000*l.* a-year were to have no more influence than a man of 100*l.* a-year, property would become of little value, and a system of representation would be established against which no Government could stand. Another ground of objection was, that after the experiment of last year, it would be too much to carry on the principle of Reform so much further, without any experience as to the working of what they had already done. If there was to be no fixedness in the electoral system, all respect for authority would be removed. The system of Universal Suffrage would be much less objectionable than

this. He knew of many ingenious arguments why women should be allowed to vote. They could hold property, and were vested with many important trusts, and could vote for many public functionaries; but they had not yet been intrusted with the power of voting for Members of Parliament, though the arguments in their favor were as cogent as most, if not all, of those which he had heard in support of the Ballot.'

Sir ROBERT PEEL's objections then are reduced to four: 1st. It would destroy canvassing; 2ndly. It would not ensure secrecy; 3rdly. It would destroy the influence of property; and 4thly. It would be carrying Reform further than we ought to do till the existing Bill had been fairly tried. Let us say a word or two on each of these objections.

1st, The practice of canvassing to solicit votes, and by an interested familiarity and condescension, visiting the houses of the poorest electors, just previous to an election, who are never visited, or hardly thought of at any other time, is in itself, as it appears to us, hypocritical and debasing. In such canvassing, it is almost impossible for the candidate to make any satisfactory explanation of his political sentiments to every individual visited: and the object is, by the operation of personal flattery and influence to win from the elector a *promise* of his vote before-hand, instead of leaving it to his cool judgment to give it on the day of the poll, to the candidate he might really prefer. The Ballot would undoubtedly put an end to this; for few persons would take the trouble to solicit *promises*, when the Ballot would render it difficult, if not impossible, to know whether the promises made, were fulfilled or not. But though the Ballot would prevent this exercise of personal servility in asking for votes as favors conferred, it would in no degree whatever prevent the candidate meeting his constituents, assembled in large bodies,—there explaining to them openly, and in the hearing of each other, his views and principles; and then leaving them to form their own unbiassed judgments as to his fitness or unfitness to be their representative. This is all the intercourse that is desirable or useful, previous to an election; and this the Ballot would not in the least degree prevent.

2ndly, The opponents of the Ballot are a little inconsistent in the grounds of their opposition. Sometimes they condemn the Ballot, because it ensures secrecy, and therefore takes away from the voter the wholesome responsibility under which he lies to the public, for giving his vote rightly; and at other times they condemn it, because it will *not* ensure the secrecy which they think so *undesirable*. Now, it cannot be both: but this we may say,—that whether men should openly proclaim their votes, or whether they should keep them secret, it would be in the power of every individual to *give* his vote without fear or control: and it would then rest entirely with his individual discretion whether he made it public or not. At present, he has no such choice, but *must* make his vote known; so that he cannot escape the evil consequences of voting against a landlord or a customer, on whose pleasure or favor he is dependant for his subsistence.

3rdly, It could not destroy the legitimate and honorable influence

of property, as had been before well shewn by Mr. Grote : but it would defeat and destroy the illegitimate and dishonourable influence which wealth now exercises over poverty ; and that would be one of its principal benefits. If the electors found that a candidate was intelligent, liberal, and honest, they would not reject him because he was rich : on the contrary, wealth, however acquired, and however used, will always greatly add to the weight of all good qualities put into the scale : and if the preference of these qualities without wealth, to mere opulence alone, would make the House more democratic than it is, this would be a good and not an evil. Is not the Legislature composed of three estates—the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the democracy ?—and are we not perpetually told, that it is the just and exactly proportioned balance between these three, which preserves the whole in order ? We do not wish to make the monarchy less monarchical, nor the aristocracy less aristocratical ;—why then should we desire to have the democracy less democratical ? According to our notions, the purity of the House of Commons from all extraneous or foreign elements, is as essential as the purity of the other two branches : and as the King is jealous of his prerogative, and the Lords jealous of their privileges, so we would have the Commons guard their freedom with equal strictness, and prevent, as much as possible, the entry into it of any member of the aristocracy, who have a House of their own, to which their class should be entirely confined, in order to keep each branch of the Legislature free from any admixture of the elements properly belonging to any other. But the influence of property, it is said, would be thus destroyed ; and it is added that if a man of 10,000*l.* a year had no more influence than a man of 1000*l.* a year, property would become of little value, and a system of representation would be established, under which no Government could stand. According to the theory and the practice of the English constitution, no extent of property gives a man more than one electoral vote : and by the most ancient usage, a forty-shilling freeholder, or a freeman of any corporate borough, however poor, has just the same power as the richest person, in his vote. An admirer of our ancient institutions, therefore, as Sir Robert Peel professes to be, should pause before he asked for the rich any greater influence, as far as votes for a representative in Parliament is concerned, than for the poorest freeman of the realm. But, to say that unless this power were possessed, property would become of little value, is warring against all experience : property will always be deemed valuable, as long as it gives its possessor a large command of the enjoyments of life, in food, clothing, dwellings, carriages, servants, &c. ; and as long as it accomplishes this—political influences quite apart from the question—so long will it be sought after and highly valued.

4thly, The objection to further changes till the last had been fairly tried, is characteristic of the political school to which Sir Robert Peel belongs ; but it is curious enough that the horror of change is only felt by that party, when it is to strengthen the democracy, and enlarge the liberties of the people. They have no repugnance to those changes by which the suspension of the habeas corpus and trial by jury have been

introduced into Ireland: they would have no objection to a change which should re-establish the Protestant ascendancy there. They see in every change from popular to arbitrary principles and practice, a blessing; and would change every day, to get us back to the times of the Tudors and the Stuarts. The change that retrogrades is "a wholesome return to the venerable institutions of our ancestors." The change that advances, is dreaded and denounced as a "reckless innovation:" whereas the true rule should be, to reject every change which narrowed the limits of public liberty and enjoyment; and to adopt every change, however frequent and however many, which should expand those limits, and embrace within its extended sphere the largest number of human beings, and the greatest amount of human happiness.

At the division on the Ballot, the numbers were—in favor of it, 106: against it, 211—though we had been accustomed to consider that 300 candidates, at least, had pledged themselves to support the Vote by Ballot, during the elections; and that if these had redeemed their pledges, the question would inevitably have been carried. We hope the constituencies of the country will look to this, and call upon their respective representatives to render an account of their conduct, in every instance in which they have failed to redeem their pledge.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 26.

The principal business of the evening was the discussion on a motion of Sir WILLIAM INGILBY, for reducing the Tax on Malt from 20s. 8d. to 10s. per quarter. In the course of his observations, he adverted to the objection made, that if this tax were taken off, no other equally good one could be substituted for it.

‘He had been asked to find a Tax as a substitute for the malt duty, but it was not his duty to do so. When he had been created Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would be time enough for him to consider the ways and means, (laughter) though then, perhaps, like other Chancellors of the Exchequer, he might be more afraid of the fundlord than the landlord, and therefore omit to tax capital which was lying dead and unproductive to the country. From his situation and circumstances in society, the landlord was obliged to keep his carriages, and horses, and servants, all of which benefitted the country, and all of which were taxed; but the fundlord might receive thousands in the shape of dividends, and content himself with keeping an old woman and a cat. (Great laughter.) The hon. baronet having recapitulated some of the arguments adduced by him on a former evening for a remission of the Malt Tax, observed that he had again brought forward a motion on the subject, not for the purpose of troubling or embarrassing the noble lord, but for his gratification, (a laugh) with a view to afford him an opportunity of revising his former opinion.’

The motion was seconded by Mr. PARROTT, who contended that though the tax taken off would be nearly two millions; yet, that from increase in consumption, the revenue would not lose more than one million.

'The gross produce of the Tax was 4,825,000*l.*, but, notwithstanding a remission of half the duty, increase of consumption would prevent the revenue from suffering to a greater extent than he had stated. But say that the loss was 1,500,000*l.*, what then? Would there be any difficulty in making up for the deficiency, without injustice to any human being? He thought not. Was there any injustice in reducing salaries to the point of fair compensation?—in taking away all sinecures, without compensation? Ought we not to reduce the general expenses of the State? Might not the civil list be diminished from 500,000*l.* to 300,000*l.*? The salaries of persons who held high offices should be cut down,—the judges, amongst the rest, might be reduced one-half. These economical reforms would make way for a reduction of taxation. He felt anxious to support Ministers if they adopted a right course, but he told the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer that he was not at present in the right track, and that his budget had been received, not only with coolness and dissatisfaction, but with scorn and contempt.'

These are strong terms, but we believe them to be perfectly justifiable, as expressing the general feeling with which the great bulk of the community regard the financial statement for the year.

MR. BENETT followed on the same side, and urged the institution of a Property Tax, as the most appropriate remedy for the deficiency to be expected.

'He was an advocate for a great commutation of the taxation which affected productive industry, by a tax upon property. Those persons who derived protection for their property from the civil and military institutions of the country, should support those institutions. There was a mode by which the Malt Tax, and many others, could be made up to the Exchequer,—he alluded to the establishment of a Property Tax. He wished that the hon. member, instead of moving for a reduction of one-half the Malt Duty, had proposed its entire repeal,—we should thus get rid of the machinery and expense of collecting it, and the country would be doubly benefitted. He should support the measure, because he thought the time was come when we must take our supplies of taxation from property, and not from the necessities of the people. In his opinion a Property Tax ought to be a peace-tax, because it was less onerous to the mass of the people than other descriptions of taxation; and, in like manner, if the people chose to go to war, he would make them pay for it, by imposing taxes on articles of consumption, which he would constitute war-taxes. For the purpose of enforcing a Property Tax, he would support a remission of the Malt Duty—a tax which he considered objectionable, not only as affecting agriculture, but depriving the lower orders of a wholesome luxury.'

SIR GEORGE PHILLIPS would vote against the motion, because he thought its success would embarrass the Government; and asserted that, so far from distress being general, the workmen were better off than they had been at any former period. MR. WARBURTON said, the repeal of the Malt Tax would only benefit the landlords, who would raise their rents accordingly, unless foreign barley was also introduced free.

SIR J. WILMOT took occasion to express his feelings with respect to the disappointment which the conduct of Ministers had occasioned to him; and, as we believe he spoke the sense of a large number of members, we give his speech entire.

‘Sir J. WILMOT said, that he had entered the House with a strong desire to support ministers, but he must confess that unless they altered their present system, it would be impossible for him to do so. He had seen so much vacillation on their parts, such attempts to conciliate their enemies, and such a want of plan in all their measures, that he felt himself bound to warn them that they were pursuing a dangerous course. They would have the disinterested support of the independent members of that House, if they would show an intention to fulfil the promises which they had made to the House and the country. They were placed in a difficult and dangerous situation—difficult, because they were exposed to much personal obloquy,—and dangerous, because they were surrounded by pitfalls and snares, dug and set for them by the hostility of their avowed opponents, and the treachery of their pretended friends. He recommended them to reduce the Malt Tax as a means of conciliating the alienated people. As to finding a substitute for the tax, that was the business of Ministers, as its reduction was the business of the House.’ (Hear.)

Mr. HARVEY would vote for the motion ; and thought that nothing less than a repeal of the whole of the Malt Tax, and of the whole of the Assessed Taxes also, amounting in the whole to nearly seven millions, would satisfy the country : and this could only be replaced by a Property Tax, to which he would give his support. He agreed with Sir J. Wilmot, that Ministers had fallen from a high pitch of popularity into a state of general suspicion : but he thought the House itself, by its recent conduct, enjoyed very little more of the confidence of the people.

Lord ALTHORP said, that if the motion of the hon. Member for Lincolnshire, and that of which notice had been given for the repeal of the Assessed Taxes, should be adopted by the House, a commutation of Taxes would be inevitable. He wished members to reflect upon the question of a Property Tax, which was so constantly urged in that House, and to consider whether if that Tax were in operation, it would, upon the whole, be more advantageous than the present system of Taxation. He apprehended that the Property Tax which was spoken of was one upon realized Income, and not upon Income derived from professional exertions, and if so, he would ask Members connected with the landed interest whether such a Tax was likely to prove beneficial to them ? He, however, would not be content to argue the question in that way ; he objected to the introduction of a Property Tax, because it was opposed by difficulties which he could not see his way out of. He was quite certain that no man who recollected the Property Tax of 1816 would say that it was an equitable Tax. Indeed, every one said that it was not.

Now, with great deference to the Noble Lord, for whose good intentions we entertain sincere respect, we may say that it is a bold assertion to aver that “every one” said the Property Tax of 1816 was not an equitable tax. But supposing it were really so, there would be no necessity to make the Property Tax of 1833 inequitable also. The Property Tax of 1816, was laid on in *addition* to other existing burthens ; and made the weight *more heavy* on the shoulders of all. The Property Tax of 1833, is proposed as a *substitute* for other taxes, to make the weight *more light* ; and relieve, instead of aggravating, the

pressure upon all. In 1816, the tax of 10 per cent. was laid on incomes, of 100*l.* a-year, and no higher rate was charged on 100,000*l.* a-year, which was undoubtedly inequitable. But it is now proposed to tax the smaller incomes at 1 or 2 per cent, and the larger at 20 to 25, which would be far more equitable; and such a graduated scale would give it the highest degree of popularity among all but the very wealthy classes, from the general sense which would be entertained of its impartial justice.

Mr. COBBETT advocated the repeal of the Malt Tax—abused the “Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,” whose “trashy tracts,” he said, “were so dull, that nobody read them, nor were they even fit for lighting a fire, as their native dullness would extinguish any fire upon which they might be laid.” He ridiculed “the spread of education,” and said that “the empty-bellied chopsticks did not want the *Penny Magazine*, but pots of beer, which the Malt Tax now prevented them from having.” The eccentricities of Mr. Cobbett, calling them by no harsher name, defy all sober criticism. His opposition to the Emancipation of the Jews, and to the Diffusion of Education, must be the result of prejudices so deeply rooted, that all hope of reasoning him out of them would seem to be vain.

Mr. CURTEIS, Mr. MARK PHILIPS, and Mr. R. PALMER, supported the motion for the repeal; and the latter took occasion to advert to the statement he had seen in the daily papers, which reported that Lord Althorp had said, to a deputation that had waited on him, on the subject of the House and Window Tax, that he (Lord Althorp) had, at a former period, voted for their repeal, but that he did so at the time, in order to embarrass the Ministry.

Lord ALTHORP replied to this charge: and as it is important that the truth should be fully known in this case, we give his Lordship’s speech entire:—

‘Lord ALTHORP felt himself called upon to offer one or two words of explanation in reference to the newspaper statement to which the hon. gentleman had just alluded. The hon. gentleman did him but justice in disbelieving that statement. (Hear, hear.) He never said what was attributed to him. (Hear, hear.) He was asked in a (to say the least) very unusual manner, to repeal certain taxes. On his declining, he was reminded that he had, on a former occasion, when out of office, voted for the repeal of the same taxes. His answer was a statement of the grounds on which he had voted on the occasion alluded to. He told his questioners that he had voted for a repeal of the House and Window Tax, and other Taxes, because he thought the expenditure of the country unnecessarily, and therefore unjustifiably, excessive; and he voted for a repeal of Taxes, in order to compel the then Government to lessen the expenditure. (Hear, hear.) But he particularly stated that he thought this reduction of expenditure the more called for and practicable, because there was a comparatively large surplus of income over expenditure in the Exchequer at the time, he ever having held the opinion that no such surplus was desirable for the purposes of which it was the pretext. (Hear.) But no such state of things obtained now: the present administration had cut down the expenditure to the utmost in their power, and they had no surplus fund. These important circumstances, therefore, being now so different,

he told the meeting that he had not the same motive for a repeal of those Taxes as when he had sat on the Opposition side of the House. (Hear, hear.) And that was what he said and no more.' (Cheers)

We do not think the spirit of this explanation is materially different from the charge itself, though the phraseology is. Lord ALTHORP thought the expenditure of the Ministry too large; and he voted for a repeal of taxes, to *compel* them to reduce expenditure. What is this, but voting to *embarrass* the Ministry, by forcing them to do that which they are unwilling to perform? On exactly the same principle, every one who now thinks the expense of the navy, army, and civil list, too great, are bound to vote for every repeal of taxes proposed, in order to *compel* the Ministers to retrench, or, in their own language, to "*embarrass the Ministry*," by placing them in a position of difficulty, from which there is no escape, but by compliance with the popular will. The Ministers of the present day, say that the circumstances are altered, since *they* have cut down the expenditure to the lowest possible amount. All other Ministers that preceded them have always said the same; and yet the expenditure has been reduced even *below the lowest possible* amount, and must and will be reduced still more. The true version of the affair then is this: that when men are *out* of power, they will vote for reductions, as practicable and useful, which, when they are *in* power, they declare to be impracticable and dangerous. It is not that there is any real change in the truth or justice of the case: but there is a change in their organs of vision. Nothing is seen from the Ministerial benches in the same light as it used to be viewed from the Opposition benches: the change of position makes all the difference.

Many other Members spoke in support of the motion, including Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. HUME, Mr. LLOYD, and Mr. HODGES: and even Mr. BARING, who, but the other day was against all reduction of taxation, and blamed Lord Althorp for not applying his surplus to a Sinking Fund, declared that he would vote for the repeal of the Malt Tax, not on the broad ground of its being beneficial to the whole country, but on the narrow ground that he, being the representative of a county purely agricultural, was bound to vote for the interests of his constituents! From this, then, it might be inferred, that if Mr. Baring had represented Manchester, Leeds, or any other town purely manufacturing, he would uphold that interest, and support the claims of his constituents against the agricultural interest. And yet, these are the gentlemen who object to pledges, who declare that every member should be left unfettered, to vote for or against any measure as his own sense of its justice or injustice may dictate: but who, in their conduct, belie their professions, when they advocate and act upon such a doctrine as that so openly avowed by Mr. Baring himself.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied to Mr. Baring, and placed his inconsistency in its true light; and in conclusion he said:—

'It had been proposed by the hon. member for Colchester to supply the deficiency by the imposition of an Income or Property Tax. It was un-

doubtedly the duty of that House, having provided for the national faith, and the national interest, to consider the ways and means which would be the *least* burdensome to the people. If the whole question of taxation were a *new one*, he, perhaps, should be inclined to take the same view of a Property Tax as had been taken by Mr. Huskisson, in his able speech delivered in 1830; but if they were now to adopt a commutation of taxation, he was afraid that the hopes of the House would be disappointed, and that the irritation caused by the imposition, in time of peace, of a Property Tax, would far exceed the joy and satisfaction created by the reduction of other taxes.' (Hear.)

There is a very curious admission in this: *If*, says the Noble Lord, the whole question of taxation were a *new one*, he should probably agree with Mr. Huskisson, in preferring a Property Tax to any other. It has been said, that there is great virtue in an *if*: and this is an illustration of its truth. The whole question of taxation *never can* be a new one, to any nation already existing as such, though it may be to a colony about to be formed: but, if that were a reason why we should not devise any new mode of raising the public revenue, then is all hope of any important change shut out for ever. But the Government can *make* the whole question of taxation a new one, if they choose: by appointing a Committee to consider of the best plan for raising the revenue, in such a manner as shall be most productive in amount, least expensive in collection, and most fairly bearing on all classes in proportion to their means of payment. This it is in the power of the Government to command at any time they please. But the great difficulty that stands in the way of an Income and Property Tax is this: that it will compel the rich to pay a larger proportion of their incomes to the support of the State than they now do; and as the majority of members of the Houses of Parliament are wealthy men, from whom these additional contributions would be demanded, they are likely to be more strongly biassed by a regard to their own interests, than by an affection for the commonwealth, and therefore they will resolutely oppose it, and call it by every bad name, such as confiscation, spoliation, &c. &c. in the hope of bringing it into general disrepute.

The debate ended by a division; the numbers being—For the reduction of the duty on Malt 162; against it 152: being a majority of 10 *against* Ministers; the result of which was loudly cheered by the majority.

Lord ALTHORP admitted that this decision would place the Government in a situation of great embarrassment; but he should not think, after the majority had given their decision, of opposing its being carried into effect.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 29.

The interest excited by the division against Ministers on the preceding evening was so great, that, before the usual hour for the evening meeting, the House was crowded in every part, upper galleries and all, the Members being impatient to hear Lord ALTHORP'S

statement of what he intended to do to supply the deficiency of the revenue, occasioned by the vote of last evening, which would probably be increased if the repeal of the House and Window Tax should be carried also. As the statement will be deemed important, we give it entire:—

‘Lord ALTHORP said he felt quite persuaded that every gentleman expected that he would state, upon the present occasion, what was the course which His Majesty’s Ministers were determined to pursue in consequence of the resolution adopted by the House on Friday last. (Hear, hear.) The decision of the House on Friday evening had placed His Majesty’s Government, as he stated at the time, under circumstances of great embarrassment. After looking at the question with that attention which it merited, His Majesty’s Ministers felt that it would be desirable to bring the question as to the reduction of the malt tax again under the consideration of the House, in such a manner that the whole state of the case should be brought fully and fairly before it—that every Hon. Member might see clearly all the consequences of taking such a step as that involved in the resolution adopted on Friday last, and that they should all come to a decision upon the subject with their eyes open to the whole object and effect of such a proceeding. (Hear, hear.) It was obvious that the sense of the House should be taken upon the point at the earliest moment and with the least possible delay, and for that purpose he now rose to give notice, that it was his intention upon to-morrow night to move, as an amendment upon the motion of the Hon. Baronet, the Member for the City of London, for the reduction of the house and window tax, the following resolution, which he would now read, in order to have it placed upon the votes, so that gentlemen would have time to consider it—namely, “That a great deficiency of revenue would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt tax to 10s. per quarter, and by the repeal of the taxes on houses and windows, which could only be supplied by a general tax upon property and income (hear, hear); and that as the effect of it would be to change the whole financial system of the country, it would at present be inexpedient to adopt it.” (Loud cries of “Hear, hear.”)

‘Lord ALTHORP, having resumed his seat, rose again in a few minutes, and moved the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into a Committee of Supply. In doing so, he said he would take that opportunity, seeing the Hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. W. Whitmore) present, to express a hope that his Hon. Friend, whose motion with regard to the corn laws had precedence to-morrow evening of that of the Hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London, would not refuse the request which he (Lord Althorp) now made to him, to give way upon that occasion, and to allow the motion of the Hon. Bart. to have precedence, as the circumstances in which they were placed rendered it in the highest degree, he would not say merely expedient, but absolutely necessary, that the decision of the House should be had as soon as possible upon this important subject. (Hear, hear.)

‘Mr. W. WHITMORE said that he had not the least desire to press unnecessarily hard upon his Noble Friend, nor to place him in circumstances of difficulty and embarrassment; but considering the deep importance of the subject to which his (Mr. Whitmore’s) motion referred, he should feel obliged, however reluctantly, to place himself in opposition to the wishes of his Noble Friend, unless he could be certain of bringing his motion forward upon another and an early day. If his Noble Friend would

give his motion precedence upon some order night, he would have no hesitation in complying with his Noble Friend's request.

'Lord ALTHORP said, that in the present state of the business of the House, it would be exceedingly inconvenient to allow his Hon. Friend's motion the precedence upon an order night, but as it was most important that the House should at the earliest moment come to a decision upon the resolution of which he had given notice, if his Hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton would postpone his motion, he (Lord Althorp) would engage to give him a day for it in the course of next week. (Hear.)

'Mr. WHITMORE said that under such circumstances he had no objection to accede to the request of his Noble Friend, and to postpone his motion.

'Sir W. INGILBY said he wished to ask the Noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer what it was his intention to do respecting the resolution which had been carried on Friday last. (Laughter.) He could assure the House that he had not brought forward that motion with any view to embarrass His Majesty's Ministers. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) That resolution having been carried by a majority of the House of Commons, and the manner in which the Noble Lord had taken it up having gone forth throughout the country, together with the decision of the House upon the subject, the country would expect that the measures should be carried into effect. (Hear, hear.) He begged, therefore, to ask the Noble Lord whether it was his intention to carry that resolution, for the reduction of the duty on malt to one half, into effect, or what it was that he intended to do?

'Lord ALTHORP said that it was only such gentlemen as were not so much accustomed to the proceedings of that House as his Hon. Friend was, that could misunderstand what he (Lord Althorp) had said upon the subject after the vote had been carried on Friday night. (Hear.) What he said on Friday night was this—he might not be accurate perhaps as to the precise words, but what he then meant to say, and what he believed he did say, in so many words, was this,—that though the question had been carried by a small majority, he would not take advantage at that hour of the morning of the support of such gentlemen as had subsequently come into the House, by taking another division on the question. Any gentleman who was acquainted with the forms of proceeding in that House must be aware that he (Lord Althorp) had a right upon that occasion, if he thought proper, to divide the House upon the main question, after the amendment proposed by his Hon. Friend the Member for Lincolnshire had been carried. What he therefore meant to say at the time was, that he would not take the chance of such gentlemen as had come into the House after the first division, by having a second division on the question. As to his Hon. Friend's question with regard to what he (Lord Althorp) intended to do respecting the resolution that had been carried on Friday night, he thought that the motion of which he had just given notice was a sufficient answer to it. (Hear, hear.)

It would appear from this, then, that notwithstanding the declaration of Lord ALTHORP on the preceding night—and which most persons understood to mean that he should not oppose the carrying into effect the decision then come to—he had no such meaning; but merely meant that he would not oppose it at that particular stage. This ambiguity is really very unfortunate, and will tend to put his Lordship's reputation for frankness and candour in jeopardy.

A long discussion ensued as to the danger of establishing such a precedent as overturning on one night, votes that had been come to on a previous one; and the general sense of the House seemed to be against such a practice. But there were, on the other hand, many, one indeed openly avowed it, who appeared to think a change of ministry so great a calamity, that they would vote right to be wrong, or wrong to be right, rather than incur the risk of such an evil. With these, the commandment that "we should not do evil that good may come," would not seem to be binding; and we must say, for ourselves, that such a system of expediency as this, is anything but honourable to those who act on it.

The discussion on this question being postponed till to-morrow, about 400 out of the 500 members present gradually left the House; so that from the noise and confusion created by this general desertion, it was exceedingly difficult to hear a word—even when seated near the person speaking; and at a few yards distance not a syllable was audible. We select, however, from such parts of the conversation as could be heard, a very instructive specimen of the evils of the hasty and unwatched system of legislation which prevails:—

Sir R. INGLIS asked whether Government were acquainted with the nature of the Bill authorizing the establishment of the Glasgow lottery, while that Bill was in progress through the House?

Lord ALTHORP replied, that His Majesty's Government had not the least idea that a Bill authorizing the establishment of a lottery had passed the Houses of Parliament until he was apprised of the existence of the lottery itself! His attention was then drawn to the subject, and on looking at the act he found that no allusion was made to the lottery in its title, and that the word "lottery" itself never once occurred throughout the act. It was, to say the truth, most skilfully drawn up, and the parties who had concocted it had fully succeeded in rendering the House and the Government entirely *ignorant* of the real nature of the Bill. He could only say, that as far as the Government was concerned, no countenance or assistance had been given to the act in question.

Sir R. PEEL.—If the lottery is not yet drawn, the Bill may be repealed. ("It is drawn.") Well, then, all I can say is, that those who were parties to the transaction ought to be subjected to public punishment.

Would it not be far better to amend the system of conducting public business, so as to *prevent* such errors as these, rather than let them take place, and then punish those who were their authors? If the House met by day, instead of at night—if there were some order and limitation of time fixed for speakers—if a division of labour were established, by which particular measures should be submitted to Committees of examination and revision, before they were presented; if, in short, some rational system were to be substituted, instead of the present loose, disorderly, and irresponsible manner of conducting the public business, such gross cases as this, so justly complained of, would never occur.

Colonel MABERLY next rose to move the Ordnance Estimates; but the noise and confusion was such, that even the reporters, who can often hear in the gallery when those in the House below cannot, were

obliged to lay down their pens, and report, within brackets, the following excuse for their omissions—[“It is useless, however, to attempt to give a connected outline of the Gallant Member’s statement, interrupted as he was by the effects of the inattention of the House.”]

Mr. HUME rose to object to some of the items of Ordnance expenditure contained in the estimates about to be voted, but met with no greater attention, though we could collect from him that he wished the establishments to be reduced to the standard of 1792. The inattention, noise, and confusion, was, however, so great, that at length

Mr. BRISCOE rose to order, and expressed his regret that whilst the Estimates were under consideration, and the amount of the expenditure of the country about to be fixed, a constant noise should be kept up in the House. It was the duty of Hon. Members to watch the Estimates closely, with the view of seeing whether any reduction could be effected in their amount, for the reduction of the estimates was one mode by which they might hope to lessen the taxation of the country. It would be only decorous to pay some degree of attention to the business before the House.

There was subsequently a division upon one of the items only—namely, whether the number of artillerymen should be 7000 or 5600—the former being asked by the Government and the latter proposed by Mr. Hume. The division was, 31 for the smaller number of 5000 : and 140 for the larger number of 7000 men.

On the question that 25,587*l.* be granted to defray the expense of superintendence of the building and repair of barracks in Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, being put,

Mr. HUME said that he objected to the amount of the vote, but from the result of the late division, he concluded it would be useless to offer any opposition to the grant. He thought that as the House seemed determined not to support any proposition for reduction, the sooner it closed its doors the better.

When the Ordnance Estimates had been disposed of, Mr. HUME brought forward a proposition for a grant of 2,625*l.* for the purchase of 1250 copies of a Statistical Work, compiled by Mr. Marshall, for the use of Members of Parliament. The arguments in favor of this grant were,—that the Work was very useful; that its compilation took many years of labour; and that its sale could not be expected to remunerate the author. The arguments against it were, that Mr. Marshall had already received 500*l.* to assist him in his labour; that if the Work were useful, Members should buy it, and pay for it out of their own pockets: but that it was not right to vote away the public money to put Members of Parliament in *gratuitous* possession of what each person ought to buy for himself. We think the arguments nicely balanced; and conceive that each party had good reasons for their opinions for and against. There were, nevertheless, three divisions on this one grant, because it related to a humble and a private individual, the last division being—For the grant of 2,625*l.* the

numbers were, 106; and against it, 88: so that it was carried by a majority of 18. We only wish there was as much scrupulous attention bestowed upon, and as stout an opposition offered to, the grants of thousands, to those who give no labour, either of public or private utility, as an equivalent. Mr. Marshall may not, in strict justice, be entitled to the favor of having 1250 copies of his work bought and paid for at the public expense, for the use of Members of Parliament, not more than 100 of whom will probably ever cut open its pages: but, at all events, he deserves his 2625*l.* for his ten years labour, much more than most of those who figure on the pension list; and his reward is not like theirs, continued as a permanent burthen on the country, from year to year, without cessation.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—APRIL 30.

It is but rarely that any measure of great popular interest *originates* in the Upper House—though measures of coercion and severity most frequently begin there. We shall have the greater pleasure, therefore, in recording the few exceptions to this general maxim that occur.

Earl FITZWILLIAM, in presenting a petition against the Corn Laws, and moving for returns connected with the subject, proposed to move certain resolutions connected therewith; the principal of which we give below. Unwelcome subjects are, however, never brought forward in the proper time: and, accordingly, we find the Minister urging the *inconvenience* of pressing the matter now:—

‘Earl GREY regretted that his Noble Friend had chosen this time for the purpose of bringing under their Lordships’ consideration a subject which he felt persuaded might have been better left untouched for the present. (Hear, hear.) He repeated the expression of his regret that his Noble Friend should have undertaken, at the present moment, a subject so important, and in relation to which one of the greatest evils was *perpetual change*. (Loud cheers.) It appeared to him that his Noble Friend’s course would be, to move the resolutions *pro formâ*, with a view to their being printed, and that the debate should be adjourned, and resumed at a convenient opportunity. Tuesday was the day mentioned by his Noble Friend for resuming the consideration of the subject; but on the mere hearsay statement of the resolutions, the House must be aware that they embraced a vast variety of returns and results leading to inferences and arguments of the utmost importance, not only to the agricultural interest, but to the entire community; and, such being the case, it was necessary to have time sufficient to enable Noble Lords to investigate the statements, and compare the data on which the resolutions proceeded. He therefore suggested to his Noble Friend that it would be better (as, unfortunately, the matter must now be discussed) to postpone the discussion till a later period than Tuesday, more particularly as it would then be inconvenient to several Noble Lords to attend. He did not know that this day fortnight would be too distant a period to fix for the adjourned debate. (Hear, hear.) He was willing to consult their Lordships’ wishes in any arrangement that might be made.’

'Earl FITZWILLIAM had no wish except to consult the convenience of the House, and if the Noble Earl and others desired to have the discussion fixed for this day fortnight, he was quite willing to accede to their wishes.'

The Resolutions, from 1 to 5, inclusive, give, in a tabular form, the quantities of foreign corn imported during certain periods, and the prices at each period in London, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Havre, Marseilles, Dantzic, Hamburgh, Leghorn, and Philadelphia:—The other Resolutions are as follows:—

'6. That it therefore appears that the supply of foreign wheat afforded to the people of Great Britain, under the provisions of the 9th George IV., c. 60, has been at the rate of 1,008,860 quarters per annum, or thereabouts, and that the revenue derived therefrom has been at the rate of 337,479*l.* per annum, or thereabouts.

'7. That nothing is more injurious to those classes of the community which are engaged in the cultivation of the soil than great and rapid fluctuations in the value of their commodities.

'8. That such fluctuations cannot altogether be prevented in the price of an article whose production is necessarily affected by the variations of the seasons; but that it does not appear to the House that the existing regulations for the trade in foreign corn have succeeded in diminishing those fluctuations; but, on the contrary, they have a tendency to aggravate them, by placing occasional and unnecessary obstacles in the way of a free trade in corn with foreign countries.

'9. That any disparity between the price of provisions in one country and another, has a tendency to give comparative encouragement to the industry of that country in which the subsistence of man is obtained at the lower rate, and to impose difficulties upon that of the country in which it is obtained at the higher rate.

'10. That the price of wheat in Great Britain stands generally at a higher level than in the other countries of Europe whose inhabitants are engaged in similar pursuits with those of the British Empire.

'11. That such higher price is in a great measure to be ascribed to the laws which regulate the trade in foreign corn.

'12. That the varying scale of duties imposed by the said laws operates frequently as a prohibition upon the import of foreign grain, and consequently upon the export of British commodities.

'13. That, therefore, the manifest effects of the Corn Laws are to leave the agricultural interest exposed to all the difficulties which arise from frequent and sudden fluctuations in price—to discourage the export, and consequently production of British commodities—to increase the cost of cultivating the soil, and of producing the manufactures of the United Kingdom—to render the industry of the nation less capable of competing with that of other nations, and to make the people less competent to support the several burdens which the various exigencies of the state have imposed upon them.

'14. That, therefore, it is expedient to revise the said laws, and to place them upon a footing more consistent with justice, and more conducive to the welfare of the most important interests of the country.'

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 30.

The House did not meet till 4 o'clock; when proceedings respecting disputed elections occupied it till 5; and private business and petitions against the House and Window Tax till 6. The House was crowded in every part, side galleries and all; and the rush into the strangers' gallery, when the doors were first opened, was more violent and disorderly than ever occurs at a London theatre when most crowded.

The great business of the evening was the debate on the motion brought forward by Sir JOHN KEY—namely, "That it is expedient to grant relief to His Majesty's subjects, by repealing that portion of the Assessed Taxes charged on Inhabited Houses and Windows." The debate lasted from six o'clock, when Sir John Key rose, till half-past three, when the division took place; and therefore it is in vain to attempt more than an outline history of the debate, as our whole Number would be inadequate to give a full report of it. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with stating the leading arguments for and against the measure, and offer a few comments on the conduct of those who opposed it.

Sir JOHN KEY opened the subject in a speech of great clearness, moderation, and well-arranged intermixture of fact and argument, in support of his motion. He detailed the evils of its pressure on the trading classes, but more especially on the shopkeepers of the metropolis, and implored the House not to disappoint the hopes of the people, but to comply with their petitions for the entire repeal of those unjust and odious duties.

Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD seconded the motion, and confirmed Sir John Key's statement as to the distress existing among the trading classes in the City of London. He was aware that a considerable deficiency would be occasioned in the revenue by the repeal of the Malt Tax, and the House and Window Duties, but he saw no difficulty whatever in amply replacing these by a Tax on Income and Property, which he conceived the most just of all taxes, and which, he believed, would be willingly submitted to by the great bulk of the community.

Lord ALTHORP rose to propose an amendment upon the motion of Sir John Key, which would have the joint effect, if carried, of negating the original motion itself, of re-opening the vote on the Malt Tax for further consideration, and of pledging the House to the opinion that at present a Tax on Property and Income would be inexpedient. These three objects were very skilfully incorporated in the same amendment; and the arguments used by Lord Althorp to induce the House to agree to it, were these:—As it regarded the vote for the repeal of half the duty on Malt, which was carried on Friday night by a majority of ten against Ministers, the Ministers were taken by surprize, there being on that evening four notices on the books, only two of which *could* be brought on, as it was an Order

Night, and there would be therefore only two opportunities of making any motions,—one on the question of passing to the order of the day, and the other on the question of the Speaker's leaving the chair to go into Committee; so that no one acquainted with the forms and usages of the House could have expected that Sir William Ingilby's motion would come on, and, accordingly, many of the friends of Ministers were absent on that occasion. On these grounds he should move an amendment to the motion of Sir John Key, which would, if carried, give the House an opportunity of reconsidering its decision, and reversing it if thought fit. Abstractedly, he was favourable to the reduction of the Duties on Malt, and so of the House and Window Taxes, but the state of the finances would not allow of such reduction without the imposition of a Property or Income Tax, to which, at present, there were very strong objections. He would therefore move, as an amendment to the resolution of Sir John Key, the following:—

‘That the deficiency in the revenue which would be occasioned by a reduction of the Tax on Malt to 10s. the quarter, and by the repeal of the Tax on Houses and Windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general Tax on Property and Income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient.’

MR. HUME contended that the alternative of a Property Tax was not necessary; as the reduction of half the Duty on Malt would lead to a greatly increased consumption, by which a large portion of the loss of revenue would be made up; and that for the rest, he was prepared to show that reductions in the public expenditure might be made to equal the deficiency: and he should be prepared to move an amendment on Lord Althorp's amendment, to that effect.

MR. G. HEATHCOTE excited the laughter of the House, by the singular line of argument which he adopted, in opposition to the repeal of the House and Window Tax. He said that in the agricultural district which he represented, there was scarcely any one assessed to either, and as *they* did not feel any portion of the burthen, he should defend its continuance on the shoulders of those who bore it. In short, his whole speech was the strongest argument for the repeal of the tax that had been delivered through the evening—as it showed the gross inequality of its pressure, which coming from one who opposed its repeal, told with double force.

SIR JOHN WROTTESELY spoke entirely to the question of a Property Tax, to which he strongly objected, and chiefly on the grounds of the unpopularity of that tax of 1816; the effects of which he well remembered.

We have before shown, however, that the great difference between them is this—that the Property Tax of 1816, was laid on as an *addition* to the existing burthens, whereas the Property Tax now proposed to be levied, is in *abatement* of the existing burthens, or a substitution for taxes pressing heavily on the middle classes and the poor. The arguments drawn from a comparison of the two, by ascribing to them the same effects are, therefore, worthless.

Mr. ROBINSON reiterated his views in favor of a Property Tax, and quoted the authority of the late Mr. Huskisson in its support.

Mr. BENETT avowed that he had always been a sincere friend and warm supporter of the present Administration: but on the present occasion he could not vote in their favour. He was decidedly opposed to the continuance of the House and Window Tax, more especially, and thought a Property Tax the fairest tax for the whole country.

Mr. COBBETT made a long speech, which embraced a great variety of topics—the character of the House of Commons—the reputation of Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Huskisson—the evils of Peel's Bill—the pressure of the Malt Tax—the conduct of the Whigs—the inequality of the Stamp Duties—the exemption of the Land-owners—the expensiveness of our establishments—the effects of the late war, &c. &c. &c. forming a sort of Encyclopædia of Politics. He ended by imploring the House not to forfeit its character with the country, by rescinding its resolution of Friday night.

Mr. SPRING RICE replied to Mr. Cobbett, and contended, as Lord Althorp had done before, that the deficiency created, if the Malt Tax, and House and Window Taxes were taken off, would be so great, that nothing but a Property Tax could replace it: and this he considered would, at the present moment, be a great evil.

After the delivery of Mr. Rice's speech, which was about 12 o'clock, the noise and confusion became so great, that it was very difficult to hear any speaker throughout. The impatience for a division also manifested itself very strongly; and feverish excitement, from these causes, was continually increasing.

In this temper of the House, every one who rose was ill-received. Mr. PELHAM and Colonel WOOD could scarcely get an hearing at all: and Mr. Serjeant SPANKIE, who had risen eight or nine times before he could "catch the Speaker's eye," spoke amidst continued interruptions. As representative for Finsbury, he had witnessed the extreme distress occasioned by the House and Window Tax, which he believed thousands could not, and would not, pay any longer; he, therefore, thought the safest course was to vote for their repeal.

Sir ROBERT PEEL did not rise till past one o'clock, for the purpose of giving his support to the Ministerial resolution. He considered that reduction of taxation had been carried too far already; that we could not go farther without endangering public credit; and to an Income or Property Tax he should offer his most strenuous opposition, as he considered it both unjust and impolitic.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that great anxiety was manifested to keep faith with the public creditor: but besides those to whom we owed money, there were others to whom we owed relief, and that to break faith with the latter was as bad as breaking faith with the former.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY rose to address the House: but the impatience, clamour, and confusion, were such as to prevent a word being

heard. He then said he would move the adjournment of the debate, if he could not be heard to-night.

Lord ALTHORP objected to an adjournment; and hoped the Hon. Member would go on, so that the House might conclude the subject to-night. It was then past two in the morning,

Mr. METHUEN spoke to order: the SPEAKER interfered: and at length Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY proceeded. He advocated the repeal of the House and Window Taxes as indispensable to satisfy the public mind; and more especially to quiet the feelings of the metropolis.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT felt himself in a painful situation. His honourable colleague, Sir John Hobhouse, had resigned his office as Secretary for Ireland, and his seat as Member for Westminster, because he could not support the Ministers without violating his pledge; nor could he oppose them, without a breach of public duty. He, Sir Francis, was anxious for the repeal of the House and Window Tax: but now that he saw in its repeal an issue that would endanger the stability of the Ministry, he felt bound to vote for the continuance of the tax, as the only means of securing the continuance of the present Ministry in office. He was himself of opinion that a Property Tax was the fairest of all taxes that could be levied: and he sincerely hoped that the Government would enter without delay upon an enquiry that should embrace a revision of our whole system of taxation.

Lord SANDON, though he objected to the House and Window Tax, would support the Government in opposing their repeal, because of the difficulties in which it would place them.

Mr. HARVEY advocated their repeal, and the substitution of a Property Tax, of which he entirely approved. He quoted the authority of Mr. Poulett Thomson, in his speech of 1830, as an advocate for such a Tax, and ridiculed the idea of any resistance to it; as it would have to be paid by those most interested in preserving public peace and security.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL was against the repeal of the taxes proposed to be taken off, and thought the present a most unfit time to propose a Property Tax, when we had so many other important questions to discuss. If it were, however, substituted for existing taxes, he thought that it should not be for a few millions only; but that it should be very extensive, so that it might give an effectual spur to the industry of the country.

The three next speakers, Dr. LUSHINGTON, Mr. WILLIAM BROUGHAM, and Mr. TENNYSON, though each representatives of metropolitan districts, were received with such clamour and impatience, that neither could be heard for a considerable time.

Dr. LUSHINGTON had always advocated the repeal of the taxes named; but as their repeal would lead to the resignation of the present Ministry, he considered this the greatest evil of the two, and fore he would keep the taxes on, rather than the Chancellor of the Exchequer should resign.

Mr. W. BROUGHAM used exactly the same argument, though each admitted the existence of extreme distress in the districts they represented, by the pressure of these taxes on their constituents.

Mr. TENNYSON conceived the repeal of those taxes indispensable to the relief of the country; he was also in favour of a Property Tax, as a substitute, and should therefore vote for Sir John Key's motion.

Several other gentlemen attempted to address the House, but in vain. Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY declared that he had risen more than twenty times that evening, before he caught the Speaker's eye. Mr. Serjeant SPANKIE we saw on his legs eight or nine times, before he got a hearing, and others were still less fortunate; for many rose ten, twelve, and fifteen times, at least, without getting a hearing at all.

The House ultimately divided; when there were—For the motion, 157. Against it, 355.

The pressure on our space, prevents our commenting on this Debate as fully as we wished; but occasions will occur on which we shall express our opinions as to the conduct of Ministers and their adherents more fully.

After this division (on Sir John Key's motion) for the repeal of the House and Window Tax, had taken place,—Sir WILLIAM INGILBY complained of the manner in which the question of the repeal of the Malt Tax had been mixed up with that of the House and Window Tax; and moved, as an amendment, that all the words in the resolution proposed by Lord Althorp, which related to the Malt Duty, should be left out.

Mr. HANDLEY seconded the amendment. The noble lord had spoken of the embarrassing situation in which he had been placed; but he also had been placed in circumstances of great embarrassment. Thinking he understood the English language, and that the noble lord would be the last man to say any thing which he did not mean, he started for Lincolnshire after the division on Friday evening, and told his constituents that half the Malt Tax had been repealed. It would have done the noble lord's heart good to have seen the joyous countenances of the farmers on hearing the intelligence. He had come up to the House on Monday, with the intention of asking the noble lord whether the duty was to be taken off the stock on hand. If the noble lord should thus cavalierly rescind the resolution which the House came to on Friday, he would add to the already great weight of disappointment and despair which prevailed throughout the country.

Mr. BARING said that if the noble lord meant to rescind the resolution, he should at least proceed to effect his object with something like decency and propriety. The question should be settled by a formal resolution.

Sir T. FREEMANTLE said that though he had not voted for the resolution on Friday, he would vote against its being rescinded. He thought the House was bound to keep the promises which they had made to the people.

Sir W. INGILBY said that he would press his amendment to a division. He had hitherto been a supporter of Ministers, but from their conduct on this occasion he must henceforth withdraw all confidence from them.

The result of this second division was—For Sir W. Ingilby's amendment, 131: against it, 285. Lord Althorp's resolution was then agreed to. After this, however, another division took place. The House, on Friday, had resolved, by a majority of 10, 'That it is the opinion of this House, that the duty upon malt be reduced to ten shillings per quarter:—and now, in pursuance of that decision, Sir WILLIAM INGILBY moved,—'That leave be given to bring in a Bill, pursuant to the said resolution', which was defeated: the numbers being—For the bringing in the Bill, 76. Against it, 238.

There is certainly nothing that has taken place during the present session, more discreditable to the Ministers than this; and the part played by many of the Members is anything but creditable to their characters. Many who had warmly advocated the repeal of the Malt Tax, and even voted for that repeal, as well as others who had declared that it was essential to the peace of the country that the House and Window Taxes should be taken off, now turned round upon all their former professions, and, like the Ministers themselves, rescinded resolutions solemnly made, because they apprehended either the infliction of a Property Tax, or the resignation of the Ministry. If this be not 'doing evil that good may come,' we know not what is. But the alarm about the resignation of Ministers is the most preposterous of all. What! are we in such a helpless condition as this? Is England so deficient in men of intelligence and integrity, that if all the Ministers should be carried off by the Influenza, or removed from office by any other cause, none could be found to supply their places? Is their wisdom so profound, their consistency so immaculate, their integrity so unparalleled, that no other men in the empire can approach them in these qualities? Alas! if it be so, then is our condition deplorable indeed. They cannot live for ever; and the day must come when all of them, in succession, will be laid in the grave. Will there be then any persons found worthy of filling their offices? And if so then, why not now? We could number fifty men, at least, *within* the House of Commons, and as many out of it, who would be equally competent to the discharge of the duties, as those to whose hands they are now confided. This alarm as to the difficulty of finding competent *successors* is as absurd as it would have been to suppose that when Nelson was slain at Trafalgar, no admiral could be found worthy to fill his place; or if Wellington had been slain at Waterloo, no general would have been worthy to take his command. The navy could furnish fifty Nelsons, if the power to develope their skill and courage were given them: and the army fifty Wellingtons, who would do as well under all the advantages enjoyed. And so also the nation could produce a hundred Ministers, as competent by knowledge, courage, and integrity, to carry on the affairs of Government, as those who are now the rulers of the land, provided they were equally furnished with the

power necessary to give authority to their measures, and the advantages of office to bring them forward for public approbation. Indeed it would be a bitter reproach to such a country as England, were it *not* so. People are progressively getting wiser, however, and they will gradually awaken from this dream of exclusive confidence in men, whose chief, though not only merits are—that they are persons of birth, wealth, and station, and have been long associated with office. Let no fears be entertained but that England contains, a hundred yet, at least, qualified in every respect to be their successors.

It was four o'clock in the morning before the House adjourned; and the appearance of the throng of members issuing out from the passages of the House of Commons in broad day-light—for it was half-past four before the House was entirely emptied—was that of a crowd of jaded and dissipated rakes, returning from some nocturnal revels, with pale countenances, haggard expressions, and drowsy eyes, exhibiting altogether the most undignified and most unlegislatorial appearance that could well be imagined; most of the members having sat for twelve consecutive hours in the House, in a heated and most oppressive atmosphere, many without food or refreshment, and this too in some cases after a laborious morning's work from ten till four besides.—Surely this perversion of all reason and rationality cannot long endure!

MINORITY

Of 112 who, on the 25th of April, voted in favour of Mr. Grote's Motion—
“That all elections of Members to serve in Parliament should in future be by Ballot.”

<i>England.</i>			
Adams, E. H.	Fellowes, Hon. N.	Moreton, Hon. H. G.	Wood, Ald. M.
Aglionby, H. A.	Fenton, J.	Palmer, Gen.	Walker, R.
Astley, Sir J.	Ferguson, Sir R.	Parrott, J.	<i>Scotland.</i>
Attwood, T.	Fielden, J.	Pease, J.	Gillon, W. D.
Barnard, E.	Fitzroy, Lord J.	Philips, M.	Maxwell, Sir J.
Barnett, C. J.	Fryer, R.	Potter, R.	Parnell, Sir H.
Bayntun, Capt. S. A.	Gaskell, D.	Penleaze, —	<i>Ireland.</i>
Beauclerk, Major	Guest, J. J.	Ricardo, D.	Bellew, R. M.
Berkeley, G. C. F.	Gully, J.	Rider, T.	Chapman, M. L.
Berkeley, C.	Hall, B.	Rippon, C.	Evans, G.
Biddulph, R.	Hardy, J.	Romilly, J.	Finn, W. F.
Bish, T.	Hawkins, J. H.	Romilly, E.	Fitzgerald, T.
Blandford, Marq. of	Hill, M. D.	Scholefield, J.	Fitzsimon, C.
Brotherton, J.	Hodges, T. L.	Simeon, Sir R. G.	Fitzsimon, N.
Buckingham, J. S.	Hornby, E. G.	Stanley, Hon. H. T.	Grattan, H.
Buller, C.	Hume, J.	Staveley, J. K.	Lalor, P.
Bulwer, E. L.	Humphery, J.	Strickland, G.	MacLachlan, L.
Chichester, J. P. B.	Hutt, W.	Strutt, E.	O'Connell, D.
Clay, W.	Ingilby, Sir W. A.	Tancred, H. W.	O'Connell, C.
Cobbett, W.	Kemp, T. R.	Tayleur, W.	O'Connell, M.
Divett, E.	Key, Sir J.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.	O'Dwyer, A. C.
Dundas, Hon. J. C.	King, E. B.	Thicknesse, R.	Roche, W.
Dykes, F. L.	Lambton, H.	Thompson, Ald.	Roe, J.
Ellis, W.	Lamont, Capt. N.	Tooke, W.	Ruthven, E. S.
Evans, W.	Lister, C.	Torrens, Col. R.	Ruthven, E.
Ewart, W.	Lloyd, J. H.	Trelawney, W. L.	Vigors, N. A.
Faithfull, G.	Lushington, Dr. S.	Turner, W.	<i>TELLERS.</i>
Fellowes, H. A. W.	Molesworth, Sir W.	Tynte, C. J. K.	Grote, G.
	Marshall, J.	Wigney, I. N.	Warburton, H.

MAJORITY

Of 164 who, on the 26th of April, voted in favour of Sir William Ingilby's
Motion for reducing the duty on Malt to 10s. per quarter.

Adams, E. H.	Fancourt, C. S. J.	Lennard, Sir T. B.	Sharpe, M.
Aglionby, H. A.	Feilden, W.	Lennard, T. B.	Shawe, R. N.
Arbuthnot, Hon. H.	Fenton, J.	Lister, E. C.	Simeon, Sir R. G.
Astley, Sir J. D.	Ferguson, G.	Lloyd, J. H.	Sinclair, G. jun.
Attwood, T.	Fielden, J.	Locke, W.	Spencer, Hon. F.
Balfour, J.	Finn, W. F.	Lopes, Sir, R.	Spry, S. T.
Bankes, W. J.	Fitzgerald, T.	Mandeville, Visc.	Staunton, Sir G. T.
Baring, A.	Fitzsimon, C.	Maxwell, J. W.	Stewart, J.
Baring, H. B.	Fitzsimon, N.	Maxwell, Sir J.	Sullivan, R.
Barnard, E. G.	Folkes, Sir W.	Methuen, P.	Talbot, C. R. M.
Beaulekerk, A. W.	Fox, S. L.	Milton, Viscount	Talbot, J.
Bell, M.	Fryer, R.	O'Bryen, C.	Tancred, H. W.
Bellew, R. M.	Gaskell, D.	O'Connell, M.	Taylor, W.
Benett, J.	Gaskell, J. M.	O'Connell, D.	Taylor, Rt. Hon. M.
Bernard, Hon. W. S.	Godson, R.	O'Connell, M.	Tennyson, Rt. Hon. C.
Bethell, R.	Gordon, W.	O'Connell, C.	Tooke, W.
Bish, T.	Gore, M.	O'Dwyer, A. C.	Torreus, Col. R.
Blackstone, W. S.	Goring, H. D.	Ossulston, Lord	Townshend, Lord C.
Blamire, W.	Guise, Sir B. W.	Palmer, C. F.	Trelawney, W. L. S.
Blanford, Marq. of	Gully, J.	Palmer, R.	Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Bolling, W.	Handley, H.	Parker, J.	Turner, W.
Bowes, J.	Handley, B.	Parrott, J.	Tynte, C. J. K.
Brigstock, W. P.	Hanmer, Sir J.	Pelham, Hn. C. A. W.	Tyrell, C.
Brodie, W. B.	Harvey, D. W.	Philips, M.	Tyrell, Sir J.
Bruce, Lord E. A.	Hay, Sir J.	Pigot, R.	Verner, W.
Burrell, Sir C.	Hay, A. L.	Pinney, W.	Vigors, N. A.
Cayley, Sir G.	Heathcote, G. J.	Plumptre, J. P.	Walter, J.
Cayley, E. S.	Henniker, Lord	Poulter, J. S.	Wason, R.
Chandos, Marq. of	Herbert, Hon. S.	Price, R.	Welby, G. E.
Chaplin, T.	Hodges, T. L.	Rickford, W.	Weyland, R.
Clayton, W. R.	Hoskins, K.	Rider, T.	Williams, Col. G.
Cobbett, W.	Humphery, J.	Rippon, C.	Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Conolly, E. M.	Hutt, W.	Robinson, G. R.	Windham, W. H.
Cookes, T. H.	Hughes, H.	Roe, J.	Wrottesley, Sir J.
Crawley, S.	Kerrison, Sir E.	Romilly, J.	Yelverton, Hn. W. H.
Curteis, H. B.	King, E. B.	Rooper, J. B.	Young, J.
Curteis, E. B.	Knatchbull, Sir E.	Russell, W. G.	
Davies, T. H. H.	Lalor, P.	Ruthven, E.	
Dillwyn, L. W.	Langdale, Hon. C.	Roberts, —	
Dundas, J. W. D.	Langton, W. G.	Sanford, E. A.	Hume, J.
Etwall, R.	Leech, J.	Scholefield, J.	Ingilby, Sir W.
Faithfull, G.	Lefevre, C. S.	Seale, J. H.	

TELLERS.

Buckingham, J. S.—*Absent, from indisposition.*

MINORITY

Of 157, who, on the 30th April, voted against Lord Althorp's motion to rescind the vote for reducing the Malt Duty, and reject Sir John Key's motion for the repeal of the House and Window Taxes.

ENGLAND.

Aglionby, H. A.	Dundas, J. W. D.	Joliffe, Colonel	Rippon, C.
Attwood, M.	Ellis, W.	Kemp, T. R.	Robinson, G. R.
Attwood, T.	Etwall, R.	Kerrison, Sir E.	Roebuck, J. A.
Baillie, J. E.	Ewart, W.	Key, Sir J.	Romilly, J.
Bainbridge, E. T.	Faithfull, G.	Langton, W. G.	Russell, C.
Barnett, C. J.	Fancourt, Major	Leech, J.	Seale, Col.
Beaucherk, Major	Fellowes, H. A. W.	Lennox, Lord W.	Shaw, R. N.
Beaumont, T. W.	Fenton, J.	Lennox, Lord A.	Spankie, Serjeant
Bell, M. S.	Fryer, R.	Lister, E. C.	Spry, S. T.
Berkeley, Hon. C. F.	Gaskell, D.	Lloyd, J. H.	Stanley, E.
Barnard, E. G.	Godson, R.	Locke, W.	Staunton, Sir G. T.
Bewes, T.	Goring, H. D.	Lowther, C. H.	Stewart, J.
Bish, T.	Greene, T. G.	Lowther, Viscount	Thompson, Ald.
Blackstone, W. S.	Gronow, Captain	Lyall, G.	Tancred, H. W.
Blamire, W.	Grote, G.	Methuen, P.	Tapps, G. W.
Blandford, Marq. of	Halcumb, J.	Miller, W. H.	Tayleur, W.
Bowes, J.	Hall, B.	Molesworth, W. H.	Tennyson, C.
Brodie, Captain	Handley, B.	Palmer, General	Tooke, W.
Brotherton, J.	Handley, H.	Palmer, C. F.	Torrens, R.
Buckingham, J. S.	Hanmer, H.	Palmer, R.	Townshend, Lord C.
Bulwer, E. L.	Hardy, J.	Parker, Sir H.	Turner, W.
Burrell, Sir C.	Harvey, D. W.	Parrott, J.	Tynte, C. J. K.
Chandos, Marquis	Henniker, Lord	Pease, J.	Tollemache, Hon. A.
Chaplin, Colonel T.	Hill, M. D.	Petre, Hon. E.	Wigney, J. N.
Chetwynd, Captain	Hodges, T. L.	Philips, M.	Williams, Col. G.
Chichester, J. P.	Hoskins, K.	Phillpotts, J.	Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Clay, W.	Hotham, Lord	Pigot, R.	Windham, W. H.
Clayton, W.	Hughes, H.	Plumptre, J.	Wood, Ald. M.
Collier, J.	Hume, J.	Pollock, F.	Walter, J.
Cookes, T. H.	Humphery, J.	Potter, R.	Watkins, J. L.
Crawley, S.	Hutt, W.	Poulter, J.	Wason, R.
Curteis, E. B.	Ireton, S.	Ramsbottom, J.	Wyndham, W.
Dare, R. W. H.	Ingilby, Sir W.	Richards, J.	Whalley, Sir S.
Dawson, E. S.	Jervis, J.	Rider, T.	Young, G.
Denison, W. J. W.			

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

Ferguson, G. R.	Sinclair, G.	O'Brien, C.	O'Connell, Morgan
Gillon, W. D.	Wallace, R.	O'Connell, D.	Roche, W.
Maxwell, Sir J.	Finn, W.	O'Connell, M.	Roe, J.
Oswald, R. A.	Fitzsimon, C.	O'Connell, C.	Ruthven, E. S.
Sharpe, M.	Lalor, P.	O'Connell, J.	Ruthven, E.

Vigors, N. A.

*** An Article on the Application of Government Patronage,—a Sketch of the Public Life and Character of Sir Henry Parnell, Bart., the Member for Dundee—an Examination of the Trade with China—several Reviews of interesting Publications, and other matters already prepared and in type, are unavoidably deferred for want of room. The Debates in Parliament, and the Question of a Revision of Taxation especially, are, however, of all-absorbing interest, and may well excuse a trifling delay in other matters, so give place to their superior claims.*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Leave of Absence.

Leave of Absence.—to Mr. White, a month.

Leave of Absence.—to Mr. Blaney, three weeks ; Sir Edward Knatchbull, a week ; Mr. O'Dwyer, a month.

New Writ issued.

New Writ for Westminster.—In the room of the Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Chiltern Hundreds.

Election Committees.

Mallow Election.—House informed, That the Select Committee appointed to try and determine the merits of the Petition of William Murphy, and others, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of Mallow, in the County of Cork, have determined,

That William Joseph O'Neill Daunt, esquire, is *not* duly elected, and ought not to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough of Mallow:

That Charles Denham Orlando Jephson, esquire, *is* duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough of Mallow:

That the Election of the said William Joseph O'Neill Daunt, esquire, does appear to the said Committee to have been vexatious.

Notices of Motion.

Mr. Buckingham.—That a Select Committee be appointed to take into consideration the practicability of progressively abolishing all the existing Taxes, and drawing the whole Revenue of the State from a Tax on Income and Property alone.—[Deferred till Thursday 9th May.]

Mr. Secretary Stanley.—Colonial Slavery.—[Deferred till Tuesday 14th May.]

Mr. Hill.—That it be referred to a Committee of the House, to examine into and report to the House, the facts and circumstances of the claim of the Baron de Bonde upon the Fund received from the French Government for indemnifying British subjects, for the loss of property unduly confiscated by the French Authorities.—[Deferred till Wednesday 15th May.]

Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer.—Resolution, for the repeal of the Stamp Duty on Newspapers and Advertisements, and for a Select Committee to inquire into the propriety of substituting a cheap postage on Newspapers and Works under a certain weight.—[Deferred till Thursday 9th May.]

Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer.—Select Committee, to inquire into the indirect Taxes.—[Deferred till Tuesday 18th June.]

Mr. Parrott.—On Report of Committee on Highways Bill, to move a Clause to exempt the inhabitants of parishes through which turnpike roads pass from doing Statute Labour on such turnpike roads, or paying a composition in lieu thereof, notwithstanding any provisions in any Act or Acts of Parliament to the contrary.

Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.—To do away with the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—[Tuesday 25th June.]

Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.—Papers respecting the measures pursued by Russia, in her late interference with the state of Turkey.—[Thursday 11th July.]

Mr. O'Connell.—In Committee on the Bribery at Elections Bill, to move a Clause, requiring every person returned to this House to disclaim, on oath, the owing his Election, directly or indirectly, to any species of bribery or corruption.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

REPLY TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, ON THE EFFECTS OF AN INCOME OR PROPERTY TAX.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, always the advocate of the Whigs as a party, may now be regarded as the Ministerial organ among the Quarterlies. The principal writers in it are, indeed, Members of the present Administration—Lord Brougham, Mr. Jeffery, and Mr. Macauley. The three men who have written probably more articles in the Edinburgh Review than any other three that can be named, are now respectively Lord Chancellor, Lord Advocate of Scotland, and Secretary to the Board of Control for the Affairs of India: while others, not so prominently known as contributors, fill inferior offices under the Government, and still use the Review as the organ of Ministerial views, and advocate of Ministerial measures. From whose pen the article, contained in the Number just published, entitled “Commutation of Taxes—Proposed Tax on Property and Income” has proceeded, we do not know: but that it is written by a partizan of the present Ministry, and for the express purpose of strengthening their previously avowed opposition to any alteration in the existing System of Taxation no one can doubt. Regarding it, therefore, as the pleading of an interested advocate, retained as counsel for the Crown, we do not much wonder at the superficial reasoning used in it: though, we doubt much, whether even the writer himself, would venture, in any other capacity than as a retained counsel, to publish such a shallow production, and risk his reputation, by affixing to it, as an independent author or politician, his real name.

Be the motive, however, what it may, the end it aims at is, to show that no alteration can be safely made in the existing System of Taxation, by the abolition of the duties levied on commodities, through the machinery of the Customs or Excise; that it is neither just nor requisite to alter the levy of the Assessed Taxes: and that a Graduated Tax upon either Property or Income would be impracticable, as well as unjust. We shall follow the fairest and most satisfactory mode of reviewing this article, by giving the passages we have selected for comment, in the language of the author himself, and offer our own observations in the shape of criticisms on the extracts made. The article begins thus:—

‘Considering the extent to which Taxation is carried in this country, it is not surprising that many *crude and abortive schemes* should be put forward for lessening the severity of its pressure, and rendering it more conducive to the public interests. But, with few exceptions, these *schemes* have made *little impression*. The Government and the public have had

sense enough to perceive, that no part of a *real* national burden could be defrayed by any sort of *juggling*; and it seems now to be universally admitted that, excepting in as far as relief may be obtained by a diminution of expenditure, it can be sought for only in the substitution of new and less objectionable taxes, for some of those already in existence; or in the introduction of such modifications into the *present* scheme of taxation as may serve to render it less injurious, without diminishing its productiveness.'

The spirit of the article is sufficiently manifested by this introductory paragraph. He calls the plans proposed *crude and abortive schemes*, for no other reason, that we can perceive, than that they have not yet been adopted. But it is the fate of the very best measures to be proposed many years before the mass of mankind can see their justice or practicability: and all plans are deemed "crude and abortive," until they are actually carried into execution. The plans for suppressing the Slave Trade, for Emancipating the Catholics, for Reforming the Parliament, were all so characterized, in their day, by those who opposed them, though they triumphed at last; and this will be the fate of the Income and Property Tax, when, like the others, it shall come to be thoroughly understood and fully appreciated. "But," says the Reviewer, "these schemes have made little impression." Had it been really so, the Edinburgh Review would not have taken the trouble to notice them. It is precisely because they *have* made an impression that this powerful organ has been put in motion against them: and it is in vain for the Reviewer to disguise this fact. No sensible person ever imagined that any *real* national burthen could be defrayed by any sort of *juggling*. But to apply this term to the clear, simple, and just operation of raising a Tax on Income and Property alone, is an abuse of terms, for the purpose of controversy. If there be *juggling* in anything, it is in the absurd and complicated, and often utterly unintelligible confusion of duties, bounties, drawbacks, &c. which characterize the Taxes on commodities: while the term is utterly inapplicable to an Income and Property Tax, whose chief feature is the very opposite of juggling; namely, clearness and simplicity. He adds:—

'So far as experience may be relied on in a matter of this sort, it goes to show that the expectations of those who anticipate considerable advantage from a transference of Taxes, have, for the most part, been disappointed.'

And why? Because the transference has never yet been fairly made, from commodities to property; but a tax has been taken off from one description of commodity, and transferred to some other description of commodity, retaining all the vices of the present system, and setting one interest against another, which is inseparable from the very system thus eulogized. And yet it is in these terms of eulogy that this system, which has hitherto, by every operation in it, led only to disappointment, is spoken of:—

'Our present system of taxation seems, in its leading principles, to be *well devised*. There cannot, indeed, be any doubt that the duties on several articles are carried to an oppressive extent—to such an extent as to be decidedly less productive than they would be, were they lower; and that

others ought to be wholly repealed. But these defects are not of the *essence* of the system; they result entirely from the *mode* in which it is applied in particular instances, and might be effectually obviated without making any change in its principles.

We deny the truth of this proposition entirely; and contend that the present system of taxation, so far from being *well devised*, is the most cumbrous and unjust that can be well conceived, as to its effects on the great majority of the community. It may be well devised for the nobility, the opulent gentry, and the dependants of the Aristocracy, by whom a large share of the Taxes is consumed, without their contributing their due share to the raising them. But it is ill-devised for the *payers* of those Taxes, the multitude, on whose shoulders the burthen is so unfairly thrown. If, however, the present system be in itself so good, and the mode of revising all its errors, and adjusting all its inconveniences be so easy as seems here to be admitted, what a reproach is it to the Ministers, who have held office long enough to produce three successive Budgets, and who have never yet, with all the wisdom of the Edinburgh Reviewers in their councils, produced such a financial scheme as even to ameliorate, much less to remove entirely, the evils said here to be "not of the essence of the system," but merely "arising from the mode" in which that system is administered! Why, then, has not that mode been altered? For this reason and for this reason only: that every shifting of particular Taxes, from one commodity to another (the only admissible way of improvement under the existing system, according to the Reviewer himself,) leads to the rising up, in battle array, of the particular interest to whom the burthen is transferred, and that deputations from town and country, petitions to Parliament, public meetings, speeches, and resolutions; of parties about to be injuriously affected, become too strong for the Minister to bear up against: and, accordingly, though on every new Budget, such changes have been proposed, yet before they have been carried into execution, the Minister has been beaten from his ground, and the transferences proposed, by taking off one duty and putting on another, have been successively one after another abandoned. The terms "crude and abortive" would, therefore, apply with much greater accuracy to every Budget of the present Ministry than to any of the plans submitted for the improvement of the existing system of Taxation. But the Reviewer would not dare so to characterize anything springing from so sacred and hallowed a source as the Cabinet or Administration of which he is a dependant or a member. After some observations on the growing opinion in favour of a commutation of the existing Taxes, for one on Income and Property, among well-informed persons; he proceeds:—

'Dr. Smith lays it down, that the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of Government, "as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, *in proportion to the REVENUE which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state.*" Of the soundness of this principle there can be no doubt; but when we propose acting upon it, many serious difficulties present themselves.'

What then are the difficulties? There is not one among all those

enumerated, half so great as the single difficulty inseparable from the present system—of how to make a Tax upon any commodity, such as to make it bear fairly on all consumers of it, according to their respective means of payment. If the proportion of “serious difficulties” that are inseparable from either system is, therefore, to determine the preference of that which has the *least*, (and we should willingly submit the choice to be determined by that standard) there are ten “serious difficulties” in the way of making the existing system operate with justice towards all classes of the community, to one “serious difficulty” in the way of adapting an Income or Property Tax to all classes in the State. In truth, there are “serious difficulties” to men of timid minds and indolent habits, in every change that is made, however great the improvement. Every change, however beneficial, must give trouble to those who have to bring it into operation, and “trouble” is a “very serious difficulty” to those who love ease. But, if this is to be a reason why no changes shall be made, there is an end of the argument altogether. In every legislative reform, a choice of difficulties is presented: and a choice of benefits too: and in every case it is the duty of the legislator to seek the *greatest good*, even if it be accompanied with the *greatest difficulty*: but when, as in the case before us, the largest amount of benefit, and the smallest share of trouble are united, the statesman would be criminal, who should be deterred from passing from the one system to the other, merely because of some difficulties intervening, which it is his duty to meet and to overcome. In treating of the two descriptions of Tax, that on Property, and that on Income, the Reviewer gives the preference to the latter, for the reasons assigned. He says:—

‘If the choice lay only between a Tax on *Property* and a Tax on *Income*, we incline to think that the latter ought to be *PREFERRED*. It is, indeed, quite impossible to ascertain incomes with anything like accuracy, or to tax them fairly after they are ascertained. But whatever errors might be made in their estimation and assessment would be at least equalled, and probably exceeded, by those that would be made, were it attempted fairly to tax the *property* of individuals.’

In enumerating the difficulties of *assessing* the Property of individuals, so as to ascertain its value, and to Tax it accordingly; the Reviewer has, it appears to us, wholly mistaken the matter. He supposes that valuers should be employed, to survey lands, ascertain the farming stock, manure, improvements, &c., on each estate; examine the stock in trade of manufacturers and shopkeepers: and estimating the *capital* invested in each, to tax that capital or property at a certain rate per cent. This would be a cumbrous and unsatisfactory process indeed, and such an one as could hardly have been seriously contemplated. Property, of whatever description, could only be fairly assessed, according to the Income it yielded: a thousand acres of land in the Highlands of Scotland, and a thousand acres of land in the vicinity of London, would produce a very different Income, and the value of each could be fairly determined by that standard alone. So a large manufactory just built, and a ship launched from the stocks, would be of more value, in capital, when new and unused,

than at any subsequent period. But neither would be of any real value to the possessors but for the Income derived from their use: and, therefore, even a Property Tax, in the most generally received acceptance of the term, would still resolve itself into a Tax upon Income, and not upon that which produced it. The true difference between a Property Tax, and an Income Tax, rightly considered, is this: that the former would be a Tax on Income derived from fixed property, in houses, lands, and funds: while the latter would be a Tax on Income, derived from professional labours, commercial profits, and moneys acquired from any of these sources, but not invested in any fixed form, so as to constitute Property in the ordinary sense of the term. That these should be taxed at different rates, we have already admitted, in a former article on this subject, in No. X of this Review: the realized or permanent sources of income arising from fixed property being fairly subject to a heavier impost than the more precarious sources of professional labours or trade: but to exempt the latter altogether, as some have proposed, would be manifestly unjust: for if a physician, a barrister, or merchant, actually receives an income from his labours of 1000*l.* during the past year, it is as completely *realized* by him, whether he spends it all afterwards or not, as if he were to live on the one half and invest the other half in fixed property of the descriptions named. Dr. SMITH's maxim, as quoted by the Reviewer, is not that PROPERTY, in the sense ordinarily understood, should be the standard of Taxation: but that the subjects of every state should be taxed "in proportion to the *Revenue*, which they respectively enjoy under its protection." Under this definition, property *not* yielding a revenue would be justly exempt: while salaries, pensions, fees, and profits, would be all included, as they ought to be, in the term *revenues*, and be consequently assessed as such.

The objections to a Tax on fixed Property, that is, land, houses, funds, &c., and not on floating capital, as ships, stock in trade, machinery, &c., are very forcibly put. We select two examples:

' Suppose two individuals have each 5000*l.*, and that the one vests his money in land, the other in a ship; we ask whether anything could be more unjust than to tax the capital of the former, and to allow that of the latter to escape? Would this be making all classes contribute to the wants of the state, "in proportion to the revenues they respectively enjoy under its protection?" It has been said in vindication of this inequality, that the properties are of a different description—that the land will last for ever, whereas the ship will be speedily worn out. That this is the fact is true; but it is also true, that while the land will not yield more, probably, than 1200*l.* a-year to its owner, the ship will, at an average, produce 1500*l.* or 1600*l.*, or more; and by accumulating the surplus a sum will be provided amply sufficient to replace the ship when she is worn out. Insurance effectually provides against all risk of loss by accident; so much so, that the capital vested in a ship or a cotton mill may be rendered substantially as lasting as if it were vested in land.'

' Many of the richest of our merchants, bankers, manufacturers, ship-owners, traders, &c., do not possess a single acre of land; and is it to be endured that the property of such persons should enjoy a total exemption from that direct taxation which is to fall with its full weight on the indi-

vidual struggling to support himself and his family on some 5, 10, 50, or 100 acres of land? We should mistake altogether the character and feelings of Englishmen, if we could imagine such enormous injustice would be tolerated for a moment.'

The Reviewer then proceeds to show that neither the landowners, nor the fundholders, are so rich as is generally imagined, there being but few very large possessors of either, the great mass of both kinds of property being held chiefly by small possessors. And he concludes by showing, that even were the case otherwise, it would be most unjust to tax property, in lands or funds, and not to tax profits, made by professions or trades. He says :—

' Suppose two manufacturers or agriculturists possess each property worth 10,000*l.*; that the one employs it so as to yield a profit of ten per cent; while, owing to a decline in the demand for the produce raised by the other, a failure of crops, or some such circumstance, his capital yields him no profit; what should be thought of the justice of a tax that pressed equally on both individuals? Such must constantly be, in innumerable instances, the operation of a Tax on Property. It would not be very far from being as often proportioned to the disability, as to the ability of those on whom it is laid.'

Nothing can be more true than this : and it proves the soundness of our maxim, that Property should be assessed, not according to its value in capital, but according to the revenue it produced. He adds :—

' A Tax on Income would be free from this inconvenience. Those who had no income, or who had their capital so employed that it afforded no profits, would escape a tax. In this respect, therefore, it would have decided advantage over a Tax on Property; but in most other respects they seem to be very much on a par.'

It is curious to observe the continued admissions of the opponents of an Income Tax, that theoretically considered, it is undoubtedly the most just. Lord Althorp and Sir Robert Peel equally agree in this : but then the practical difficulties terrify them. Listen to the Reviewer :—

' An Income Tax is apparently the fairest of all taxes. It seems to make every one contribute to the wants of the state in proportion to the revenue he enjoys under its protection; while, by falling equally on all, it occasions no change in the distribution of capital, or in the natural direction of industry, and has no influence on prices. It were much to be wished that any tax could be imposed having such effects; but we are sorry to be obliged to state that none such has hitherto been discovered; and that those who expect such effects to follow the imposition of a Tax on Income, will be very much disappointed. We admit that an Income Tax would have the supposed effects, were it possible fairly to assess it. But the practical difficulties in the way of its imposition are not of a sort that can be overcome. So much is this the case, that taxes on income, though theoretically equal, are, in their actual operation, the most unequal, oppressive, and vexatious of any that it is possible to imagine.'

Now, the only case in which the experiment was ever practically tried in England, was when the Income Tax was imposed during the war, in *addition* to all the other taxes that then existed, instead of

being adopted as a *substitute* for all other burthens. Besides which, it was assessed at the high rate of 10 per cent. upon the lowest incomes as well as the highest. No wonder, therefore, that it was deemed "unequal, oppressive, and vexatious;" for it was so in the fullest sense of the terms. Let, however, an Income Tax be made to *displace* all others, and be fixed on such a graduated scale as would receive the general approbation of the community, from its well-proportioned justice, and it need not be either unequal, oppressive, or vexatious. The Reviewer, however, seems to think that no one would submit to the enquiring into their actual incomes, which would result from this plan; and says—

'It is not, indeed, very likely that any people, not altogether enslaved, would tolerate, in ordinary circumstances, such inquisitorial proceedings; but whether they did or did not, the result would be the same. The investigations would be worthless; and the commissioners of an Income Tax, like those of a Property Tax, would in the end have nothing to trust to but the declarations of the parties. Now, mark the operation of the tax, it would fall with its full weight upon men of integrity, while the *millionaire* of "easy virtue" would well nigh escape it altogether. It would, in fact, be a tax on honesty, and a bounty on perjury and fraud; and, if carried to any considerable height—to such a height as to render it a prominent source of income—it would undoubtedly generate the most barefaced prostitution of principle, and would do much to obliterate that sense of honour that is the only sure foundation of national probity and virtue.'

One would suppose, from this, that there were no "inquisitorial proceedings" under the existing system; and no "prostitution of principle" in evading the payment of taxes. Why, then, are hosts of excisemen employed, and empowered to enter dwellings and manufactories by night and by day, to search, examine, and seize, if they see fit, the property of individuals, supposed to be contraband? Why is there a coast blockade and revenue cruisers? and why informations and surcharges?—but because the present system engenders such falsehood, fraud, and evasion, that the Exchequer and the Revenue Authorities proceed constantly upon the maxim that every payer of taxes is a rogue who will cheat them if he can. A difficulty is next attempted to be raised, on the unequal values of incomes agreeing in nominal amount; thus—

'But suppose it were really true that professional incomes always vary at the same time, and in the same degree, as other incomes, this would not justify the laying an equal tax on them all. A landlord receives 500*l.* of rent, and an attorney or an apothecary makes 500*l.* a-year by his business. But although the income of each be, at present, the same, their ability to pay taxes is materially different; for the incomes of the first arises from a comparatively lasting source, whereas that of the latter is dependent on his life, and on his health. And hence, in order to lay the same burden on both parties, we must calculate the *present value* of the income enjoyed by each, and lay the same tax on it; or, which would come to the same thing, we must deduct from the income of the professional man such a portion as would effect an insurance on his life for a sum equivalent to the present value of his income, and assess the tax on the remainder.'

It never seems to have occurred to the Reviewer that this difficulty

could be got over by levying the tax at a different rate on incomes derived from fixed property and incomes derived from professional gains: this done, and the difficulty vanishes altogether. The following passage contains a just appreciation of the injustice of entirely exempting incomes from such sources, and taxing revenues derived from fixed property alone:—

‘But it is said that this difficulty of taxing professional incomes is a good reason for exempting them wholly from the tax, which should fall only on the incomes of those possessed of real property. We take leave, however, to dissent entirely from this conclusion. The difficulty of assessing professional incomes is a sufficient reason for rejecting an Income Tax altogether; but it is assuredly no reason for making it partial, and consequently unjust and oppressive. Professional men contribute to taxes on commodities. And if these be repealed, and an Income Tax, from which professions are exempted, be imposed in their stead, an obvious injustice will be done to the other classes, who will be saddled with the whole of a burden of which they have hitherto borne a part only, and which should press equally on all ranks and orders.’

After having obtained a glimpse, however, of something that was true and sound, the Reviewer gets again immersed in mists, and wanders among them for a while, until he resorts to prediction and prophecy, which are more easy than reasoning. He says—

‘Although, therefore, it were conceded, that taxes on income are, in principle, the best of any, the above statements are sufficient to show that that circumstance ought to go for little in the way of recommending them. It is a very trifling consequence whether a tax be theoretically good or bad; it is in a practical point of view only that we have to deal with it; and however well it may look in demonstrations on paper, if it be practically impossible fairly to assess it, it ought without hesitation to be rejected.’

Is it indeed so? Why then, we must say that nearly all the taxes that exist should be rejected. Are the taxes upon the first necessities of life *fairly* assessed—when it is notorious that the poor and middle classes pay nearly as much of the tax on such articles as bread, beer, tea, sugar, coffee, soap, &c., as the richest man in the land; as they are taxes on quantities actually consumed, and have no reference whatever to relative property or relative income? Is the House and Window Tax *fairly* assessed—when the most splendid residences of the nobility, the castles, palaces, and mansions, of the rich, are not taxed at so high a rate as the counting-houses, shops, and dwellings, of those who have not a hundredth part of the same amount of property or income? If, then, the Reviewer’s principle be admitted—namely, that “when it was found practically impossible fairly to assess a tax, it ought without hesitation to be rejected;” then we must say that nearly every existing tax is in that predicament. In this, as in most other things, it is a choice of evils; and we think that all those who have duly considered the matter (the Reviewer, and his ministerial patrons, and the very rich, always excepted as interested parties), will readily admit that, for fairness of assessment, a tax on the incomes of parties affords the means of such fair assessment much

more readily than a tax on their expenditure. The Reviewer, however, as we have said, predicts and prophecies. These are his words—

‘An equal Income Tax is a desideratum which is not destined *ever* to be supplied. After the Legislature had done all that could be done to make it equal, it would be *grossly unequal*. To impose it only on certain classes of incomes, or to impose it on all incomes, without regard to their origin, would be alike subversive of every principle of justice. Nothing, therefore, remains but to *reject it altogether*; or, at all events, to resort to it only when money must be had at all hazards—when it is better that injustice should be perpetrated, than that the public treasury should be empty. An “unreasoning necessity” of this sort, and nothing else, can ever justify either taxes on property or on income.’

This is a sage who can see into futurity: he can tell you what is and what is not destined *ever* to be supplied; and can give assurance that, after all pains bestowed upon it, it would continue to be grossly unequal, and that the safest—it would have been more frank to say the *shortest*—way, was to reject it altogether. This is summary, at least. The Reviewer conceives that it was the general alarm at the approach of the enemy which reconciled people to the Income Tax during the war.

‘When Napoleon was at Boulogne, marshalling his victorious legions, and pointing out the route to England,—when national independence and every thing that men hold dear were at stake,—few thought of the *magnitude of the sacrifices* they were *compelled* to make. But what had this state of things in common with that in which we are now placed? Hannibal being no longer at our gates, there is not so much as the *shadow of a pretence* for submitting to an unfair system of taxation. The exigencies of the war, and the necessity of raising a revenue, *coute qui coute*, may in some measure excuse, though it cannot justify, the principle on which the Income Tax was assessed. It is at all times the first duty of Government to lay the public burdens equally on *all* classes proportionally to their means of bearing them. That this duty has been sometimes neglected, or but imperfectly performed, is surely no reason why similar neglect and carelessness should be submitted to in future. Inequalities that might have been overlooked or disregarded at a former period, would now be felt to be altogether intolerable.’

There is in this sentence a strange mixture of right and wrong: the latter however predominating. As to the “magnitude of sacrifices,” there are none now to be involved. The Income Tax is now proposed—not as an *additional* sacrifice of means to support the Government—but as a *substitute* which shall make the burthen lighter on the whole mass, apportion it more equally among all, and save great expense in the machinery of collections. It hardly bears a resemblance, therefore, to the Income Tax of former days, except that they are both called by the same name. It seems, too, to be thought, that because we have no Napoleon or Hannibal at our gates, we have no danger that threatens us. Alas! how short-sighted. There is an enemy within far more potent than any that could appear from without. There is the Debt, in which so many thousands are interested, and which the first convulsion would irretrievably anni-

hilate. There is an increasing population, with decreasing means of employment; accumulation of capital in large masses, with declining rates of profit; and, above all, such a dissatisfaction with the existing taxes, that one after another their repeal will be loudly called for: and thus force upon the Government the necessity of reverting to an Income or Property Tax after all. And yet, in the face of this, the Reviewer insists that "there is not a shadow of a pretence" for submitting to what he calls "an *unfair* system of taxation"—meaning thereby an Income Tax—which he had before admitted to be, in principle, "*the fairest* of all taxes that could be devised;" and which, indeed, must be the most just of all modes of taxation hitherto suggested, according to the very doctrine maintained by the Reviewer, in the sentence quoted above, namely, that "it is at all times the first duty of Government to lay the public burthens equally on *all* classes, PROPORTIONALLY TO THEIR MEANS OF BEARING THEM." We say so too: and in this lies the essence of the whole question.

The old doctrine of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, respecting the ill effects of absenteeism, is again revived. He admits that "nine-tenths of those English families who go abroad, do so because of the greater cheapness of living, and to avoid bearing their fair share of the public burthens;" but, *except* in this respect, "their absence is quite immaterial." This may be taken as a specimen of the blindness of the writer. What! if one of the evils under which the country at present labours, is the great number of persons out of employ, and the small profits made on capital engaged in trade—is it quite immaterial whether 10,000 families should be living in England, and spending their incomes in giving employment to English tradesmen and labourers, or living abroad and expending the rents of land and interest of funds drawn from this country, in giving employment to the tradesmen and labourers of France, Germany, or Switzerland? No wonder that a mind so deeply steeped in prejudice as this, can see no fairness or justice in an Income Tax. He continues—

'Owing to the unconquerable aversion which every one has to make a direct payment to the tax gatherers, such a tax, even though it were not really so heavy as the indirect taxes repealed in consequence of its imposition, would be universally regarded as a far more intolerable burden. The motives to absenteeism would thus be very much strengthened; while, as no individual could any longer expect to escape taxation by going abroad and leaving his property behind, he would *carry it along with him*. Under such circumstances absenteeism would be really injurious, and would deserve all the vituperation with which it has been loaded. It is plain, therefore, that instead of obviating the inconsiderable evil complained of, the imposition of a tax on income or property would aggravate it a hundred fold. It would be opening the bung-hole that we might stop up the spigot.'

This is passing strange. In the first place the Reviewer endeavours to shew that absenteeism is scarcely to be called an evil; yet its increase would be a serious calamity!—for people would, if their property or income were taxed, carry it along with them, and not leave it behind to be subject to the tax. What are they to carry away?

Not the lands or the houses—not the canals or the rail-roads—not the docks or the wharfs—not the mines from beneath the ground, nor the mills and machinery above it: there is nothing they *can* carry away but the funds; and if these were sold or transferred, it could only be done to some party who would count upon the liability of such funds to the tax proposed, and give only an abated price corresponding to this reduction of their value. “Were there nothing in the empire but land and funds,” says the Reviewer, this objection would not have much weight; but, he adds, “there are such things as manufacturing and commercial capital”—and this he thinks would be carried away. If we understand anything of this matter, we should say that this capital consists generally of buildings, machinery, tools, implements, and money; and to suppose that the latter would be carried away, while the former would by that means be rendered valueless, as objects of use or sale, would be more extravagant than anything we have seen advanced even in the article under consideration. The writer begins, however, to admit, that many persons of integrity, as well as those who have none, approve of an Income Tax; and thus characterizes the motives of the two sets of its approvers.

‘It would be uncandid not to acknowledge that the scheme for substituting taxes on property or income in the place of taxes on commodities, has been approved by many individuals of great integrity. They have been *deluded* by the *apparent fairness* of the measure; and have not reflected on the *insurmountable difficulties* that oppose its being carried into effect. But the general favour which the project enjoys is owing to its having been recommended by a very different class of persons. The former patronize it because they *erroneously* believe that it would introduce equality into taxation; while the approbation of the latter is given to it avowedly because it is not to be equal,—because it is to be made to press with greater severity on the higher than on the middle classes, and on the latter than on the lower. The popularity of property and income taxes depends wholly on their involving a *plan of graduation*; and the *demagogues* by whom they have been held up as infallible specifics for all sorts of grievances and distresses, patronize them on the single ground of its being possible, by their means, to throw the greater part or probably the whole of the public burdens on the wealthier classes.’

Now it is wholly “begging the question,” to talk of the honest approvers being *deluded*—of the fairness being only *apparent*—and the obstacles being *insurmountable*. We assert the contrary of all this; and the Reviewer gives nothing *but* assertion—so that on this ground we are equal. But when he speaks of *demagogues*, who have held up this tax as an infallible specific for all our grievances, we know not who they are—unless they be Dr. Paley, Adam Smith, Mr. Huskisson, Lord Althorp, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Sayer, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Heathfield, and other individuals of the highest character for integrity and wisdom that the history of our country can produce. By all these has a Tax upon Income been, at different periods, recommended and approved; and, with *such* demagogues, we have no objection to be numbered: nor do we shrink in the least degree from avowing our desire to see the tax so imposed as that it shall really throw the greater part of the public burdens on the

wealthier classes, and proportionally relieve the middle or lower orders; for in this, in our estimation, consists the chief value of the plan. The Reviewer next approaches the subject of graduation, which he treats thus:—

‘It is not to be denied that there is something exceedingly plausible in the scheme of graduation. A tax, say of 10*l.*, is said to be more severely felt by the possessor of a property, or of an income, worth 100*l.*, than a tax of 100*l.* or 1000*l.*, by the possessor of a property, or of an income, of 1000*l.*, or 10,000*l.*; and it is argued, that in order fairly to proportion the tax to the ability of the contributors, such a graduated scale of duty should be adopted as would press lightly on the smaller class of properties and incomes, and increase according as they became larger, and more able to bear taxation. We take leave, however, to protest against this proposal, which is not more seductive than it is unjust and dangerous. No tax is a just tax unless it leave individuals in the same relative condition in which it found them.’

Here is a public instructor—a northern light; who deems the present proportion of rich and poor so accurate and exact, that he should deem any mode of taxation, which would have the effect of altering their relative condition, unjust and intolerable. If this were *really* his sentiments, he ought to be indignant at the *present* system of taxation, which is calculated to make the rich *more* rich, and the poor *more* poor, from day to day; leading to accumulation in the former, and to deprivation in the latter, to such a degree, as that every year the gulph that divides the very rich from the very poor is becoming wider and wider, and threatens to become impassable! No! there is no objection on the part of such philosophers to the further elevation of the wealthy, and the further depression of the destitute. They are not shocked at the injustice of graduation. But they cannot bear to think of the rich becoming less wealthy, or of the poor becoming less destitute; and whenever measures are proposed, which are likely to effect *that* most desirable of all objects—the better distribution of the comforts of life among *all* classes—they then cry out that the relative positions of the different classes of society, the one to the other, are already quite as they should be, and ought not on any account to be disturbed. Heaven preserve us from such philosophy as this! Again the writer says—

‘That equal taxes on property or income will be *more severely felt* by the poorer than by the richer classes, is indeed *undeniable*; and the same may be said of every imposition which does not subvert the *subsisting relations* among the different orders of society. The hardship in question is, in fact, *one of the evils of poverty*; and to attempt to alleviate it by adopting such a graduated scale of duties as has been proposed, would really be to impose taxes on the wealthier part of the community, for the benefit of their less opulent brethren, and not for the sake of the public revenue.’

Was there ever such a cold-blooded and flinty-hearted view of social economy as this? Because one of the evils of poverty is that it should feel an ungraduated tax *more severely* than wealth would do, is it therefore never to be altered? Ignorance is one of the evils of poverty: but would any one therefore say that no poor person should

be educated? Disease and crime are among the evils of poverty; but who ventures to affirm, that therefore neither medical aid nor virtuous tuition should be given to those who were suffering under those evils? Any elevation of the humbler classes of society, whether by relief from existing taxation, or by better paid employment, or by increased intelligence or morality, must alter the *subsisting relations* among the different orders of society, and cannot "leave individuals in the same relative condition in which it found them." But if the heartless and unfeeling doctrine of this Reviewer were acted upon, neither of these blessings ought to be extended to the poor, because by these means they would be lifted up nearer to their richer superiors; and the subsisting and relative positions of the two be thus altered. Out upon such philosophy as this! Finding, however, that it is more easy to produce predictions than arguments, the following rich specimen of the prophetic is indulged in.

'Suppose a graduated income or property tax were adopted; can any one believe that the fortunate, the frugal, and the industrious, would be so eager to accumulate a fortune, when the principal consequence of their parsimony would be to enrich, not themselves, but the tax-gatherer? Should such a tax be imposed, it is some consolation to know that the rapacity of despotism will defeat its own object. The savages described by Montesquieu, who, to get at the fruit, cut down the tree, were quite as good financiers as the advocates of this graduation. Should this destructive principle be adopted, there would not be another cotton-mill erected, another furnace put in blast, another ship launched in the British empire. Every man would make haste to escape the impending confiscation; and America, France, Holland, and the Netherlands, would rise upon our ruins, and be enriched by the arts and capital that injustice and oppression had driven from England. Those who imagine that the poor can derive any real benefit,—that they can be otherwise than deeply injured by the confiscation of the property of the rich, or by subjecting the latter to peculiar taxes,—are fitter for Bedlam than for the House of Commons. Not only would graduated taxes on property or income be unproductive; but the destruction of capital, and the paralysis of industry they would infallibly occasion, would speedily render every other tax unproductive. The rich would become poor, while the poverty of the poor would be increased, and be made perpetual: the coffers of the exchequer would be exhausted, and the means of filling them would be annihilated for ever.'

Which of the two classes are the fittest for Bedlam—those who propose, that in apportioning the public burthens, every one shall be loaded according to his strength to bear—or those who indulge in such ravings as these—the reader will judge. But, if the Reviewer be not really insane on this subject, his aberration seems to us as near to insanity as possible. Does he really think that the frugal and the industrious will be less disposed to accumulate, when they have to pay 10 per cent. on their incomes, than they are now that they pay 20 on the commodities they consume? If ever an Income Tax should exceed 50 per cent. we think the efforts to accumulate might relax. But as long as the largest share of the profits made, is retained by the maker of them, and the smallest only given to the revenue, we do not think there will be much abatement of the desire to gain. At present the very poorest and most hard-working classes of the community

pay at least 30 per cent. of their incomes to the State, but while 70 remains to themselves, they still toil on. The Reviewer, however, must suppose that by an Income Tax, the 70 per cent. is to be paid to the revenue, and only 30 remain to the accumulator; for on no other principle than the greater part going to the State, and the smaller remaining to the individual, could his assertion be intelligible, that "the consequence of frugality and industry would be not to benefit those who accumulated, but to enrich the tax-gatherer," who, according to this very supposition, must be thought to demand and retain more than the half of every man's gains. It would be just as wise to say, that no one would think of drinking tea, because the effect of using this beverage, is to give 100 per cent. of its price to the revenue of the State: and yet, persons drink tea notwithstanding. While, therefore, we see that men do all they can to acquire money, though one-third of all their gains are taken from them in taxes and duties on articles which they consume, it is the idlest of all idle alarms to suppose that were an Income Tax imposed, even to the same amount (though much less would suffice) those exertions to obtain a fortune would in the slightest degree abate. The closing sentence of this rhodomontade, is, however, the climax of absurdity. By taking nothing from the poor, and taxing the incomes of the middle classes and the rich from 1 to 20 per cent., leaving therefore, in the extremest cases, three-fourths of every man's income untouched, "the rich, it is said, would become poor, while the poverty of the poor would be increased, and be made perpetual, (it is not said how): the coffers of the exchequer would be exhausted, (it is not said by whom): and the *means* of filling them would be annihilated for ever." There are many men who have been pronounced fit for Bedlam, for saying things infinitely less absurd and extravagant than this. If, instead of the late Lord Castlereagh having come to an untimely end, he had been alive in his insanity, we should have thought that the following paragraph from the Reviewer, had come, in a lucid interval, from the ex-minister's pen. It says:

'Very little is required to render the existing scheme of taxation as *unobjectionable* as any scheme can possibly be that is calculated to raise so large an amount of revenue. An "IGNORANT IMPATIENCE" of what is established may lead us to subvert this system, in order to establish an income or a property tax in its stead; but if we do this, it requires little sagacity to foresee that we shall have reason bitterly to regret the change.'

"An ignorant impatience of what is established" has been the charge urged by the High Church and Tory party against the Edinburgh Review, ever since it has been in being: but now that the party for which it battled, is in office, its editor made Lord Advocate of Scotland, its principal contributor elevated to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, and others of its writers holding places in the Administration—it begins to discover that "an ignorant impatience of what is established," is a fit charge to retort on others: and thus the wheel of political subserviency when out of power, and insolence when in, revolves in modern, as it did in ancient times. The Reviewer, having delivered himself of this sneer at the "ignorant impatience of what is

established," proceeds to show that the existing taxes are not nearly so objectionable as are supposed. This is the opinion he pronounces on the house and window taxes :—

'In the mean time, however, we may observe, that we do not think, notwithstanding the outcry against them, that the house and window taxes are by any means so objectionable as has been represented. They produce about 2,500,000*l.* a-year; and we doubt whether, were they repealed, it would be possible to raise so large a sum by any less exceptionable means. The real ground of their unpopularity consists in their forcing individuals to make a direct payment to the tax-gatherers. When a tax is laid on any article in the hands of the manufacturer or merchant, it is mixed up with its price; no separate demand being made on the buyer for the duty, he forgets its existence, and regards the article as being in itself the full equivalent of what is given for it. But the assessed taxes do not admit of this *deception*; and hence it is that 10*l.* paid on their account seems a more grievous burden, and is more objected to than 100*l.* paid upon tea, wine, sugar, &c.: but for this they would be very unexceptionable taxes. We deny that they are, at present, either oppressive in amount, or vexatious in the mode of collecting.'

Mark the morality of the Northern Reviewer. The indirect taxes are good, because they favour *deception*, by so mixing price and tax together, as that the consumer is either ignorant or unconscious of their proportions. The direct taxes are in so far bad, that they do not admit of this *deception*, and therefore they are objectionable. If the Reviewer had been at the Crown and Anchor Meeting, last week, he would have seen that whatever may be the opinion which he is officially instructed to pronounce on this matter, the bulk of the tax-payers *do* regard the House and Window Tax as both oppressive in amount, and vexatious in the mode of collection; so much so, indeed, that they are determined to pay them no longer. Observe, too, the remedy which he proposes.

'Those who cannot afford a house with thirty windows, may take one with twenty; in the same way that those who cannot afford claret may resort to port. If an individual live in a more expensive or better house than he can properly afford, he will, of course, expose himself to an extra amount of taxation; but this is plainly his own fault; he should accommodate himself to his circumstances; and those who will not do this would not escape getting into the Gazette, though the assessed taxes, or indeed, all taxes, were repealed.'

He might have continued the advice a little farther, and have said, "those who cannot afford a house at all, may live in the streets, or sleep in the ditches, in the same way as those who cannot afford bread, must live without it. If an individual has a stronger appetite than he can get food to satisfy, or goes to the expense of filling his belly, which is more than he can properly afford to pay for, he will, of course, expose himself to the necessary penalties, as well as to the tax which forms a part of the price of all food consumed. But this is plainly his own fault; he should accommodate himself to circumstances; and if he can neither get shelter nor food at all, he must learn to do without: and those who will not do this, would not escape getting into trouble, though the assessed taxes, or indeed, all the taxes

were repealed!" This is a philosophy so icy and so chilling, that we should have thought it had come from the Polar Regions, rather than from the elegant, civilized, and hospitable capital of Scotland.

The Reviewer is aware of the fact, that in the assessment of the House and Window Tax there is gross inequality in the values or rentals at which different houses are rated. The details read at the Crown and Anchor Meeting on this subject, last week, were astounding. It appeared that the very largest and most costly of the castles and palaces of the aristocracy were rated at an average of about 120*l.* a year each, while warehouses, shops, country-houses, and private dwellings in the city of London, occupied as places of trade, and indispensably necessary to the carrying on of business, were rated at 300*l.* 400*l.* and 500*l.* a year; in consequence of which heavy assessments, many houses had been absolutely abandoned: and in the most populous thoroughfares of London, shops and houses were now every week untenanted and shut up. The Reviewer sees nothing wrong, however, in all this. He says:

'A prejudice has been raised against the assessed taxes, from its being believed that they are *unfairly* assessed—that they are made to press with their full weight on the lower and middle classes, while the nobility and gentry enjoy a nearly total exemption from the burthen. But notwithstanding the confidence with which this statement has been put forward, we are bold to say, that it is *destitute of any good foundation*. It is certainly true, that not a few of the middle class of inns and hotels pay a larger amount of house-duty than is paid by some of the most splendid baronial residences. No one, however, not entirely ignorant of the principle on which the duty in question is imposed, could honestly affect surprise at this circumstance. The house-duty is *wisely* regulated, not by what a house costs, but by the rent which it actually fetches, or which it would fetch, were it let. Eaton Hall is believed to have cost the Marquis of Westminster the greater part of a million; but, notwithstanding this immense outlay, we venture to affirm, that the meanest shop in the meanest street in Liverpool would bring a greater rent than this celebrated mansion, and would, consequently, be fairly liable to a greater amount of house-duty. The fact is, a mansion of this sort would not let at all: we believe, indeed, were the noble owner of Eaton Hall going abroad, or getting tired of it, he would not be able to prevail on any gentleman to live in it, and to keep it in repair, without paying him a pretty considerable sum. And, this is not a solitary instance, but the actual situation of ninety-nine out of every hundred great houses in the empire.'

Now, a tax upon the residence of any man, is a tax upon that proportion of his income which his residence generally costs him in the shape of rent. This may be taken, perhaps, in the middle classes of life, to be, at the very lowest, one-tenth: a man having an income of 1,000*l.* a year, would probably occupy a house at 100*l.* a year; and a man having an income of 100*l.* would rent a dwelling, probably, at 10*l.* a year. The House Tax, then, is, in either case, a tax upon one-tenth of their incomes: and to make the proportion of the burthen equal, leaving out the principle of graduation altogether, the occupiers of these castles, palaces, and mansions, ought to have the House Tax levied in the same proportion. But the idea, that it is strictly just to assess a tradesman, earning 1,000*l.* a year by his business, and

a duke or a marquis, possessing 100,000*l.* a year from his estates, at the same rate, and to put down the residence of each at the same annual value of 100*l.* each, is so preposterous and revolting, that we are surprised it should find utterance in any publication whatever, but especially in the Edinburgh Review. The writer says, a few lines further on :—

‘We do not, therefore, believe that there are any good grounds for saying that the assessed taxes are unfairly levied. The house-duty being a tax on the rent of houses, how can it be levied when no rent is paid?’

According to this doctrine, neither Eaton Hall, nor Belvoir Castle, nor Stowe, nor Blenheim, ought to pay any House Tax at all, since no rents are paid—as they are occupied by their lordly owners. This, to be sure, would complete the climax of injustice : but does not the Reviewer know that if a tradesman or a shopkeeper occupies his own premises, and no rent is paid at all, his dwelling is assessed to its full value, as much as if he were a tenant of some other person, instead of being his own landlord ? He must know this, or be very ignorant of what all the world besides are well acquainted with ; and yet in the face of all this, he advocates one law for the poor, and another for the rich, who, if his doctrine were followed out, would be exempted from the House Tax altogether. We draw near to a close : and, as we advance towards the end of the article, the paroxysm of the Reviewer seems to grow more and more violent. Hear what he says next :

‘But the outcry against the assessed taxes is absolute wisdom compared with that which has been raised against the malt-duty. On this point we trust the Government will *concede nothing*. The malt-duty produced, during the year ending 10th October, 1832, 4,976,695*l.* ; and we unhesitatingly affirm, that it is not possible to point out or to devise a tax productive of so large a sum, that is in all respects so unobjectionable.’

What a misfortune that such sage advice should come too late ! The Edinburgh Review had scarcely reached London before the Ministers, instead of “conceding nothing,” were obliged to concede every thing ; and the malt duty, “a tax in all respects so unobjectionable,” is cut down to one half, and two millions at least of revenue from this source, swept away by the majority *in favor* of SIR WILLIAM INGILBY’S motion. The Reviewer, indeed, fancied that every body was perfectly content with the reductions that had already been made. He says :—

‘The consumers of beer, and consequently of malt, have good reason to be, and are, *perfectly satisfied*, with this reduction. They do not *complain* of its price being excessive ; and, if they did, the complaint would be so obviously *unreasonable* that it would not merit the *least attention*.’

Can such blindness as this be any thing but wilful ? The consumers “perfectly satisfied !” and uttering no complaint !! Why the table of the House of Commons has been crowded with Petitions from all parts of the country against the malt tax : and thanks to the issue of the division in the House of Commons, it is no longer in the power of the Ministers to choose whether they will pay “the least attention” or not to the wishes of the people. We give the last quotation—It follows the admission, that an abolition of duties on articles of food

and comfort always leads to increased consumption, and therefore, that every reduction of taxation, must increase the enjoyments of the poor. But, says the Reviewer:—

‘There are other considerations, besides the increase of consumption, that must be attended to. Unless provision be made for an expenditure of about *fifty millions*, national bankruptcy must ensue. Hence the *absolute necessity* of making a *firm stand* against all reckless and inconsiderate attempts at reduction.’

We have no doubt that when the Reviewer penned this sentence, he thought the Ministry too firmly entrenched, with their overwhelming and subservient majorities, backing them on in every resistance to popular motions, to be in danger of any defeat, and his “absolute necessity” of maxing a “firm stand,” was an encouragement to these majorities to go on in their thoughtless career, and reject every motion for economy as a “reckless and inconsiderate *attempt* at reduction.” But, happily, it is no longer a mere attempt. The victory gained over Ministers in this respect, (though they have announced their intention, while we are writing this, to overturn this decision, and refuse to comply with the resolution of the House) will be but the harbinger of others that are to follow. The predictions and the prophecies of the Reviewer will share the same fate; and the public scorn and contempt will be justly expressed towards a publication, which, while its party was out of office, laboured for years to shew that a reduction of the public burthens was the first duty of every Government that held power in England; and now, when its party has attained office, can turn round upon all its former professions, and reproach the people with “an ignorant impatience of what is established,” and call upon the Ministers to make a firm stand against that which it had for many years been zealously and uniformly recommending, as the “one thing needful,” without the accomplishment of which there was no hope for the safety of the State. Such prostitution of principle as this, in a work assuming to direct Public Opinion, deserves universal execration.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The second Letter of a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, from Brighton, has been received, and shall appear at the earliest opportunity.

The Proceedings of the Association at Hull, on behalf of the oppressed Poles, shall also have an early insertion.

The Letter from Newcastle on Tyne, on the Errors in Peel's Bill, and its effect in the operation of the Corn Laws, shall be given in our next.

THE RETROSPECTIVE TRAVELLER.

VOYAGE THROUGH THE GREEK ISLANDS TO THE STRAITS OF SCIO.

EARLY on the morning of the 7th of August, we sailed from the harbour of Milo, bound through the Greek Islands to Smyrna; but it being calm throughout the latter part of the day, with light airs from the westward at intervals, our progress was extremely slow. The delay was, however, fully compensated by the delightful serenity of the weather and the beauty of the surrounding scenery. At noon we were between the islands of Serpho and Siphno, the north end of the latter bearing E. by N., distant three or four miles, and presenting a fertile appearance.

As we passed the north point of Siphno, in the afternoon, we had a distant view of the islands of Paros, Anti-Paros, and Naxia, which form one cluster, surrounded by many smaller ones.

Paros has been ever celebrated for its rich quarries of marble, the whiteness of which is poetically proverbial:—

And, lo! the dome that crumbles into dust,
Whose Parian whiteness lured the glowing skies.

The poet, lamenting the decay of the arts under the iron sceptre of oppression, asks—

Though sunder'd caverns drink the lustrous light,
As Paros echoes to the mountain shock;
And the pure marble boasts its sparkling white,
Who guides the chisel o'er the shapeless block?
Say, can the hand that hew'd it from its rock,
Mould the rough mass, th' obedient limb refine?
Through the dense gloom if ever genius broke,
Touched by the charm of beauty's waving line,
Say, can the soul oppress still form the fair design?—POLWHELE.

While its marble quarries continued to be worked, Paros was one of the most flourishing of the Cyclades; but, on the decline of the Eastern Empire, they were entirely neglected, and are now converted into caves, in which the shepherds shelter their flocks. The island was anciently dedicated to Bacchus, on account of its excellent wines; and in the neighbouring one of Naxia are still some splendid remains of a temple dedicated to the rosy god.

After the battle of Marathon, Miltiades was sent to lay Paros under

contribution, on account of its joining the Persians; but the inhabitants made so resolute a defence, that all the efforts of that excellent general were insufficient to reduce them; and, at length, having lost a number of his men, and being wounded himself, Miltiades, hearing that the Persians were making preparations for a second invasion, returned to Athens, where his ungrateful countrymen, forgetful of his eminent services, sentenced him to raise the expenses of the expedition; when, being unable to pay this fine, the great deliverer of Greece was thrown into prison, and, to the disgrace of the Athenians, died there of the wounds he had received in their service.

The famous 'Chronicle of Paros,' at Oxford, was brought from hence in 1627 by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who, in 1667, made a present of it to the University of that city.

The Russians, during their war with the Turks, made this place their grand arsenal, and many of their magazines and other buildings are still standing.

The castle, and almost all the houses, are built of marble, which the people have taken from fragments of architectural ruins, placing the large columns lengthways, and filling up the interstices with smaller pieces. Their very fields, too, are said to be enclosed with friezes, altars, and basso relievos; and travellers describe the sea-coast to be covered with fine blocks of marble and fragments of columns, which seem to have been brought there by persons who, for want of sufficient mechanical force to get them on board ship, have not been able to bring them away.

In Anti-Paros, the ancient Oliaros, is a surprising natural grotto, forty fathoms high and fifty broad, from the top of which hang lapideous concretions, in forms of grapes, festoons, flowers, and spears; and on the sides and bottom are petrifications equally beautiful and grotesque. Our fair countrywoman, Lady Craven, visited it during her voyage, and has given a highly-coloured and vivid description of its beauties.

Naxia is elegantly introduced by Polwhele in his moving 'Tale of Araxes and Eucharis,' when describing the unbridled fury and licentiousness of a Gallic conquest; he says—

There, too, from Naxia, note a stranger guest,
A heart of anguish his dimm'd eyes betray;
He mourns a nymph, whose vows his soul possess'd,
Snatch'd sudden from his clasping arms away,
And doom'd in sighs to waste her youthful day.
Yet, though the walls of lust the maid immure,
He deems her spotless as the blush of May,
And views, in virgin innocence secure,
His Arné brave the threat, and spurn the gaudy lure.

The poet, after alluding to the other distinguished heroes of the isles, and strongly depicting their indignation at the insatiate lust and

rapine of their invaders, introduces them as disdainful to sink under the pressure of evils, but, though a scanty squadron opposed to a countless host, bravely emulating the glorious achievements of their ancestors :—

Nor he, who sung, sore ravished from his arms—
 Who sung to pity's lute the Naxian maid,
 Breathed his fond passion o'er her pictured charms,
 Or told his sorrows to the citron shade,
 Already had he summoned to his aid
 His comrade Greeks, and fiercest of the van,
 Plunged in the crouching Gaul his angry blade,
 And seized the fortress where the fight began,
 As crowds, with headlong haste, from off the ramparts ran.

GRECIAN PROSPECTS.

Surrounded as we were by regions almost hallowed, it was impossible to suppress the wanderings of imagination ; nor did I feel at all disposed to impede her excursions while they afforded me so much gratification and delight.

On the following day the weather still continued light and calm. We had, however, made some little progress, and at noon were abreast of Syra, a mountainous island, inhabited chiefly by Greek Catholics, from which circumstance it is a rendezvous for French cruizers in the Archipelago. Two or three English prizes had been taken in there very recently by a brig and polacca ship, both corsairs. At two P.M. a signal was made by one of the fleet in-shore for an enemy in sight : on looking with the glass we could perceive a square-rigged vessel beating up under the coast, and shortly afterwards she was shut in with the land. Our pilot informed us that the place where she entered was a small harbour, principally frequented by pirates, where they lay concealed at anchor, while the crews kept a watch on the hills, and if single vessels passed they came out accordingly to attack them.

At four P.M. the wind becoming more favourable, we bore up, and rounding the south point of Syra, saw the celebrated island of Delos, near Myconi.

Delos is famed in fable as the birth-place of Apollo, whose oracle at Delphi was celebrated throughout the world ; and as the god himself was considered to animate all nature with his life-infusing beams, his Delphic temple was the scene of corresponding rites.

Moore, in his 'Address from the High Priest of Apollo to a Virgin of Delphi,' depicts in powerful language the extravagance of those rites, and traces them to their real source. In an explanatory note he says : "It is well known, that in the ancient temples, whenever a reverend priest, like the supposed author of the address mentioned, was inspired with a tender inclination towards any fair visitor of the shrine, and, at the same time, felt a diffidence in his own powers of persuasion, he had but to proclaim that the god himself was enamoured of her, and had signified his divine will that she should sleep

in the interior of the temple. Many a pious husband connived at this divine assignation, and even declared himself proud of the selection with which his family had been honoured by the deity." In the Temple of Jupiter Belus, according to Herodotus, there was a large chapel, in which was placed a bed very splendidly ornamented, and beside it a table of gold, but no statute was in the place. "No man," says he, "is allowed to sleep here; but the apartment is appropriated to a female, whom, if we believe the Chaldean priests, the deity selects from the women of the country as his favourite." In Egyptian Thebes, the same mockery was practised; and at the oracles of Patara, in Lycia, the priestess never could prophecy until an interview with the deity was allowed her. The story which Josephus relates of the Roman matron, Paulina, whom the priests of Isis, for a bribe, betrayed in this manner to Mundus, is a singular instance of the impudent excess to which credulity suffered these impostures to be carried." In the Poem of Moore's, already alluded to, Apollo is represented as inquiring of his high-priest, who was the most beautiful among the nymphs that frequented his altar? and being told Aphelia, the god replies:—

Then tell the virgin to unfold
In looser pomp her locks of gold,
And bid her eyes with fonder fire,
Be kindled for a god's desire.

The remainder of the Poem displays all that warmth of imagination and exuberance of feeling which characterize its author; and in a note affixed to it, he has thus described the effect of one of those invitations of Apollo upon the mind of a young enthusiast:—

Delphi heard her shrine proclaim,
In oracles, the guilty flame.
Apollo loved my youthful charms,
Apollo woo'd me to his arms!
Sure, sure, when man so oft allows
Religion's wreath to bind his brows,
Weak wondering woman must believe,
Where pride and zeal at once deceive;
When flattery takes a holy vest,
Oh! 'tis too much for woman's breast!
How often, ere the destin'd time
That was to seal my joys sublime,
How often did I trembling run
To meet at morn the mounting sun,
And while his fervid beam he threw
Along my lips' luxuriant dew,
I thought—alas! the simple dream—
There burn'd a kiss in every beam;
With parted lips inhaled their heat,
And sigh'd—"Oh! god, thy kiss is sweet!"

* * * *

No deity at midnight came;
The lamps that witness'd all my shame,

Reveal'd to these bewilder'd eyes,
 No other form than earth supplies;
 No solar light, no nectar'd air,
 All, all, alas! was human there—
 Woman's faint conflict, virtue's fall,
 And passion's victory—human all!
 How gently must the guilt of love
 Be charm'd away by powers above,
 When men possess such tender skill
 In softening crime and sweetening ill?
 'Twas but a night, and morning's rays
 Saw me, with fond forgiving gaze,
 Hang o'er the quiet slumbering breast
 Of him who ruin'd all my rest—
 Him who had taught those eyes to weep
 Their first sad tears, and yet could sleep!

There are at this day some fine architectural ruins in the island of Delos, particularly a temple dedicated to Apollo, a beautiful colossal statue of that god, a portico, a marble theatre, and a temple at the foot of Mount Cynthus, which, being the spot where the twins of Latona were brought forth under an olive-tree, has given the name of Cynthia, to Diana, or the Moon.

Delos, from a variety of circumstances, was held peculiarly sacred among the ancients. Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, speaking of this island, calls it *Erratica Delos*; and Virgil, in his *Æneid*, speaks of Delos as a floating island, at last fixed by Apollo.

Herodotus says, in his *Erato*: "The Persians had approached Delos with six hundred sail: but, overawed by the sacredness of the place, forbore their intended depredations." This historian tells us, that Delos was often observed to tremble, and that her trembling was considered as ominous, and always portended some misfortune to Greece, from the earliest period down to his own time. "Accordingly," says he, "at the departure of the Persian fleet under Dares, Delos trembled." Polwhele thus alludes to it:—

Where Delos trembles on her desert wave,
 Rose there a rock, but breathed religion round?
 Hath ancient Echo murmur'd from her cave,
 Nor Inspiration swell'd the sacred sound?
 Witness her fanes, with holier shades embrown'd;
 Her proud colossal gods, that, hovering near,
 Pale Persia saw, nor touch'd the hallow'd ground;
 But sudden, as she dropp'd th' uplifted spear,
 Her sails innumerable check'd, and paused in mid career!

Remaining on deck until midnight, I was gratified by seeing the lovely Cynthia rise, in full lustre, from behind the blue ridges of the very mountain that fabulously gave her birth, it being nearly east of us at the time of her rising—ten o'clock.

The wind shifting in the night, we had resumed our former course, returning round Syra, and standing along the N. W. side of it, were at noon, between the islands of Joura, Andros, and Tino.

Joura is a small rocky island, and uninhabitable. Andros is, on the contrary, one of the most fertile islands in the Archipelago. Its ancient inhabitants are often mentioned in history. They were proud of their military character, and yielded not to the successive invaders without many a struggle for liberty. The modern Andrians, after having been subjected to various masters, were, at length, enslaved to the Latins. To escape from the oppression of the family of Sommerine, they threw themselves under the dominion of the Turks. We were at this moment but a few miles distant from it, and would perceive, in its luxuriant verdure, the strict propriety of the poet's episode:—

Though Andros still her inexhausted vales
Survey, by lavish vegetation crown'd;
Through orange groves, while flutter odorous gales,
From citron-bowers, while bursting streams resound,
While rich pomegranates branching shade the ground,
And figs hang luscious in the solar flame;
Lo! the poor 'habitant looks coldly round,
And slights his long hereditary claim
To Nature's liberal gifts, nor heeds his former fame.

Tino, though not so large as Andros, is more populous, containing upwards of fifty villages, and 30,000 inhabitants. It is also in the highest state of cultivation, producing, in abundance, corn, olives, and every kind of fruit, particularly delicious grapes, from which they make a wine deservedly esteemed as the best in all these islands. As the mountains are cultivated to the very summit, the inhabitants, to prevent the mould falling down, have terraced all the coast with a breast-work of stone, which, from the sea, has a very fine and romantic appearance. But the principal riches of the island consists in the silk it produces, which the females manufacture into silk stockings and gloves, by knitting. Great quantities of them are sent into Turkey for sale, and they are generally esteemed.

This island is famed for the beauty of its women; we were assured, indeed, by our pilot, that they are universally considered to be by far the handsomest throughout the Archipelago; and, having often visited it, he says the palm of distinction in that respect is justly due to them. Eton also observes: "In Tino, the women are almost all beauties, and there the true antique head is to be found." Their chastity is neither celebrated nor impeached; yet, in a climate, and on a spot where Nature, in all the varieties of her beautiful and alluring forms seems to have conspired against that virtue, it would not be surprising if the vigour of her bonds were loosened. The poet seems to have suspected it, when he says:—

Here, in secluded glades, in murmuring streets,
Full many a Venus vaunts the enchanting air,
Breathes, as she wins her way, ambrosial sweets,
And wantons in luxurious beauty fair:
Yet what avail those eyes that lightning bear,
The cheek, instinct with more than roseate red,
The full deep bosom, or the crisped hair,
What, but, amid lascivious folly bred,
To bid the slaves of lust ascend a savage bed?...POLWHELE.

Light airs from the southward, during the night, had driven us up towards the north part of Andros, near the island of Negropont (the ancient Eubœa) which stretches from Cape Doro, north-westerly, along the coast of Achaia, or Livadia. It is divided from the continent of Greece by the narrow sea of the Euripus, running N. E. and S. W. between eighty and ninety miles in length, over which is a bridge built, where Aulus formerly stood. Near this is the residence of the Capudan Pasha, or Captain Bashaw, as he is corruptly called, who, as Admiral of the Turkish fleet, is Commander-in-Chief of the island, this being their rendezvous. The Euripus, or sea dividing Negropont from the main, is remarkable for the stated irregularity of its tides, which has baffled the researches of both ancients and moderns to account for satisfactorily. It is ascertained that, from the three last days of the old moon to the eighth day of the new moon, they are regular. On the ninth day they begin to be irregular, and have been known to flow ten, twelve, and even fourteen times, in twenty-four hours. It once belonged to the Venetians, from whom it was taken by the Turks in 1469, after a siege of six months, and at the expense of 40,000 men. The Venetians attempted to recover it in 1688, but were unsuccessful.

From this spot, too, we had a distant view of immortal Attica, near the site of Athens, and of the shores of Marathon, on the plains of which the heroic Miltiades vanquished the proud hosts of Persia. His persecution for the failure of the expedition against Paros, was certainly a blemish on their annals; but the death of this great man having disarmed the malice of his enemies, they soon became sensible of their shameful ingratitude, and, as some atonement to the manes of their departed hero, erected a monument to his memory on the plains where he had acquired his glory, some fragments of which still remain. But on those shores, the monuments of science and art, which drew admirers from the remotest corners of the earth, are demolished by the savage hand of barbarism. The eloquence that swayed the passions of applauding crowds, is dumb. The pencil that breathed over the canvass, and the chisel that gave life and animation to shapeless blocks, are now no more; and the all-powerful lyre, whose sweeping chords could rouse the soul to rage, or melt it into pity, is, perhaps for ever, mute and unstrung.

A breeze springing up from the N. W. prevented our going through the Straits of Silotta; and the passage between Andros and Tino being both shoal and narrow, we bore up to join the fleet, who were all to leeward. During the afternoon, we stood close to the island of Tino, and sailing along within half a mile of its shores, commanded a complete view of the western side.

Nothing could be more beautifully picturesque than the scattered Greek villages that studded the bosoms of the hills. Some of the houses were built with sloping roofs, but the greater part with flat ones, surrounded by apparent battlements, similar to many of the old fortresses and citadels in England; and others, with a sort of spiral tower ascending above it, which, our pilot informed us, were Catholic

churches, a great many of the islanders having embraced that faith. They were all invariably white, which, contrasted with the yellow livery of Ceres, and the rich deep green of orange, citron, and vine-trees, gave a charm to the landscape that would have been worthy the pencil of the most celebrated master. The sun retired in a rich glow of reddened purple, and the rocky cliffs of the island, faintly exhibiting the golden green of metallic ore, opposed to the glassy azure of the sparkling sea, and the sombre haze of the retiring islands, formed a combination of the richest tints, equally beautiful and unusual.

At eight P. M., we passed close to the port of St. Nicolo, which appears to contain some well-built houses. A few vessels were lying at anchor before the town, and the hum of a busy populace not unpleasantly intruded itself on the silence of the evening.

On the morning of the 11th, a light breeze from the northward enabled us to pass through the channel between Tino and Myconi, and, at noon, we were abreast of Nicaria, anciently, Icaria. Dallaway says: "The sea called by the moderns 'the Archipelago,' had anciently two names: the higher part, near the Hellespont, was called the 'Ægean,' and from the island of Nicaria to the Mediterranean 'Icarian,' from the story of Dædalus and Icarus:

— Icaro daturus
Nomina ponto.—HORACE.

Its present inhabitants are poor Greeks, who subsist partly by the cultivation of the land, and partly by diving for sponges, with which the shores abound, many of the families making the caverns of the rocks their only place of abode.

Thevenot mentions a singular custom among them. "The richest men in the island (says he) give their daughters to the best divers, who are tried before the maid and her father; and he who remains longest under water wins her."—"The women," he adds, "have the ascendancy, and as soon as the husband arrives from any place in his boat, the wife goes to the sea side, takes the oars and carries them home; after which, the husband can dispose of nothing without her permission."

A voyager to the Levant, in 1664, (S. H. Blunt) has given us, in the quaint language of his day, an account of the sponge-divers in the neighbouring island of Samos, which, from its proximity of situation to Nicaria, must have been nearly allied to it in manners also:—

"Samos," says he, "is a place under whose rocks grow sponges; the people from their infancy are bred up with dry bisket, and other extenuating dyet, to make them extremely lean; then, taking a sponge wet with oyle, they hold it part in their mouths and part without, so go they under water, where at first they cannot stay long, but, after practice, some of the leanest stay an hour and a half, even till all the oyle in the sponge be corrupted; and, by the law of the island, none of that trade is suffered to marry until he have stayed half an

hour under water; that they gather sponges from the bottom of rocks more than a hundred fathom deep; which, with other stories of the ilelands, was told me by certain Greeks in our galleon."

Drawing near towards the Straits of Scio, we opened the island of Samos to leewards of us, the land of which appeared higher than any of the surrounding ones.

Samos, or Parthenias, was colonized by the Ionians more than a thousand years anterior to the Christian era. The mythologists mention it as the birth-place of Juno, to whom it was peculiarly sacred; and from whence she despatched her messenger Iris, upon the wings of the rainbow, whose office it was to unloose the souls of dying women from the chains of the body.

To the republican Government succeeded the monarchy of Polycrates. In 440 B.C. they were subdued by the Athenians, under the command of their famous statesman and general, Pericles, whom they then adopted as their protector against the confederate States; and the statue of Alcibiades was afterwards erected near that of Juno, within the confines of her temple. To the natural advantages of an insular situation, they owed security, whilst they invited invasion, and were perpetually involved in war, as long as the Grecian independence existed. Under the Romans, and the lower Greek empire, it was connected with the other islands of the Archipelago, both as to form of government and general decay; and, in 1472, Knowles reports it to have been altogether desolate and unpeopled.

When the elegant or learned Romans visited Greece, Samos had objects of curiosity well worthy their attention, as Horace informs us, "*Romæ laudetur Samos;*" and, in another instance, he adds an epithet descriptive of its beauties, "*Quid concinna Samos?*"

Plutarch says, that Antony visited Samos, and passed some months there with Cleopatra, in the highest luxury; and Augustus twice wintered there, and granted the city many immunities.

The island is also celebrated as the birth-place and residence of Pythagoras, who, feeling a restraint under the monarchy of Polycrates, became a voluntary exile, and established a school of philosophy at Crotona, in Italy, from whence he is often called "*Crotona's Sage;*" but the Samians, unwilling to waive the honour of their just claim, perpetuated it by striking medals to his memory.

The cave is still shown where Pythagoras devoted the greater part of his days and nights to meditation and the mysteries of his philosophy. Moore, in his irregular ode, "*The Genius of Harmony,*" has a beautiful allusion to it:

Or, didst thou know what dreams I wove
'Mid the deep horror of that silent bower,
Where the 'rapt Samian slept his holy slumber?

When free
From every earthly chain,
From wreaths of pleasure, and from bonds of pain,
His spirit flew through fields above,
Drank at the source of Nature's fountal number,

And saw, in mystic choir, around him move
The stars of song, Heaven's burning minstrelsy!

And in another of his classic pieces, "The Grecian Girl's Dream of the Blessed Islands, addressed to her Lover," where she relates her having met in heaven Leontium, Pythea, and Aspasia, in whose soft embraces Epicurus, Aristotle, and Socrates, their respective admirers, forgot the toil of "less endearing ties,"—he introduces the mistress of Pythagoras, with a beautiful allusion to his doctrine of transmigration:—

While fair Theano, innocently fair,
Play'd with the ringlets of her Samian's hair,
Who, fixed by love, at length was all her own,
And passed his spirit through her lips alone.

The temple of Juno was one of the greatest ornaments of Samos, and is mentioned by Herodotus as the most spacious and ancient temple he knew. Besides being adorned with some excellent paintings of native artists, in a repository for pictures attached to the building, its galleries were furnished with the choicest specimens of art, and its open area contained many statues, and, amongst others, three of colossal size, of Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, standing on one base, wrought by Myron, which were removed by Antony, who presented them to Cleopatra. In the destruction of the statues at Constantinople, when taken by the French and Venetians in 1204, Nicetas mentions a colossal statue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple at Samos, the enormous head of which was drawn by four yoke of oxen to the palace; and amidst the conquests of the Romans, when the fragments of art were taken to adorn their city, the Temple of Samos was despoiled of its best ornaments.

Dallaway, who visited its ruins in 1795 or 1796, describes it architecturally; and, after speaking of the fragments that lay scattered around its site, says, "A hedge-row divides them from a single column of white marble, which stands about sixty yards distant, with the base sunk into the ground, and a capital lying near it. Its elevation is more than 40 feet, divided in many pieces, which have been fractured and displaced by the Turks, who have fired cannon against it, on presumption of its containing hidden treasure."

Among the medals in the Ainslean Collection, are some of brass, with the head of Juno inscribed 'SAMIAN'; and, on the reverse, a peacock, her mythological attendant.

At four P.M. the breeze freshened considerably, and the carpenter discovering our foretopmast to be sprung in the wake of the cap, we were obliged to reduce the vessel to low canvass. At six we hauled close to the land, and sailing between the Cape and the little islet of Venecia, entered the Straits of Scio. The southern shores have a most sterile aspect, and are completely lined with little watch-towers on the rising grounds, placed there during the Venetian wars.

At six it fell completely calm, when we were within a mile of the shores of Scio, and abreast one of the most beautiful valleys that can be imagined.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

THE CHANCELLOR'S BUDGET.—DUTIES ON ADVERTISEMENTS—GRADUATED INCOME OR PROPERTY TAX.

SIR,

Dublin, April 25, 1833.

A friend having thought some hasty observations of mine worth sending to *THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW*, I am induced to offer a few remarks direct on other subjects that have occupied a share of, I believe, both of our attentions, willing to let them go for whatever they may be worth. It is sometimes pleasant to find our views, when original ones, confirmed by those of others; and, when they differ, advantage may be derived from comparison.

It is many years since I proposed a Graduated Property or Income Tax, though with little hope of seeing it adopted. I have never seen any scale for such proposed Tax published; but my friend informs me your Graduated Scale has appeared in a Number of *THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW*, which I have not seen, but which he promised to leave with me this day, or tomorrow. In the meantime, I enclose my Scale; but would observe that my plan did not propose *reducing* taxes to the amount of the *increase* to be derived therefrom, but only those which pressed heavily on the poor; and on the industry of the country, reserving the principal part of the revenue to be appropriated to the liquidation of the National Debt, or the reduction of the interest thereon.

Now, as a full purse gives great advantages in making a bargain, I should wish the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be able to say to the Public Creditor,—‘Sir, I am ready to pay you what I owe you, but if you prefer my holding your money at two and a half, instead of three and a half, per cent., I am willing to do so; and now leave you to your choice.’ No imputation of breach of faith could here attach; and it is clear, that in proportion to the reduction on the Interest of the Debt, the reduction of Taxation could keep pace with it; and I am inclined to think the reduction might be extended till the per centage would be very low indeed. Interest on money is perhaps only justly chargeable where there is contingent risk; and where the revenue is abundant, the security it affords should materially reduce the premium on money borrowed on such stable security. On the same principle, I think, our laws regulating interest should apply to special contracts, but leave them to be regulated by the contracting parties, according to the estimated risk. The present effect of the Usury Laws is to make the fortunes of unprincipled men who evade them, and charge a ruinous interest to the borrower.

I observe a proposed alteration on the duties of Advertisements, in the exposé of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; I could wish most sincerely that all Advertisements for menial situations were excepted from any charge whatever. The quarter's wages of a maid servant in Dublin, perhaps averages twenty shillings. An Advertisement costs her five shillings, one half duty; now, supposing the one insertion successful, here is yet a tax of twenty-five per cent. on her income; but one insertion is seldom successful.

Is not this monstrous? I do hope an amendment may be moved to the Chancellor's proposal on this subject.

I have transgressed too far already, so shall conclude with my best wishes for success to those great objects embraced by the East India and Slavery Questions, and remain, with sincere respect,

Your's faithfully,

R. T. H.

GRADUATED SCALE FOR AN INCOME TAX.

Over £100 - - 1 per cent.	Over £600 - - 6 per cent.
200 - - 2	700 - - 7
300 - - 3	800 - - 8
400 - - 4	900 - - 9
500 - - 5	1000 - - 10
Over £10,000 - - 11 per cent.	Over £20,000 - - 12 per cent.
30,000 - - 13	40,000 - - 14
50,000 - - 15	60,000 - - 16
70,000 - - 17	80,000 - - 18
90,000 - - 19	and,
Over £100,000 - - 20 per cent.	

The Statement of Income to be on Oath or Affirmation, with penalty of double per centage on overplus of Income concealed. Income derived from business to be one half the above, as being contingent on profit.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

On referring back to the Table of the Graduated Tax proposed by us in No. X. of THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, it will be seen that the resemblance between the Scales is very striking, considering them to be the result of reflections made by two different parties who had not seen each other's estimates.

THE CHANCELLOR'S BUDGET.—TAX ON THE FUNDS.— INEQUALITY OF THE TIMBER DUTIES.

SIR,

Hull, April 24, 1833.

The Budget has at length made its appearance. It is very evident that the present Ministers, like their predecessors, intend to continue to sacrifice the landed, trading, shipping, working, and all other interests, to the monied interest, which will soon become possessed of all the property in the kingdom, if the public do not refuse to pay taxes until they are more equitably imposed—a resolution likely to be taken much sooner than Mr. Baring and his friends imagine.

What infatuation has caused the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to bring forward his old measures for taxing the funds and equalizing the timber duties? He might have carried both in a reformed House of Commons.

It cannot be right that funded property should be entirely exempt from taxation, nor that a bounty should be granted on sawing in Russia, Prussia, Canada, and the United States; although the nobility of Russia

are great proprietors of saw-mills, and do exercise considerable influence (unfortunately) in the councils of this country.

The ship-owners are adverse to any change; but what advantage they can derive from the sawing of timber abroad I cannot conceive: because a certain quantity of wood must be brought into the kingdom, either in a rough or manufactured state. Their motive for favouring the importation of timber from Canada and the United States is more intelligible. This trade certainly employs a greater number of tons of shipping than the Baltic trade, but not so many seamen. Ships in the Canada trade being large, it requires only two, navigated with 15 men each, to carry 1000 loads of timber; whilst the same quantity of timber from the Baltic comes in three ships, navigated with 13 men each. Hence, every thousand loads of wood brought to this country employs 30 men from Canada, and 39 from the Baltic. This is as important a consideration to a maritime nation, as that of the being forced to use inferior timber.

I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

A FRIEND TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

AN EVENING WALK IN BENGAL,

By BISHOP HEBER.

OUR task is done! on Ganga's breast
The sun is sinking down to rest,
And, moored beneath the tamarind bough,
Our bark has found its harbour now.
With furled sail, and painted side,
Behold the tiny frigate ride.
Upon her deck, 'mid charcoal gleams,
The Moslem's savoury supper steams,
While all apart, beneath the wood,
The Hindoo cooks his simple food.
Come walk with me the jungle through;
If yonder hunters told us true,
Far off, in desert dark and rude,
The tiger holds his solitude;
Nor, (taught by recent harm to shun
The thunders of the English gun)
A dreadful guest but rarely seen,
Returns to scare the village green.
Come boldly on! no venom'd snake
Can shelter in so cool a brake.
Child of the sun! he loves to lie
'Mid nature's embers, parch'd and dry,
Where, o'er some tower in ruin laid,
The peepul spreads its haunted shade;
Or round a tomb his scales to wreath,
Fit warder in the gate of death!
Come on! yet pause! behold us now
Beneath the bamboo's arched bough,
Where, gemming oft that sacred gloom,

Grows the geranium's scarlet bloom ;
 And winds our path through many a bower
 Of fragrant tree and giant flower ;
 The ceibas' crimson pomp display'd
 O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade,
 And dusk anana's prickly blade ;
 While o'er the brake so wild and fair,
 The betel waves his crest in air.
 With pendent train and rushing wings,
 Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs ;
 And he, the bird of hundred dyes,
 Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize.
 So rich a shade, so green a sod,
 Our English fairies never trod ;
 Yet who in Indian bow'r has stood,
 But thought on England's " good green wood ?"
 And bless'd, beneath the palmy shade,
 Her hazel and her hawthorn glade,
 And breath'd a pray'r, (how oft in vain !)
 To gaze upon her oaks again ?

A truce to thought ! the jackalls cry
 Resounds like sylvan revelry ;
 And through the trees, yon falling ray
 Will scantily serve to guide our way.
 Yet mark ! as fade the upper skies,
 Each thicket opes ten thousand eyes.
 Before, beside us, and above,
 The fire-fly lights his lamp of love,
 Retreating, chasing, sinking, soaring,
 The darkness of the copse exploring ;
 While to this cooler air confest,
 The broad Dhatura bares her breast,
 Of fragrant scent and virgin white,
 A pearl around the locks of night !
 Still as we pass, in softened hum,
 Along the breezy alleys come
 The village-song, the horn, the drum.
 Still as we pass, from bush and briar,
 The shrill cigala strikes his lyre ;
 And what is she whose liquid strain
 Thrills through yon copse of sugar-cane ?
 I know that soul-entrancing swell !
 It is—it must be—Philomel !
 Enough, enough, the rustling trees
 Announce a shower upon the breeze,—
 The flashes of the summer sky
 Assume a deeper, ruddier dye :
 Yon lamp that trembles on the stream,
 From forth our cabin sheds its beam ;
 And we must early sleep, to find
 Betimes the morning's healthy wind.
 But oh ! with thankful hearts confess
 Ev'n here there may be happiness ;
 And He, the bounteous Sire, has given
 His peace on earth—his hope of heaven !

THE
PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW
And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—MAY 2.

THE question of Negro Slavery is fast approaching its decision, and the interest felt on this subject becomes deeper and deeper, the nearer the period of its issue is at hand. We wish we could add that public confidence in its satisfactory decision also increased: but we regret to say that this is not the case. Earl GREY's declaration of his satisfaction at finding that by the word "immediate," as applied to emancipation, it was not intended to release the Slaves from their bondage "immediately:" and Earl FITZWILLIAM's expression of a similar sentiment at the Anti-Slavery Meeting in Exeter Hall, make us fearfully anxious for the developement of the Government plan, which Mr. STANLEY is to make on Tuesday next. In the meantime, we lay before our readers the following portion of a conversation that passed in the House of Lords on the 2nd instant, to show them how the current of feeling is running in some quarters, on this all-important subject:—

'The Duke of WELLINGTON presented a petition from magistrates, bankers, merchants, and others, inhabitants of Belfast, for a gradual and safe abolition of Slavery, and compensation to the planters. He had a petition to the same effect from Edinburgh. The latter was signed by 2,468 persons, and was well entitled to attention, no less on account of the respectability of the petitioners, than by reason of the justice of the sentiments contained in the petition. He proposed that the Edinburgh petition be read at length. [The petition having been read by the clerk, the Noble Duke proceeded.] The petitioners referred to the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1823 on the subject of Slavery, and made them the basis of their statements. Those resolutions tended to gradual emancipation, not immediate, by the adoption of temperate measures. He claimed credit for the different Governments with which he had been connected up to November, 1830, for acting on these resolutions. The order in council of March, 1830, enforcing manumission, would alone have led at last to the accomplishment of the resolution of 1823, if temperately carried into effect. It was impossible not to apprehend serious evils from immediate emancipation; the interests of the Slaves themselves would be endangered, no less than the security of the colonies, and the parent country would not escape the consequences that must inevitably ensue. The petitioners stated that the revenue derived from the colonies in 1830 amounted to

7,800,000*l.*, and there was every reason to believe that it was not less than 7,500,000*l.* in the last year. Was it not an object to retain such a revenue as that? According to the petition, the exports and trade connected with the colonies amounted to 120,000*l.*, and there were 350,000 tons of shipping employed in the colonial trade. A large income (much diminished, however, as compared, with what it had been) was received by proprietors of West India estates resident in this country. This country (putting Ireland out of the question) consumed more sugar than all Europe beside. If the West India trade were abandoned, whence could we get sugar? Only from slave colonies, which were at this moment carrying on the Slave Trade in the same manner as we drew our supplies of cotton from Colonies where the whole population were slaves. It would seem we were going to do this, to sacrifice slaves and masters, and colonies, at an expense of 7,000,000*l.* of revenue. Such conduct appeared to him to be little, if at all, better than insanity. The Noble Duke here went into an account of the expenditure and receipts of a sugar plantation, for the purpose of showing that the principal profit was shared, not by the proprietor, but by Government, in the shape of duties, and by the merchants, traders, and manufacturers of England, in the various transactions arising out of the sale of the produce of the estate. After referring to the distress and losses of the West India proprietors, the Noble Duke stated that he had done everything in his power when in office to relieve them, and concluded by expressing his conviction that till the public felt the situation of the planters, and was willing to do them justice, we should not cease to feel the misery that must continue to be produced by the present state of the Colonies.'

'Lord SUFFIELD complained that the Noble Duke had brought on the subject of Slavery and the Colonies without due notice, to enable his opponents to come prepared to combat and refute his arguments. The Noble Duke now presented a petition from Edinburgh, signed by 2,400 persons, and asking for gradual emancipation, but he (Lord Suffield) shortly before the recess, had presented a petition from the same place, which was signed by between 21,000 and 22,000 persons, and called for immediate emancipation. He understood that there were many female signatures to the Noble Duke's petition, whereas the 21,000 persons who signed the former petition were all adult males. Under such circumstances, it was not difficult to divine the feeling of the city of Edinburgh on the subject, and their Lordships would determine which of the two petitions was the better entitled to attention. He denied the facts and arguments of the petition; both were full of inconsistency. He contended that by "gradual emancipation" the petitioners intended "a perpetuation of slavery." One or two sentences in the petition had excited from him an involuntary smile, particularly when he heard the petitioners speaking of "the parental care of the master," and "the happy and contented condition of the slave." The condition of the slave was not now one atom better than it was forty years ago; indeed, he believed it to be a great deal worse, for in the anticipation of a speedy loss of power, the master began to exercise more severity than ever. The Noble Duke assumed that the Colonies would be destroyed by immediate emancipation. This position he (Lord Suffield) denied. It was true that the colonies were now in a most dangerous state, and the only way to prevent anarchy and confusion was by emancipating the slaves, under such checks and regulations as he was sure the Government would adopt. His belief and hope (which was shared by the great bulk of the people of England) was, that Government would propose an emancipation neither partial nor protracted. That was the only safe course to adopt.'

'Earl FITZWILLIAM was unwilling to prolong the discussion, but could not

avoid saying that the petition sailed into the harbour of their Lordship's House under something like false colours. It professed to be a petition in favour of the abolition of slavery, gradual indeed, but still in favour of abolition. However, as his noble friend observed, the petition was inconsistent—inconsistent indeed; for if its reasoning were correct, there could be no greater evil for slaves and colonies than an abolition of Slavery. The petitioners asserted that the condition of the slaves was better than that of a large proportion of his Majesty's free subjects; what was the inference? Surely not in favour of an abolition, which the petition professed to support, but in favour of a perpetuation of this happy condition of slavery. Indeed, that was the result of the arguments in the petition, and in the Noble Duke's speech. His opinion was that some immediate measure of abolition was necessary; but in speaking of immediate abolition, he did not mean, and he was sure the petitioners did not mean, that a measure should be sent out to the colonies directly, and that it should be instantly acted on in the way of emancipation. What he contemplated was, that some measure should be immediately carried into effect for substituting a new set of relations between man and man, for the subtraction of the slave from that power in reference to which there existed no appeal, and for the substitution of a system of law and justice for one of irresponsible power.

We believe that Earl FITZWILLIAM does not correctly appreciate the public feeling as to the term "immediate emancipation." We believe that by it the public mean that the abolition of slavery shall take place immediately—as soon as a measure can be prepared to be sent out to the colonies for that purpose. That at least is our own interpretation of the words; and we should say, that if the Government shall put any other construction on the public demand, and merely propose some *immediate* measure that shall lead to the *ultimate* abolition of Slavery, the great body of the petitioners throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, will feel dissatisfied, and consider themselves to have been betrayed by false hopes, and promises that were never intended to be redeemed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 2.

The first motion of the evening, was one brought forward by Colonel TORRENS—

'For the repeal of all taxes which have the effect of lowering the rate of profit upon capital, or which are paid out of the wages of labour, to the extent of 10,000,000 annually; and, to substitute in their stead, a tax upon fixed property to the amount of 5,000,000*l.*, and the appropriation to the public service of 5,000,000*l.*, from the proceeds of a national bank.'

The history of this motion and its result is instructive. Colonel Torrens had had it placed in the Order Book for several weeks; and as the importance of the subject was such as to draw attention to it from all quarters, it was expected that it would excite considerable interest, and provoke a long and animated debate. But, Lord Althorp's holding a Property Tax *in terrorem* over the heads of refractory members, to deter them from confirming the repeal of

the Malt Duty, or supporting the repeal of the House and Window Tax, had so frightened the majority of the House against it, that the mere words, "a tax upon fixed property to the extent of five millions," operated as a sort of spell, and almost emptied the House.

Colonel TORRENS was permitted to deliver his speech, because it was very early in the evening, there were few persons present, and none either to applaud or to interrupt. He spoke throughout under the pressure of this unpleasant feeling; and therefore the speech fell still-born, as it were, from his lips. The tax which he purposed imposing was on fixed property alone, namely, lands, houses, and funds; but he proposed leaving all floating capital, in manufactories, farming, and business of every kind, untouched by it. Yet even so moderate a proposition as this received scarcely any support or assent. We give one extract from his speech, as it contains a powerful answer to a very prevalent fallacy, and should therefore be frequently repeated.

'It had been urged as an objection to a tax upon fixed property that it would drive capital abroad—that all would seek to escape the tax by selling out of the funds or by disposing of their estates and making investments in foreign securities. This objection was quite futile. The alarm which induced the proprietors of fixed property to sell would operate upon those who were able to purchase, and the price of all fixed property would immediately fall in proportion to the tax, so that no inducement could remain for foreign investment. But it had been supposed that the motive to accumulating and saving would be diminished. No such thing. If the price of real and fixed property fell in proportion to the tax, as it certainly would, investments in fixed property would be just as beneficial, would yield just the same per centage as before, and no conceivable diminution in the motive to saving could occur. There was only one objection to a tax upon fixed property which deserved serious notice, and that was, that it might operate as a discouragement to permanent improvements. But this objection was easily obviated. Let notice be given of all permanent improvements required, and let no increased rate be imposed in consequence of them for a period of ten or twenty years, so as to free the capitalist who effected them from discouragement. He begged pardon of the House for having detained them so long upon a subject dry and uninviting, but it did appear to him that a crisis had arrived which had rendered it necessary to *reverse the whole system* of our financial policy, in order to relieve the industry of the country, and that it was therefore most important the real incidence and effects of a tax upon fixed property should be placed distinctly before the House and the country. He felt it to be his duty to endeavour, however imperfectly, to perform this task. He would not, as the sense of the House had been so recently taken upon the question of a Property Tax, press his motion to a division, but would rest satisfied with having enunciated principles which, as he believed it would, *at no distant period*, become imperative upon the legislature to adopt.'

We believe, with Colonel Torrens, that no capital would leave the country in consequence of the measure proposed, and that the tendency to accumulation would be as strong as ever. We further agree with him that "a CRISIS HAS ARRIVED which has rendered it necessary that we should REVERSE THE WHOLE SYSTEM of our financial policy"—and for that very reason we think these small alterations

and slight improvements hardly worth the trial, unless they are intended only as the first steps in some general course of policy which is to be carried through the whole system. And if, as Colonel Torrens thinks, and as Lord John Russell and others of the ministry seem to have incidentally admitted, it will, at no **DISTANT** period, become **IMPERATIVE** upon the legislature to act upon the principles he advocates, the sooner a Committee of Inquiry upon that subject is granted, the better; for one of the most certain methods of having things well done, is to begin them in time, and not to defer their commencement until the period when every one is impatient for the end. Mr. JOHN MAXWELL seconded the motion of Colonel Torrens, in the following brief but excellent speech:—

‘Mr. MAXWELL, in seconding the motion, said that on the investigation of this subject depended the continuance of the prosperity and power of this great country. It was the natural effect, he thought, of lowering the profits of capital by taxation, to compel the owners of capital to lower the wages of the labourer. Humanity, therefore, and good sense, combined in urging the inexpediency of heavy imposts on capital, because they had a direct tendency to increase the impediments to industry, and consequently to reduce the country to misery and despair. Such was the condition of Ireland at the present moment, and such, he grieved to say, would, ere long, be that of the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, if some alteration in the system of taxation were not effected. What was the state of the labouring classes of the country? It was well known that their wages had fallen one-half since the war. But what was the state of those who existed on the taxes? They did not feel the burdens of the country. Thus, those who afforded the means of employment were heavily taxed, while those who gave little or no impulse to industry escaped almost entirely from taxation. The Noble Lord (Althorp) had allowed that the fundholders were at the present day receiving eighty-seven sovereigns for what they never gave forty for. He conjured the House to afford the means of employment to the poor, by relieving the manufacturers, the merchants, and the farmers, from the burdens which the present system of taxation imposed upon them. The Noble Lord (Althorp) had said the other night that he would adhere to the standard of value of the country; but he (Mr. Maxwell) doubted whether he would be able to carry on the financial affairs of the country without some alteration in the standard of value. He did not give his vote for the Noble Lord on the motion of the Hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. M. Attwood) on the distress of the country, because he gave the House no information as to what he considered would be a lowering of the standard. He thought that the introduction of a silver standard would be a sure means of lowering that of gold; and if it were attempted to support the public credit by any specious and artificial means, he was convinced the government of the country would not be able to go on.’

It seemed predetermined, on the part of those who were opposed to a Property Tax in any shape, that there should be no discussion on this motion of Colonel Torrens; and accordingly it was met by a speech of great brevity by Lord **ALTHORP**—the full report of which, as given in the *Times*, is as follows:—

‘Lord **ALTHORP** said that he did not purpose, on the present occasion, to enter upon a discussion respecting the expediency of altering the taxation

of the country. The question was purely a scientific one, and he did not quite understand how the gallant Colonel's arguments had borne upon it. He could not, under the circumstances, consent to the proposition.'

The motion was accordingly put, and negatived, without a division; so that the public may fairly infer from this, how great is the indisposition of the honourable members of the House of Commons, composed as they are chiefly of the branches of noble families and persons of large possessions in houses, lands, and funds, to admit of any alteration in the existing system, which shall have the effect of drawing less of the taxes from the people and more of the revenue from themselves. The opposition to a Property-Tax would be, however, still greater in the House of Lords—where *all* the members are persons possessed of fixed property; so that we despair of seeing any legislative enactment for lightening the burthens of the poor and increasing those of the rich, until the legislature is composed of different materials, or until the general distress of the country shall send forth a cry from without, which those who are within will tremble to hear, and will not dare to resist.

After this question was disposed of, Mr. RICHARDS brought forward his resolution in favour of Poor Laws for Ireland. On this subject, as well as on that of taxing property and income, instead of commodities and labour, the readers of this REVIEW have our recorded opinions; and it is therefore hardly necessary to repeat them here. We may say, however, that we have heard nothing yet to shake our opinion in favour of the adoption of a system of Poor Laws for Ireland—of which we are as warmly the advocates as ever. We present a few extracts from the principal speeches.

'Mr. RICHARDS, on rising to submit the motion of which he had given notice, respecting a provision for the Poor of Ireland, could not help feeling under considerable embarrassment from the notion he entertained of its importance. Indeed, he should never have ventured upon the guidance of so difficult a subject, had he not observed that there seemed no likelihood of any other gentleman coming forward with a like proposition. It was the opinion of many that a motion of the nature he was about to submit to the House, should have emanated from His Majesty's Ministers; but though his notice of motion had been given two months ago, Government had displayed no disposition to attempt anything in the way of legislation on the subject. Under these circumstances, he could do nothing else than persevere in it, and in fulfilling this duty, he hoped the House would extend to him its indulgence. The subject was a difficult—an important one; and all who had witnessed or heard of the dreadful scenes of bloodshed, violence, and murder, which rendered property and life insecure in Ireland, must at least admit the necessity of an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining whether the establishment of a provision for the poor of Ireland, would not have a tendency to ameliorate the unfortunate condition of that country. They had the evidence of their own committee to show that famine and destitution were the almost invariable visitants of the Irish poor; and that such was their destitution, owing to the want of employment and a means of existence, they perished annually in thousands.

'The hon. gentleman here read numerous extracts from the evidence given by Mr. Malthus before the Emigration Committee of 1826, in order to show that, owing to the influx of Irish labourers into the English market, the

result, according to that gentleman, was, that the condition of the English workman was greatly deteriorated; he being thereby compelled to accept of lower wages, and accustomed to a lower food—in short, reduced to the worst diet, potatoes. There was no efficient remedy, so far as the transfer of the Irish poor back to Ireland was concerned; for those poor men were usually attended by their families, wives, and children, and those could not be transferred; because, owing to Catholic marriages not being legal in England, the children were not legitimate in the eyes of the law, and therefore did not fall under the provisions of the parish settlement laws. The overseers in parishes inundated with Irish poor, were compelled to either compromise with the Irish peasant for taking his children back with him, or compel himself to emigrate, leaving his children behind him. The fact was, in every way, the want of a compulsory provision for the poor of Ireland was a very grievous tax upon the industry of the people of England.

‘The hon. member proceeded next to read a passage in ‘*Styrye’s Annals*,’ in order to show that the condition of the English poor was just as wretched, and the country consequently as much the seat of outrage, lawlessness, and rapine, as that of the Irish poor and Ireland at present, in the interval between the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, and the enactment of the 43d of Elizabeth. Before this admirable provision for the poor was enacted, every expedient was tried for checking the consequences of their turbulence and sedition. Forty specific coercive acts respecting vagrancy were in vain passed by the legislature; they tried martial law, emigration, and wholesale hanging; all would not do, till the poor were insured the means of existence. Sir R. Nainton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, had given a lively picture of the universally beneficial results of the statute of Elizabeth in restoring social order, and making the working classes contented and happy. Ireland was just now in the situation England was in the period immediately preceding the enactment of the Poor Laws, and would continue so till the same just and wise policy was pursued towards her. The working classes of Ireland were uncertain of the means of existence. They were as a mass without employment,—without the certainty of food,—almost without hope. Was it to be wondered at that they were the ready tools and victims of the trader in sedition, the sordid agitator? (Cheers, in which Mr. O’Connell joined.)

‘The state of Scotland had been frequently referred to as an argument against Poor Law institutions; in his mind the argument told in favour of Poor Laws. Dr. Chalmers, the great opponent of Poor Laws, admitted in his evidence, that for the fourteen years preceding 1698, such was the wretched condition of the Scotch poor, neither life nor property was safe in that country. He admitted, also, that after that period, the country was peaceable and flourishing. In that year Poor Laws were established in Scotland, with their excellent consequences. It was true Dr. Chalmers did not ascribe this desirable change to the establishment of a provision for the poor; but to the institution of parochial schools—to education; but they had the decisive evidence of Fletcher of Saltoun, that when those schools were established, there were not less than 200,000 ‘sturdy vagabonds’ traversing Scotland; and it was but consistent with all experience, to ascribe to the enactments for the suppression of vagrancy, and insuring to the poor employment and subsistence, the absorption of these 200,000 sturdy vagabonds into the industrious mass of society.’ (Hear, hear.)

He went on to shew that all the efforts made in Ireland to obtain voluntary assistance to the support of the poor had failed, and that there was no hope of their being essentially relieved, unless that relief

were made compulsory. He therefore concluded by moving the following resolution :—

‘That it is the opinion of this House that the establishment of a provision for the Poor of Ireland, on the principle of the 43d of Elizabeth, with such alterations and improvements as time and circumstances may require, is expedient and necessary to the interests of the United Kingdom.’

Mr. JAMES GRATTAN seconded the motion in a very argumentative and powerful speech, which we should gladly have given entire, had our limits admitted :—

‘He had ever held, that till the poor of Ireland were secured against famine and its consequences, it was vain to expect tranquillity in Ireland, and every day’s experience was a too painful corroboration of his opinion. He would confidently rest his case on this single principle—that a man uncertain of his daily bread—a starving man—was necessarily a savage; that is, incapable of that prospective and temperate course of conduct which was the essential condition of peace and prosperity. (Hear, hear.) The Irish poor eked out a miserable existence between famine and rapine; they were able and willing to work, but there was none for them. They saw the means of comfortable subsistence around them; they were, nevertheless, destitute in their native land: they were, moreover, a sensitive and irritable people. Was it to be expected, under these circumstances, that they should be peaceable and obedient to the law? If they wished to retain Ireland as an essential and profitable portion of the empire, they must induce the Irish people to respect the laws; and to induce them to respect the laws they must feel them to be protective, conciliatory, just, and impartial. What was their present system—was it protective, conciliatory, just, and impartial? Certainly, if the Insurrection Act was conciliatory, and if starvation, rapine, and then hanging or transportation, were the proofs of conciliation. (Hear, hear.) Since the Union there was hardly an interval of two or three years without the Insurrection Act being enforced; and till they applied a remedy to the parent evil—a want of employment and a legal security against starvation—things would not, indeed could not, grow better. The fact was, there was no choice between the most iron coercion, or the remedial policy of poor-laws; and if they were seriously determined to apply a remedy to the ills of Ireland, which the Union has undoubtedly produced, they would give the Irish peasant an interest in its preservation. They had heard much of the advantages of expending capital in local improvements; the fact was, experience had demonstrated that such expenditure, when partial, was only mischievous; and that, to be beneficial, it must be made universal. Did a gentleman expend thousands in giving employment to the poor in his neighbourhood, he immediately attracted all the floating misery for miles and miles about him, with a view to profiting by his benevolence: but evidently the heartless landlord, from whose district this horde of paupers had emigrated, was *pro tanto* benefited at the expense of the humane and upright. (Hear, hear.) Then, unless the giving employment were made compulsory, the absentee landlord would never apply himself to the improvement of his estate, so long as his agent could extract the rent from the impoverished tenants. Make him provide employment for the poor on his estate, and in self-defence he would betake himself to domestic improvements. As it was, the only semblance of improvements attempted in Ireland were those of the justly repudiated jobbing system of grand jury assessments. Again he repeated, that he had no choice between iron coercion or conciliating the poor by insuring them against destitution, and affording them profitable employ-

ment—between the Repeal of the Union and Poor Laws. (Loud cries of “Hear.”) He called upon the House to compel the Irish landlords to do their duty to themselves, their tenants, and their country: it was the cause of humanity and true religion. Already had the Irish landlords their 40s. disfranchisement act, which cleared their estates of their poor villains when no longer useful upon the hustings; and then their sub-letting act, which prevented those unfortunate outcasts from again settling down upon the soil upon which they were born; and yet, in the face of these facts, the Irish landlords hypocritically talked of the abuses and demoralizing effects of the English poor-laws. (Hear.) Out, out, upon such barefaced, such sordid hypocrisy; it was not the abuses, but the long-tried, long-proved uses of the poor-laws that he demanded for Ireland. (Cheers.) Let them look at the beneficial consequences of the partial attempts that had been made towards affording the poor of Ireland employment: in the Western districts of Ireland, a large army, distributed over twelve barracks, was hardly sufficient to keep the peace, when Mr. Griffiths, the mining engineer, under the direction of the Government, superintended the application of some money—some 140,000*l.* or 150,000*l.*—to public works for some ten years: such was the beneficial result of this employment as a mere means of restoring social order, that eleven out of twelve of those barracks, with their military occupants, were dispensed with: (hear, hear) and so it would be still more under a general system of employment. Let not the first Reformed House of Commons act towards Ireland as its predecessors had uniformly done,—impose upon her acts of coercion, instead of granting her measures of relief; if they did, all hope to Ireland of benefit to this country was at an end. Ireland had a right to the poor-laws; she acquired that right by the act of union, and if they were not granted, he would not only join in the cry for the Repeal of the Union, but would go farther, and say that he would not live in a country where martial law prevailed, and where he was compelled to see his countrymen starving around him.’

This speech appears to us unanswerable. What is wanted is,—support for those who by age, sickness, or infirmities, are unable to work; and employment for all those who can labour, but who have no channels open to them for calling their labour into use. A healthy and able-bodied man, who has the power and the will to work, but who cannot get employment, is as much an object of commiseration, and is as much entitled to legislative relief, as the aged or the sick who cannot labour. The misery of both is complete, and starvation must be the lot of either, if help be not afforded them. The sick and aged *may* perish if not assisted, because their physical debility renders them unable to resort to violent efforts to relieve themselves. But the able-bodied man will, of necessity, become a vagrant and a beggar; and if this does not bring him bread, he will become a robber or a murderer. To lie down and starve, is what no man can be expected to do; and, therefore, as a matter of mere policy and profit, it is better that the wealthy should be compelled to part with some of their substance to find employment for such persons, than that they should be turned loose upon society as depredators, and destroy a great deal more than their maintenance would cost, without doing any useful work in return.

Lord ALTHORP admitted the importance of the subject, and therefore did not mean to meet the motion with a direct negative; but it will

be seen that his amendment cuts away all hope of *immediate* relief. He said:—

‘All that he wished was that the House should not run hand over head in support of the Hon. Member’s motion, without ascertaining what effect would result from the introduction of Poor Laws, what probability there was of avoiding the abuses which were connected with the system existing in England; and, above all, without ascertaining (and this was a material point, although it had been entirely passed over by the Hon. Member) whether there were not at present existing in Ireland charitable institutions for the relief of distress, the scope of whose usefulness might be considerably extended. All these were points which ought to be inquired into: It would also be necessary to inquire whether the condition of the poor in Ireland differed from that of the poor in England, and if so, whether the difference was disadvantageous to the former; and then again rose the question, would this evil be removed by the introduction of the system of Poor Laws? He had given the subject due consideration, and though he was not prepared to say at once that it was his decided opinion that Poor Laws ought not to be introduced into Ireland, yet he certainly entertained great doubt as to whether the introduction of that system would be beneficial? (Hear.) The effect of the Poor Laws in that country was to lead labouring men to look forward to parochial relief for the means of subsistence, instead of relying upon their own industry and prudence; and if he had a correct notion of the population of Ireland, he did not think they were less likely to be improvident and to have recourse to the relief afforded by the Poor Laws than the people of this country; on the contrary, he thought that they would be rather more likely to do so, and that if the Poor Laws were introduced into Ireland, the people of that country would conceive it to be almost an imputation on their discernment and ability if they did not contrive to obtain parochial relief.’

‘There were several modes in which an inquiry on this subject might be conducted. In the first place, a Committee of the House might be appointed for the purpose; but there existed many objections to that. Several such Committees had already been appointed, and evidence had been brought from Ireland, selected with a view to supporting the particular opinion of the Hon. Members who had moved for the Committees, and therefore no one, except perhaps those individuals, was satisfied with the result. He thought that Government should take the subject into consideration, and he also was of opinion that the inquiry should take place in Ireland; for which purpose he intended to move, as an amendment on the motion, an Address to the Crown to appoint a Commission to investigate the subject. (Hear, hear.) The amendment which he should submit was so worded as not to pledge the House to any opinion on the subject of the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland, *nor indeed would it point directly to that object*. The amendment was as follows: “That a humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give direction that a Commission do issue, to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes of his Majesty’s subjects in Ireland, and into the various institutions at present established by law for their relief.”

As to the first portion of Lord Althorp’s difficulties, it may be answered that England and Scotland, *with* poor-laws, are each in a better condition than Ireland *without* them; and that it is matter of universal notoriety that the charitable institutions existing in Ireland at present, do *not* afford adequate relief,—or so large a mass of human misery as is still found there, could not exist. But the admission; in

the latter part of the noble lord's speech, that the amendment steered clear of the question of Poor Laws altogether, and that it did not even point directly to that object, is a pretty strong indication of what the Government desire the issue of the Commission to be, and a tolerable prognostic of the decision to which it will arrive. By-and-bye, however, while these palliatives and expedients are slowly proceeding, the desperation of the poor will lead to the 'spoliation and confiscation' of the property of the rich; and it will then be too late to talk of introducing Poor Laws or any other remedy, as the power will be gone from those who might *now* use it for their good, and be placed in the hands of others who will apply it to very different purposes. The rich, however, have had their warnings, loudly, earnestly, and frequently given them; and if they despise all these, be the consequences on their own heads when the day of struggle comes!

Mr. O'CONNELL, strange to say, seconded the amendment of Lord Althorp, and opposed the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland, though it was subsequently shewn by Mr. Richards that Mr. O'Connell had, at a public meeting in Dublin, advocated them.

Mr. HARVEY made a powerful speech in favour of Mr. Richards's motion; and, after combatting some of the positions of Mr. O'Connell, he proceeded thus:—

'He (Mr. Harvey) advocated the introduction of a system of poor-laws into Ireland. If a man who was willing to work could not get it, would that House, constituting a part of a Christian Legislature, and commencing all its proceedings by an appeal to the Supreme Controller of all human affairs, tell the miserable and starving wretch that he must submit to the eternal and immutable laws of political economy, and if the earth did not give him support, he must quit it? (Hear, hear.) He maintained that the poor of every country were entitled to support: the rich were the trustees of the property, but the fee-simple was in the children of heaven. (Hear, hear.) Were the deserted poor of Ireland, whom they had so often heard described as such, in the deepest abyss of wretchedness, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, and faint with hunger, who were even glad to make a meal upon the common weed that grew upon the sea-shore, and might be said to exist rather than live—were these trembling and miserable creatures to be told that they must expect no relief for their sufferings, and that they must derive consolation from the idea that all their misery and affliction were in conformity with the unerring doctrines of political economy? (Hear, hear.) He asserted that the 8,000,000*l.* paid under the name of a poor-rate was not a poor-rate in reality; it was wages belonging to the labourer, which by various contrivances had been carried to the poor-rate, in order to relieve those who ought to pay, and throw the burden on those who ought not. (Hear.) If the poor man was to receive no succour from the law, let him then not be oppressed by the law: make the necessities of life cheap to him, and do not tax the bread which he eats. The poor would be quite willing to give up the 8,000,000*l.* they received in the shape of poor-rate, if the landlords would only forego the 15,000,000*l.* they took from the poor by raising the price of their bread.' (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RICHARDS rose at a late hour to reply; and, after recapitulating some of his former arguments, and commenting on some of the objections of his opponents, he said,—

One of the most strenuous of the opponents of his motion was the Hon. and Learned Member for Dublin. Now, he held a paper in his hand containing a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in Dublin a few years ago on this very subject of the application of a system of Poor Laws to Ireland. (Hear.) At that meeting Lord Cloncurry presided, and the meeting was addressed, amongst others, by a Mr. O'Connell (he did not know whether it was the same hon. and learned gentleman who was now opposed to his motion). That Mr. O'Connell declared that he was in favour of a system of Poor Laws for Ireland. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") He said that the poor must be supported, either by voluntary contributions, or by the Government, and that it was the first duty of a well-regulated Government to provide for the poor. (Cries of "Hear, hear," renewed.) That hon. gentleman went on to say that he would have a well-regulated system of Poor Laws for Ireland (cheers); and he thought that such a system was necessary, particularly in the then circumstances of Ireland. (Cheers and laughter.) In the conclusion of that speech the Mr. O'Connell whom he quoted apologized for having detained the meeting so long, but added that as a convert to the opinion which he then entertained, he came to the question with all the fervour of a renegade. (Loud cheers and laughter, which were renewed when the Hon. Member threw down the paper from which he had quoted, with much vehemence, on the table.) He did not know (supposing that it was the same Mr. O'Connell who had made that speech, and who had to-night opposed it)—he did not know which opinion he (Mr. Richards) should prefer—whether he should have the opinion of the renegade of that day from a former opinion, or the renegade of the present from that opinion. (Hear, hear.) He supposed he must let the one neutralize the other, and come to the conclusion that both were worth nothing. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

The result of the debate was, that Mr. Richards's motion was negatived without a division, and Lord Althorp's amendment carried; so that all hope of Poor Laws for Ireland are at an end for this session at least, and probably during the term of the present administration.

After this, the House became speedily deserted. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. JEFFREY, rose to ask leave to bring in a Bill for rendering the payment to creditors more certain and expeditious, and for the better regulation of mercantile bankruptcies in Scotland; but though the subject was important, the mover a member of the Government, and a very distinguished speaker, as well as an able man, yet the noise and confusion that reigned throughout the House was such as to prevent a syllable of what he said from being heard at a distance of a few yards only from his person; and not a word of his speech, or of that of Mr. C. Fergusson in opposition to it, is reported in the papers of the day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 3.

The principal business of the evening was the debate on Mr. COBETT's resolutions respecting the Duties on Stamps, and the debate on the Army Estimates. On the former we have given the resolutions entire, at the time they were laid upon the table of the House, as the reader will see by referring to the First Volume of this REVIEW.

Mr. COBBETT's speech was chiefly an amplification of those resolutions, and its object was to show that in the Stamp Duties the scale of charge was so graduated as to make the tax fall heaviest on those who paid or received the smaller sums for which those Stamps were necessary, and lightest on those who paid or received the largest sums; in other words, that the tax bore with a disproportionately heavy weight upon the poor, and very lightly touched the rich in comparison. He succeeded, we think, in establishing this position, though some of the illustrations were stated with a degree of exaggeration that weakened their force. He ended by moving,—

‘That this House will, with as little delay as possible, make such an alteration in the several Acts imposing Duties on Stamps and on Sales at Auction, as shall cause the peers, nobles, baronets, and other great land-owners (a laugh) to pay in proportion to the amount of their property (subject to those duties), as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the fundholders, annuitants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom; and as shall cause, in all cases, the rich to pay the said duties in the same proportion as the poor.’

Mr. RICE, who stood pledged to meet Mr. Cobbett on this subject, then rose to reply. In doing so he shewed that in a great number of instances Mr. Cobbett had, by taking extreme points of some cases, and altogether suppressing others, greatly overrated the differences between the amount of proportionate duty paid by the rich and the poor. Still, however, Mr. Rice admitted that there were defects in the scale, but added that there was a notice on the Order Book for a revision of these defects, and that Mr. Cobbett should have waited until the Government had carried their intentions in this respect into effect. He concluded by contending that the aristocracy of this country had not, as asserted by Mr. Cobbett, systematically endeavoured to tax the poor, and exempt themselves; and passed the following eulogium on the virtues of the nobility:—

‘Instead of the aristocracy being opposed in spirit to the poor, the proudest duke in the land was connected with the commonalty by his second son; whilst the poorest man was, in his turn, connected with the nobility, by the reflection that, if he had merits to ensure the distinction, the highest honours of the peerage were not too high for his grasp. He contended that the liberties of England had never had better or truer champions than her gallant and high-minded aristocracy; and the man who sought to deprive them of the respect which was their due, did not deal wisely by the institutions of his country, nor fairly by the individuals themselves. (Great cheering.)’

It should be always borne in mind that, even at present, the House of Commons is composed chiefly of younger members and relatives of the aristocracy—lords, honourables, baronets, and men of large landed or funded property—looking upwards in the hope of elevation to the peerage; with wealthy merchants and manufacturers, to whom an alliance or intercourse, in any degree, with the aristocracy of the land, is flattering and agreeable in the extreme. Any eulogies upon that body are sure, therefore, to be well received by such an auditory; but this is no true criterion of the general estimation in which they are held by the country at large. We give an extract from Mr. HUME's speech, in which this sentiment was embodied, as well as some of his

remarks on the contest between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Rice, which are entitled to attention :—

‘ Mr. HUME said that it appeared to him that the Hon. Member for Oldham and his Hon. Friend opposite approximated closely in their results (“ Oh, oh !”)—that they were merely cavilling about words (“ Oh, oh !”) and that, too, in language which he must say was on both sides not the most temperate. (Hear.) As to the eulogy which his Hon. Friend had just passed upon the peerage of England, it might be received with cheers in that House, but it would be received with very different acclamations elsewhere, by every man who recollected their forced assent to the passing of the Retorm Bill. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him that the very representations which his Hon. Friend had just made, corroborated all the statements of the Hon. Member for Oldham. (“ Hear,” and “ Oh.”) If he understood the meaning of that Hon. Member, it was this—that the legislature, which consisted of the rich and noble, had systematically endeavoured to oppress the poor, and to protect themselves. His Hon. Friend had admitted this to be true to a certain extent ; for in referring to the statement of the Hon. Member for Oldham he had said—“ Oh, don’t object to this any more—we admit it to be a grievance, but we have Bills ready for the redress of it.” (Hear, hear.) He asserted that his Hon. Friend’s statement was full of fallacies, by which he himself could not have been deluded. He could not see any reason why a poor man should pay a heavy legacy duty upon 300*l.* of personal property, and a rich man pay nothing on receiving from his ancestors an estate of as many hundreds a-year. Was it, therefore, fair to state that the complaint about the inequality of the legacy duties was a mere rubbish of fallacies, in the face of a fact like this, that the poor man pays more for receiving a legacy of 500*l.* than a rich man for receiving an estate of 500,000*l.*? (Hear, hear.) But, said his Hon. Friend, “ all legacies of 20*l.* are exempted from duty.” True, but the fact was, that if you had to go through the usual forms of the courts for this 20*l.*, nearly the whole sum would be swept away in legal expenses ; and it would not be worth either the seeking or the having. (Hear.) As a fact indicative of the temper in which the legacy duties were imposed, he would state that the plan of raising revenue by means of them was borrowed from Holland. Mr. Pitt introduced two Bills for that purpose—one imposing a scale of duties on legacies of personal property, and another imposing a similar scale upon real property. The House passed the first ; but being composed of landowners, threw out the last. (Hear, hear.)

‘ He complained that the arguments of the Hon. Member for Oldham had been treated that night with a ribaldry—he could call it nothing else—which they did not deserve. (Hear, hear.) The fact which he had just quoted proved that the influence of the landlords in that House had prevented justice from being done to the country at large, so far as regarded the taxation of real property. (Hear, hear.) As to the arguments of the Hon. Gentleman with respect to the Window Tax, they were, he considered, an attempt to delude the House. The Hon. Gentleman had taken only the *minimum*, and had not gone to cases where the great inequality of the tax would be much more clearly shown. Now, as to the Stamp Duties on conveyances of property, the Hon. Gentleman had not taken those cases in which it could be shown that the duty diminished in proportion as the sum increased beyond a certain amount ; so that, on the larger sums the duty paid was much less in the proportion than on the smaller. The probate duty on 1,000*l.* was 3 per cent. ; that on 5,000*l.* was 2 per cent. ; that on 50,000*l.* was 1*l.* 10*s.* per cent. ; and the same on 100,000*l.*, and all higher sums. Now, take the duty on administrations—on 1,000*l.*, the duty

was 45*l.*, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; on 5,000*l.* it was 150*l.*, or 3 per cent.; and, on 50,000*l.*, it was no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In short, every one of those cases proved the inaccuracy of the Right Hon. Gentleman in coming to the small sums. It could not be denied that there was a disposition in the Legislature to make exceptions in favour of the nobility. It was well known that before the French Revolution there were many exemptions in favour of the *noblesse* of that country, but those exemptions were slight in comparison with the exemptions from taxation made in favour of the rich in this country, by the monopoly which the Corn Laws gave to landed property. (Cries of "Oh, oh.") He would say let an inquiry be made, and a valuation of property as regarded taxation, and he was certain that what he stated would prove correct. He thought it would have been much better if, instead of recrimination, the Right Hon. Gentleman had admitted the existence of the inequality of taxation, and proposed that that inequality should be remedied.

These repeated exclamations of "Oh, oh!" which have now grown into an intolerable nuisance, are meant to mark disapprobation and contempt, as well as to express anger and impatience on the part of those who utter them. The manner in which they are commenced, in the back rows and remote seats of the ministerial side of the house, and re-echoed in and around the quarters under the gallery, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to detect the individuals most loudly indulging in these vociferations—or they would occasionally be pointed out by name for public reprobation. But, that such clamours are altogether unworthy of a legislative assembly, and that the promoters of them ought to be treated, as disturbers of order in a Court of Justice would be, namely, by being handed over to a constable for removal from the Court, no reasonable person will doubt; for if order be essential to the dignity of a Court of Justice, where laws are *administered*,—surely, order is as essential to the dignity of a legislative assembly where laws are *made*; inasmuch as the importance of a right performance of the latter duty, far exceeds that of the due fulfilment of the former.

The result of the division on the resolutions of Mr. COBBETT, was—For their adoption, 26; against it, 250.

The next subject brought forward was the Army Estimates, which were moved by Mr. ELLICE, as Secretary-at-War. In doing this, he recapitulated the arguments used by Sir John Hobhouse in first bringing these estimates before the House, and admitted that there had been an increase of about 7,000 men, of whom about half had been required for the Colonies, and half for Ireland—the state of both requiring a large military force to keep them in order. If Mr. Ellice had been on the Opposition benches, he would have said that this additional force was required because misgovernment and tyranny had made the people turbulent: but being on the ministerial benches, such an avowal would not be becoming. Yet, whether said or not, all parties must know that, while the subjection of the slave population in the Colonies, and the Collection of tithes in Ireland, require each a large military force, there is no hope of their reduction until Slavery and Tithes are both abolished.

Mr. ELLICE concluded a short address, by moving the following resolution :—

‘ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a sum not exceeding 3,168,216*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* be granted to his Majesty to defray the charge of his Majesty’s land forces in Great Britain and Ireland, and on service abroad, with the exception of the regiments in the territorial possessions of the East India Company.’

Mr. HUME analyzed the items of which this expenditure was said to consist; and after showing that the amount was much larger than at periods when a greater necessity for a large military force existed, he moved, as an amendment, that the sum named above should be reduced by 279,444*l.*, which would be six months pay, for the *excess* of men above the number kept up at the former periods referred to in his speech.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE opposed the reduction of any portion of the sum proposed to be voted, as he thought the military establishment not at all too large; and Sir HENRY PARNELL recommended, that the example set by the Duke of Wellington, when Minister, should be followed now, namely, that of stopping all recruiting, and ceasing to fill up the loss of men, occasioned by deaths and casualties, which would distribute the reduction over all parts of the army alike, and make an annual diminution of from 7 to 10,000 men.

Several other speakers addressed the House, for and against the reduction: but we give Lord ALTHORP’S and Mr. O’CONNELL’S speeches entire :—

‘ Lord ALTHORP said that he could not approve of either the proposition of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, or that of the gallant major: though he earnestly wished to reduce the amount of the establishments, he did not conceive that the modes recommended were the proper ones to adopt. Indeed his Majesty’s Government would not be justified in reducing the establishments at the present moment, to anything like the amount mentioned, *or even to commence with the gradual process* alluded to by the Hon. Member for Dundee. But he could assure the House, that *as soon as ever the opportunity offered itself*, his Majesty’s Government would make the reductions in the estimates on the plan recommended by that Hon. Member. It was the interest as well as the wish of Government to effect reduction *as quickly as possible*, but it was their *determination* to retain the present amount of force as long as it was considered necessary.’

This is a very unpromising declaration indeed. If Ministers are not ready even to *commence* the gradual reduction proposed now, by not filling up the death vacancies—the *opportunity* of so doing will be a long time before it offers itself; for, in ministerial phraseology—“as quickly as possible,” means “whenever we are forced to do so.” So that with these determinations, *not* to reduce taxation extensively, not to resort to a Property Tax, and not to lessen the military expenditure of the country, we seem to be in a hopeful way indeed :—

‘ Mr. O’CONNELL said that in England, with a population of 16,000,000 persons, 12,000 infantry were considered sufficient, whereas in Ireland, with a population of 8,000,000, there were 20,000 infantry, being two-thirds

more than in England. Add to this that during the last twelve months, half of this force in Ireland had been entirely employed in the *collection of tithes*. If they indulged themselves in amusements of that kind, it might be a reason for their voting for the estimates, because they could not have their amusements for nothing; but it was a decided reason why he should vote for their reduction.'

The result was, that on going to the division there were—For the reduction of the sum proposed, by 279,444*l.* in the amendment of Mr. Hume, 71;—For the full amount of 3,168,216*l.* proposed by Mr. ELLICE, 238! The advocates of economy in the public expenditure are thus fearfully out-numbered in the *reformed* House of Commons. But if no reduction of expenditure takes place, the Ministers may well contend that there can be no reduction of taxation: and if these two points be established, then are all the efforts and excitement of the last three years, to secure the passing of the Reform Bill, entirely thrown away.

It was past one o'clock, when Lord EBRINGTON moved for a Committee to enquire into the pay and emoluments of naval and military officers above a certain rank; in which, however, the word "Sinecures" was carefully omitted: and it was past two o'clock, when Lord Althorp moved for his Committees to enquire into the state of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Shipping interests of the country; in doing which, he said, that—

'It would not be necessary for him to enter into any arguments to justify his motion. In bringing forward his motion he yielded to the wishes generally expressed to him in that House (hear, hear) for these enquiries, (loud cries of "Hear,") not, he was bound to state, *entertaining any very sanguine expectations himself that they would lead to any very material benefit*. (Hear, hear.) But though this was his own opinion, he still thought that the fact of an inquiry being *at all instituted* would so far be advantageous, in reference to the expectations of that House, and perhaps the public." (Hear, hear.)

'This also we take to be a very discouraging announcement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It seems merely to *pacify* the public mind, and stave off any material changes, by saying, "Wait till the Committees have terminated their enquiries, before you make any further complaints," that their appointment has been made. We have been very slow indeed, to entertain any suspicion of the motives by which the present Administration are actuated, as it has always been our earnest desire to give them our support. But every week, and every day, opens such proofs of their being no better than Administrations that have preceded them, as far as a desire to lighten the burthens of taxation and reduce expenditure are concerned,—and these are the great ends that were hoped for at their hands,—that we feel ourselves yielding every day, though still reluctantly, to the involuntary conviction, which accumulated evidence produces, of our being far less benefitted by the great struggle made for Parliamentary Reform than the least sanguine among the advocates of that great change had been disposed to expect.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 6.

The debate of the evening was on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, which was moved by Lord ALTHORP.

Mr. GOULBURN, Mr. WYNN, and Sir ROBERT PEEL, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent its being proceeded with, from the defect of some technical formality as to the King's relinquishment of his individual interest in certain of the revenues about to be touched.

The SPEAKER, however, gave it as his opinion that the objection was not well grounded, and the debate was suffered to proceed.

Mr. SHAW rose to move, as an amendment, that the Bill should be read a second time on that day six months, (which is one of the Parliamentary fictions or absurdities, meaning that it should never be read again at all—there being almost a certainty that at a lapse of six months from any given day in the Session, there would be no Parliament sitting to hear it read.) It would be a waste of time to give any of the speeches of the objectors to this Bill, as they consisted only of the thousand times repeated expressions of veneration for the Established Church—sacredness of ecclesiastical property—danger of innovation, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. STANLEY, who appeared to be still labouring under debility from his late indisposition, replied to Mr. Shaw—there being no Secretary for Ireland appointed since Sir John Hobhouse's resignation. In doing this, he recapitulated, in his usually clear and distinct manner, the main features of the measure, and the abuses it was intended to remedy. He shewed that the number of bishops for Ireland was disproportionately great—there being in England only 26 bishops to superintend about 12,000 parishes and parochial clergy, while in Ireland there were 22 bishops to superintend about 1,200 benefices. The reducing the number of Irish bishops to 10, by uniting some of the smaller sees in one, would still, therefore, leave a much larger number than were found necessary in England to do the same proportion of duty. And as to the appropriation of the increased value given to the church lands by this act of the Government, no just person could deny that what the State had created it might appropriate; especially if, as in this case, it was for the interests of the Church itself.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS was so hostile to the measure, that he denounced it *in toto*. He thought that, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, from the first word of the preamble to the last of the schedule, it was bad; and he would therefore give it his unqualified opposition.

Mr. R. GRANT replied to Sir Robert Inglis; and he was followed by Sir ROBERT PEEL, differing both from Mr. Shaw and Sir Robert Inglis, but still objecting to the principal parts of the measure—when Lord ALTHORP closed the debate by defending the Bill as a whole, and particularly that part of it to which the loudest objections had been raised, namely, the graduated tax on the incomes of the Irish clergy,

which he said would have the effect of diminishing the larger and augmenting the smaller salaries and emoluments—and thus tending to render more equal, incomes which were now disproportionately large and disproportionately small.

Several other speakers attempted to address the House after Lord ALTHORP had resumed his seat, but every one of them were opposed by the most vociferous and disgraceful clamours, making the House of Commons worse than it was ever our fate to see any assembly in the world, pretending to be composed of gentlemen. We give a short extract of the report from the papers of the day:—

‘Mr. ROCHE endeavoured to address the House, but owing to the noise and repeated cries of “Question,” not a syllable that he said could be heard. On his resuming his seat,

‘Mr. LEFROY rose, and immediately the cries of “Question,” “Oh, oh,” &c. were redoubled. On silence being partially restored, the Learned Gentleman said that he did not rise for the purpose of pressing upon the attention of the House at that late hour—he merely rose to move the adjournment of the debate till to-morrow, (Tuesday) which he now did.

‘Mr. F. O’CONNOR seconded the motion.

‘Lord ALTHORP hoped that the Learned Gentleman would not persist in moving the adjournment of this debate. They would never be able to decide any question or dispose of any business if they should go on in this way. (Hear, hear.) It would be impossible to state the inconvenience which would be occasioned in the public business by the adjournment of this debate.

‘Mr. WYNN agreed with the Noble Lord as to the propriety of continuing the debate, but if the House determined to do so, it should give a hearing to Hon. Gentlemen, and especially to the Hon. and Learned Member for the University of Dublin, who was particularly entitled to it. (Cries of “No, no.”)

‘Lord CASTLEREAGH said that this system, which proceeded from His Majesty’s Government opposite, of preventing gentlemen on that side of the House from being heard, would, if persevered in, make them all Repealers to a man. (Cries of “Oh, oh!” and much laughter.) Gentlemen opposite should know, and should consult the feeling of the Protestants of Ireland on this occasion. (“Question, question.”) He would not be put down by that cry. He represented as large a constituency as that of Westminster, and he would not allow the Hon. and Learned Member for the University of Dublin to be put down by a sneer. He repeated, that if the system of preventing Hon. Members on that side of the House from addressing it, should be continued, it would make the Protestants of Ireland Repealers to a man. (Laughter.)

‘Lord ALTHORP again requested the Hon. and Learned Member not to persevere in moving the adjournment, but Mr. Lefroy refused to do so.

Mr. LEFROY having at length obtained an understanding that he should be heard against the Bill when it went into Committee, he consented to the House going to a division on its second reading, when there were—For the Bill, 317; against it, 78. The minority was almost wholly composed of the Tory or Conservative party.

The House did not adjourn till near three o’clock—after one of the dulllest and most wearisome debates of the Session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 7.

The House having met at four, to ballot for two Election Committees, which generally occupies an hour for each, on the reduced lists of the names drawn to serve on these Committees, the name of Mr. Joseph Pease appeared; and he, with the rest of the Members drawn, was called to the table to be sworn. An interesting conversation then took place, which, as it marks the first case of a Quaker Member tendering his affirmation instead of an oath, in the ordinary Business of the House we place it on record. When the book was presented for each of the members to hold it with his right hand previous to administering the oath,—

‘The SPEAKER rose and said that he was sure he was doing no more than his duty in calling the attention of the House to the situation in which it was now for the first time placed. The reduced list of 11 members to form the committee had been returned, and were now required to be sworn at the table under a particular oath prescribed by the act. One Hon. Member who had been so returned, the House had already decided to be entitled to discharge his duties as a Member of that House on making his solemn affirmation at the table, instead of taking and subscribing the usual oaths. The question, however, for the House to consider was, whether that decision necessarily comprehended the duties to be performed by the Hon. Member in Select Committees appointed under a special Act of Parliament, and whether an affirmation was, according to that Act for regulating the Trial of controverted Elections, equivalent to the oath therein prescribed to be taken?’

‘Mr. O’CONNELL moved that the affirmation of Mr. Pease be taken instead of an oath. The principle which the House had already decided, exempted the Hon. Member from taking the oath on his admission into the House, and the principle having been decided, it seemed to follow that the exemption extended to this particular statute. The Acts of Parliament all went the full length of substituting an affirmation, by the people called Quakers, for an oath in all cases, with particular exceptions, which were detailed, and the present was certainly not an exception.’

‘The SPEAKER inquired what were the excepted cases?’

‘Mr. O’CONNELL said that the exceptions were in all criminal cases—serving on juries, and in cases of holding emolumentary offices under the Crown. The present case did not come within these exceptions, and therefore the former decision of the House must prevail. He therefore moved that the affirmation of Mr. Pease be received.’

‘The SPEAKER hoped the Hon. and Learned Gentleman would not conceive that he had improperly called the attention of the House to the subject (hear) and also that he would pardon him for the seemingly disorderly manner in which he had called upon the Hon. and Learned Gentleman to state the exceptions, one of which had never crossed his (the Speaker’s) mind. He must, however, remind the House, that the proceedings of the Committee might result in criminal consequences to the parties, and therefore it was desirable the House should act deliberately, with a view to maintain its own dignity.’

‘Mr. O’CONNELL had not thrown out anything that did not recognize the

propriety of the interference of the chair in the present instance; he felt, in common with the House, that it was consistent with the entire duty of the Speaker. (Hear.) He had the acts now before him, which fully bore out his former statement, and he would merely add, that it would be a strange anomaly to suppose that the House, after allowing a Member to take his seat on making his affirmation, would say that he was unfit to discharge the functions of a Member of the House. (Hear, hear.)

‘Sir R. PEEL said, that if such anomaly existed, it ought to be regulated by Act of Parliament. He was of opinion that the present case did not come within the exceptions stated, and the same rule on which the Hon. Member had been enabled to sit as a Member of the House, ought to enable him to perform all the duties of a Member.

‘Mr. GODSON said that he would refer the House to the Act of Parliament, 22 Geo. II, c. 46, wherein it is enacted, that in all cases in which an oath is required by an Act of Parliament already passed, or “hereafter to be passed,” the affirmation of a Quaker may be substituted.

‘Lord MORPETH rejoiced at the accidental occurrence of this day, because it bore so strongly upon the motion which he should submit to-morrow, for leave to bring in a bill to set at rest this subject. He understood the only disqualification now affecting Quakers, was requiring oaths to be taken by jurors and persons holding offices under the Crown.

‘Mr. J. JERVIS observed that Quakers were unable to serve on civil juries, and that lately one of that persuasion had sat on a criminal jury at the sessions Old Bailey, when a conviction was had, and the man sentenced to death. (‘Hear,’ and ‘Question.’)

‘Lord ALTHORP was decidedly of opinion that the case came within the principle already decided by the House. By the same right by which the Hon. Member had taken his seat, on making his affirmation, was he entitled to serve on the Committee. (Hear, hear.)

‘The SPEAKER said that as the attention of the House had been called to the subject, upon which, from what he had heard, he concluded that no difference of opinion existed, it would perhaps be more expedient if the Hon. and Learned Member for Dublin should make no motion, but that the clerk should swear the other Members on the Committee, and take the affirmation of the Hon. Member for Durham, entering it upon the records that such was done with the consent and approbation of the House. (Hear, hear.)

‘Mr. O’CONNELL said that, perceiving such to be the prevailing sentiment of the House, he should, with leave, withdraw his motion. (Hear.)

‘The oaths were then administered in the usual way, and Mr. Pease made his affirmation.’

The other business of the evening was, generally, devoid of interest. The subject of Irish vagrancy, by the immigration of the unemployed Irish poor into England, was touched on—and brought incidentally in its train, many observations on the necessity of Poor Laws for Ireland.

Mr. R. PALMER moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the law relative to the passing of Irish vagrants, with a view to its amendment, and to report their opinion thereon to the House.

‘Mr. SLANEY thought that the only remedy for the evil, was to find employment for the Irish labourer at home. He was now a rival with the English labourer, in the market of labour here, but there was no doubt su-

ficient work could be found for him in his own country. That being done, England would no longer be inundated with Irish labourers. He should not oppose the motion, but he considered the plan he had pointed out the only true remedy for the evils complained of. There was an apparent increase in the population of Ireland, because several places enumerated in the returns of 1831, were not included in those of 1821; but the population of Ireland, like the negro population of the West Indies, was, in fact, decreasing. He frequently heard in that House cant about the superabundant population of Ireland; but Mr. Senior had calculated that Ireland was able to maintain a population of 19,000,000. How, then, could the population be redundant when it amounted to only 8,000,000? The case of Ireland would be coming before Parliament again and again, in every possible shape, until something was done to identify the proprietors of the soil with the country. The hon. member for the county of Meath, talked of the poor-laws affording people employment in Ireland. He could understand that poor-laws could give the people food, but not employment. In England 8,000,000*l.* were paid annually in poor-rates, which was equal to one half of all that was paid for the support of the army, navy, and all the establishments of the country, from the king down to the lowest constable; but if the report of the poor-law commissioners might be credited, this large expenditure of money produced but little comfort and happiness.

The Committee was agreed to and appointed; and the next subject introduced was the Message of the King. relative to the Crown-lands, which will be found recorded in the "Business of the House of Commons." A Committee was also appointed, to examine into the state and revenue of this large public property, on which Mr. HARVEY made the following observations:—

'He was much pleased that the government had resolved to appoint a Committee on this subject; because, as he had a notice upon the paper of a motion relative to it next week, it would save him much personal trouble, and the House considerable time. The only ground of regret was, that as the surrender of this property by His Majesty formed a prominent topic in His Majesty's address to Parliament at the commencement of his reign, and was much dwelt upon by the then Ministers as an instance of the liberal conduct of His Majesty, and as the House was always prompt to acquiesce in the wishes of His Majesty, particularly on such a subject as this, two years and a half had been suffered to elapse without the appointment of a Committee. The noble lord had expressed an opinion that the value of the Crown lands was much exaggerated. When a subject was involved in darkness, and persons were compelled to form their own conjectures respecting it, there was a probability that exaggeration might exist; but when he looked at the great establishment at Whitehall, and the number of distinguished persons who from time to time did not hesitate to fill the useful but subordinate offices of land-surveyors, he could not but think the property in question was of great magnitude. He firmly believed that the property was of great value, though the aristocracy had considerably diminished its amount since it was surrendered to the people by George the Third. He did not hesitate to say that some of the noblest portions of this property had been obtained by some of the first families in the kingdom for very suspicious consideration. It would afford some idea of the extent of this property to state that the sum received as rental from 1795 to 1806 was 2,374,321*l.*, of which only 8,624*l.* found its way into the public Exchequer and from 1826 to 1829 the sum received was 1,500,000*l.*, of which not

single shilling had come into the Exchequer. (Hear.) This property ought to be made available for the public service, and in order to enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to agree to the repeal of the malt duty, he had recommended him to go into the city and raise five or six millions on the Crown lands. He also thought it would be advisable to issue from 10,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* of notes to be called the Crown land notes, to be received in payment for taxes, and not convertible into gold at all. This would be a circulating medium based on real property, and he really thought the experiment was worth trying. With respect to the committee proposed to be appointed, he expected but little good to result from it, and he thought it would be better to appoint a commission to take evidence in those parts of the country in which Crown lands were situate. The hon. member concluded with stating that he estimated the value of the Crown lands at 15,000,000*l.* sterling, and that it cost 20 per cent. in the collection.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 8.

The business of the House was, this evening, conducted with so little opposition of any kind, that it was quite a calm sitting, till near the end, when one division took place, which we shall name in its proper place.

LORD MORPETH obtained leave to bring in a Bill to enable Quakers and Moravians to make an affirmation in *all* cases where an oath is at present received. We hope the time is approaching when this substitution of solemn affirmation for oaths will be extended to the whole community, and that persons of every sect will be placed on the same privileged footing with the Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, to whom the exemption is now confined.

MR. W. BROUGHAM also obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the general registration of Deeds, in an Office to be prepared for that purpose in London, though MR. STRICKLAND contended that it was a mere "law patronage job," which would cost the country 500,000*l.*

The pension of Lord Dunglass was next brought forward by MR. HUME; of the speeches on which the following is a report:

"MR. HUME, pursuant to notice, rose "to call in question the right of his late Majesty to grant a pension to Lord Dunglass." His main object was to bring strikingly before the House and the public those instances of unmerited pensions and costly sinecures by which this country had been so long abused and impoverished. The House and the public were, perhaps, not prepared to hear that the offices of Justices in Eyre, two in number—perfect sinecures, in the possession of noble families—had cost the country since its institution, in 1696, nearly fifty millions of money (hear), the receipts being 45,923,200*l.* in 125 years. (Hear.) Then there was the pension of Speaker Onslow, which cost the country 16,300*l.*, the interest of which for the period he and his son enjoyed it would make a sum of 373,000*l.* of the public money for one pension. In 1792 a sinecure office was given to Lord Home, which, though only 276*l.* 10*s.* per annum, cost the public 36,360*l.*, he having received it for 22 years. The son of that Lord Home enjoyed another sinecure, the exposure of which was an object of the present motion. The chief business of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland was the disbursement and management of the hereditary revenues of the Crown in that country. On looking into the items of that dis

bursement, he found Lord Dunglass was set down 300*l.* a-year as "Chamberlain of Ettrick Forest." ("Hear," and a laugh.) Now it was attempted to be represented that that salary was a reduced one, from 500*l.* to 300*l.*; whereas the fact was, the original salary of the office was 500 "punds Scotch;"—that is, 8*l.* 12*s.* English sterling; so that in point of fact, so far from it being a reduced salary, the noble lord was receiving 300*l.* when all he was entitled to was 8*l.* 12*s.* (Hear.) As the sovereign had no right over the hereditary income of the Crown beyond his own life, he had no right to grant this office to Lord Dunglass for the term of Lord Dunglass's life; for, if Lord Dunglass's life extended beyond the period of the Sovereign's who made the grant, it was evident that his holding it after that Sovereign's demise, interfered with the rights of the individual who succeeded to the crown. He contended that the House ought to put an end to this useless mode of applying the public money to offices which were without any substantial duties to perform. As he understood that the government had no objection to accede to this motion, he would conclude by moving that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that the law officers of the Crown be directed to inquire into the validity of the right of Lord Dunglass to hold the office of Chamberlain of Ettrick Forest, under the appointment of Geo. IV., after the demise of that sovereign, in order to have it decided by the courts of law in Scotland.

'An hon. MEMBER, (name unknown) in seconding the motion, observed that this appointment, made by a late administration, had created great dissatisfaction in Scotland, as had also another appointment, made by the present administration,—he alluded to the recent appointment of a governor to Berwick Castle, where there was only a single gun, and that honey-combed, to be found upon the ramparts.' (Hear, hear.)

'The LORD ADVOCATE said that his own opinion was, that this grant was illegal; but he thought that it would be indecorous in the house to adjudicate upon it, and to deprive the noble lord of it in his absence, and without hearing what he might have to urge in support of it. He was therefore of opinion that the best plan which the House could follow, would be the adoption of the motion of the hon. member for Middlesex. It was certainly a curious thing to give Lord Dunglass £300 a-year, for the collection of quit-rents which did not amount to more than £230 a year. (Hear, hear.) It was unfortunate for the noble lord that this appointment of £300 a year, had not been a pension upon the Scotch pension-list; for in that case he might have continued to hold out, inasmuch as the pensions on that list, which he thought expired with the sovereign, had been continued by the liberality of Parliament.

An hon. MEMBER (name unknown) said that Lord Dunglass was at present upon the Continent, but from what he knew of his noble friend, he was certain that if he were present he would express the strongest desire to have a full investigation instituted into this matter.'

After a few words from Mr. HUME, the motion was agreed to.

In Committee on the London Police Office Bill, Mr. PEASE moved the insertion of a clause empowering magistrates to punish persons who kept places for bear-baiting, dog-fighting, and other cruel sports, as well as those who assisted at them, such practices having a great tendency to demoralize the people: but it was lost in a division by a majority of 4.

Several Bills relating to legal processes were advanced a stage; and the orders of the day being disposed of, the House adjourned at two o'clock.

MINORITY

Of 71 (tellers included) who voted on the 3d of May for Mr. Hume's motion to reduce the vote from 3,168,216*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* to 2,888,772*l.*, to effect a reduction on the number of men and officers, which now stands at 89,000 to 70,329, being the average number maintained in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824. For the reduction, 71 ; against it, 239.

<i>England.</i>		Hawes, B.	Trelawney, W. L. S.	Fitzsimon, C.
Aglionby, H. A.	Hawkins, J. H.	Thompson, Ald.	Lalor, P.	
Attwood, T.	Humphery, J.	Turner, W.	O'Brien, C.	
Bainbridge, E. T.	Jervis, J.	Vincent, Sir F.	O'Connell, D.	
Beauclerk, Major	Lennard, Sir T. B.	Wood, G. W.	O'Connell, M.	
Bolling, W.	Lister, C.	Walter, J.	O'Connell, C.	
Briggs, R.	Lloyd, J. H.	Warburton, H.	O'Connell, J.	
Briscoe, J. I.	Methuen, P.	Watkins, J. L.	O'Connell, M.	
Buckingham, J. S.	Morrison, J.	Wason, R.	O'Connor, F.	
Buller, C.	Palmer, Gen.	<i>Scotland.</i>		
Clay, W.	Parrott, J.	Gillon, W. D.	Rothven, E. S.	
Ewart, W.	Philips, M.	Maxwell, Sir J.	Ruthven, E.	
Faithfull, G.	Potter, R.	Maxwell, J.	Vigors, N. A.	
Fellows, H. A. W.	Pryce, P.	Oswald, J.		
Fellows, Hon. N.	Robinson, G. R.	Wallace, R.		TELLER.
Fielden, J.	Romilly, J.	<i>Ireland.</i>		
Gaskell, D.	Romilly, F.	Bellew, R. M.	Hume, J.	
Grote, G.	Staveley, J. K.	Blake, M.		PAIRED OFF.
Guest, J. J.	Strutt, E.	Finn, W. F.		Molesworth, Sir W.
Guise, Sir B. W.	Thicknesse, R.	Fitzgerald, T.		

REMEDY FOR IRREGULARITIES IN THE SUPPLY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

Several Letters having been addressed to us, complaining of the irregularity of the delivery of THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, we take this occasion to say that the Work is always sent to press on Thursday evening, which is the reason why the Reports of the Debates close with Wednesday's proceedings in each week ;—that the Numbers are then folded, stitched, and covered, early on Friday morning ;—and the whole supply required by the large Booksellers in the Trade is uniformly ready by Friday noon ;—so that all Country Booksellers who receive weekly parcels from London, either by Friday's or Saturday's coaches, may obtain THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW as readily as any other Publication. The only remedy, therefore, for those who are not regularly supplied, is to change their Bookseller, and order it from some other ; as in no one instance since the Work was commenced, has it ever failed to be ready for publication on Friday,—in consequence of which it is always to be had in all the large towns within 200 miles of London, on the afternoon or evening of Saturday, the day of publication in London.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Leave of Absence.

Leave of absence.—To Mr. Ayshford Sanford, a fortnight.

Leave of absence.—To Sir Harry Neale, three weeks.

Royal Message.

Message from the King,—presented by Lord Viscount Althorp, and read by Mr. Speaker, as follows :—

WILLIAM R.

His Majesty, being desirous that an Inquiry should be made into the state and condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues belonging to the Crown, in order that the same may be rendered as beneficial and productive as possible, recommends it to the House of Commons to take the subject of these Revenues into their early consideration, with a view to the adoption of the most effectual means for the attainment of this important object.

W. R.

Resolutions reported.

‘That the Duty of Stamps now payable in Great Britain and Ireland respectively upon every Receipt or Discharge given for or upon the payment of any sum of money not amounting to £5, shall cease and determine.

‘That the Duties of Stamps now payable on any Advertisement, shall cease and determine; and that, in lieu thereof, there shall be charged upon every Advertisement contained in any Gazette or other Newspaper, or contained in or published with any Periodical Paper, or in or with any Pamphlet or Literary Work,

If printed and published in Great Britain; a Duty of	s. d.
If printed and published in Ireland, a Duty of	1 6
	1 0

Election Committees.

Galway Town Election.—House informed that the Committee had determined, That Andrew Henry Lynch, esquire, *is* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Town and County of the Town of Galway:

That Lachlan Maclachlan, esquire, *is not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Town and County:

That Martin Joseph Blake, esquire, *is* duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Town and County.

Bristol City Election.—House informed that the Committee have determined,

That Sir Richard Rawlinson Vyvyan, baronet, and James Evan Baillie, esquire, *are* duly elected Citizens to serve in this present Parliament for the City of Bristol:

Salisbury Election.—House informed that the Committee had determined,

That Wadham Wyndham, esquire, *is not* duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the said City of New Sarum:

That the honorable Duncombe Pleydell Bouverie *is* duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the said city of New Sarum.

Linlithgow Election.—House informed that the Committee had determined,

That the Honourable Sir Alexander Hope *is* duly elected a Knight to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Linlithgow.

Lincoln City Election.—House informed that the Committee have determined,

That Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer, esquire, *is* duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the city of Lincoln.

Hertford Borough Election.—*Ordered*, That Mr. Speaker do not issue his Warrant for a new Writ for the electing of two Burgesses to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Hertford before Wednesday 15th May.

First recognition of Quakers' Affirmations.

Coleraine Borough Election. — Parties being returned to the Bar, the reduced List was delivered in, and the same was called over, as follows:—Mr. Hardy, Mr. Irton, Mr. Brotherton, Lord Viscount Sandon, Sir Stephen Glynne, Mr. Parrott, Mr. Chetwynd, Mr. Pease, Mr. Chaytor, Mr. Thicknesse, Mr. Macleod:

And the Members of the Committee being, as usual, come to the table to be sworn, and Mr. Joseph Pease, a Quaker, being one of the said members, Mr. Speaker submitted to the House whether Mr. Pease was capable of serving on the said Election Committee without having been sworn:—Act [22 Geo. 3, c. 46.] and Report [11th February 1833] from Select Committee on Quakers' Affirmation, read:—Whereupon the House, being unanimously of opinion that Mr. Pease was capable of serving:—The rest of the Committee were sworn; and Mr. Pease made his solemn Affirmation as follows:

'I, Joseph Pease, being one of the people called Quakers, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly affirm, that I will well and truly try the matter of the Petition, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of Coleraine, and a true judgment give according to the evidence.'

Notices of Motion.

Sir John Byng. — To move that the House will take into consideration the Special Report from the Committee on the Newry Election. — [Deferred till Wednesday 8th May.]

Mr. Rotch. — Bill to alter the Law of Forfeiture, with a view to deprive Sheriffs of the power of seizing the goods of convicted felons, whereby indigent families are often brought to utter ruin, and thrown upon their parishes for relief. — [Tuesday 28th May.]

Mr. Cobbett. — To move a Resolution for the House to present an humble Address to His Majesty, praying His Majesty to be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel from his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, on account of the proceedings of the said Right Honourable Baronet relative to the Currency Acts of 1819, 1822, and 1826. — [Monday 13th May.]

Mr. Wolryche Whitmore. — Corn Laws. — [Monday 13th May.]

Mr. Gillon. — To move, That it is objectionable in principle, and politically inexpedient, that the possession of any spiritual or ecclesiastical office or dignity, should entitle any person to sit in either House of the Legislature, and that any law or custom conferring such right ought to be speedily abrogated. — [Deferred from Thursday 9th May till Wednesday 19th June.]

Mr. Wolryche Whitmore. — Select Committee to consider the propriety of promoting and extending a system of Emigration, through the means of funds arising from the sale of waste lands in the Colonies in North America and Australia. — [Deferred from Thursday 23d May till Tuesday 4th June.]

Mr. Lloyd Watkins. — Resolution for the repeal of the whole Duty on Malt, and for the imposition of such a Duty on Beer and Spirits, as may cover the deficiency. — [Monday 13th May.]

Mr. O'Connell. — Bill to disfranchise the County of the Town of Carrickfergus. — [Thursday 16th May.]

Mr. Pryme. — Bill to repeal so much of the Act of 41 Geo. 3, c. 63, as may prevent persons in holy orders, not holding benefices with cure of souls, from being elected to and sitting in Parliament. — [Wednesday 5th June.]

Mr. Pryme. — In Committee on Irish Church Reform Bill, 1st. to move a clause for gradually excluding the three Irish Bishops from seats in the House of Lords, in right of their Bishopricks; 2d. Also to propose the reduction of the annual value of Irish Bishopricks, on the next avoidance, to a sum not exceeding five thousand pounds, and of Irish Archbishopricks to a sum not exceeding six thousand pounds.

Mr. Tennyson. — In Committee on Assessed Taxes Acts, to move Resolution to repeal the House and Window Taxes. — [Monday 13th May.]

Sir Samuel Whalley. — Resolution for the repeal of the Taxes upon Houses and Windows. — [Wednesday 15th May.]

- Mr. Bernal. — Resolution founded on the Evidence taken before the Committee on the Election for the Borough of Hertford. — [Wednesday 15th May.]
- Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer. — On going into the Committee of Supply, to move, That the House go into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of the expenditure of the Country, with a view very considerably to reduce the same. — [Monday 20th May.]
- Mr. Roebuck. — That this House will, with the smallest delay possible, consider of the means of establishing a system of National Education. — [Tuesday 21st May.]
- Sir William Ingilby. — Select Committee to inquire into the expediency of a total repeal of the Malt Duty. — [deferred from Tuesday 7th May till Thursday 23d May.]
- Mr. Fergus O'Connor. — To move, That the present condition of the Poor of Ireland requires the immediate consideration of the Legislature, with a view to an enactment, which would relieve the present distress, and provide for their future support. — [Thursday 30th May.]
- Mr. Fitzgerald. — Bill for the better transmission of property in certain cases in Ireland, by enabling persons there, where the assets do not exceed £200, to take out Probate to Wills or Letters of Administration to such assets before the Assistant Barristers of the respective counties in that Kingdom. — [Thursday 30th May.]
- Mr. Finch. — Motion for the suppression of Political Unions. — [deferred till Thursday 27th June.]
- Mr. Gillon. — Before going into Committee on Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill, to move an instruction, that the revenues of that Church be applied to purposes of general utility, after the demise of the present Incumbents. — [Monday 13th May.]
- Mr. Emerson Tennant. — In Committee on Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill, to move, That, as the majority of the Curates of the Established Church in Ireland, are at present inadequately remunerated for their services, in any alteration which the Legislature may see fit to make in the distribution of the revenue of the Establishment, due regard should be had to the securing of a competent provision for their support. — [Monday 13th May.]
- Sir Francis Vincent. — Select Committee, to consider the expediency and practicability of introducing a Bill to enable persons pledging goods to insure them against losses by fire. — [deferred till Tuesday 14th May.]
- Mr. Halcomb. — To call the attention of the House to the existing state of the Poor Laws of England, and for leave to bring in Bills for the amendment of the same. — [deferred till Thursday 16th May.]
- Sir Richard Bulkeley. — To call the attention of the House to the Report of the Select Committee on Post communication with Ireland. — [Tuesday 11th June.]

Petitions presented.

- Military Flogging. — Petition of Inhabitants of Liverpool, for the abolition thereof.
- Hand-loom Weaving. — Petitions for the appointment of a Board of Trade for the regulation of that department of the Trade; — of Hand-loom Weavers in Newton near Ayr; — of Thomas Baird, Provost of the Borough of Pollokshaws; — of Hand-loom Weavers of Saltecoats; — of Crosshill; — of West Kilbride; — of Largs; — of Maybole; — of St. Evox; — of Monckton and Prestwick; — of Beith; — of Galston; — of Neilstown; — of Ochiltree; — of Girvan; — of Tarbolton; — of Mauchline; — of Catrine Parish of Sorn; — and, of Kilwinning.
- Sale of Beer Act. — Petition of Inhabitants of Bewdley, for the repeal thereof.
- Beer Shops. — Petitions praying to be placed on the same footing as the Licenced Victuallers; — of Retail Brewers and Retailers of Beer in Reading; — of Samuel Cheese, of Flora Tea-gardens, Bayswater; — of Thomas Robinson, of Praed Street, Paddington; — and, of James Bodman, Bridge Row, Paddington.
- House and Window Tax. — Petition of Inhabitant Householders of the City of Gloucester, for the repeal thereof.

- Prisoners' Defence.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Londonderry, for providing Counsel to Prisoners charged with acts of a felonious nature.
- Timber and Deals.**—Petition of Merchants, Traders, and Ship-owners of Londonderry, praying that no additional Duty may be laid on Timber and Deals brought from the British Colonies.
- Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill.**—Petition of County Cess Payers of Donaghedy, taking notice of the Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill, and suggesting certain alterations therein; referred to the Committee on the Bill.
- Tithes (Ireland.)**—Petition of Inhabitants of Keelganylander, for the extinction thereof.
- Church in Ireland Bill.**—Petitions *against*; of the Archdeacon and Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Wilts;—of Members of the United Church of England and Ireland residing in the Archdeaconry of Surrey;—and, of Protestants of Killoscully.
- House and Window Tax.**—Petitions for the abolition thereof;—of Inhabitants of Berwick-upon-Tweed;—of Maidstone;—of Bridgewater;—of Dumfries;—and, of Householders of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford.
- Municipal Corporations.**—Petitions for electing their own Corporate Officers;—of Inhabitants of Launceston;—of Leeds;—and, of Bridgewater; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- Jews.**—Petitions for the removal of civil disabilities affecting the Jews;—of Persons of the Christian faith in Southwark;—in Brighton;—in Birmingham;—in Leeds;—of Inhabitants of Swansea;—and, of Israelites, Inhabitants of Swansea.
- Tithes (Ireland).**—Petition of Inhabitants of Derby, for the extinction thereof.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petitions for the repeal or alteration thereof;—of Inhabitants of Worfield;—and, of Saffron Walden.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petition of Operative Mechanics, Labourers, and Inhabitants of Reading against the repeal thereof.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions for relief from disabilities affecting them;—of Protestant Dissenters of the Borough of Lancaster;—of Duke's Alley Chapel, Bolton;—and, of Ebenezer Chapel, Leeds.
- Tithes.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Burton-upon-Trent, for the abolition thereof.
- Stamps on Receipts.**—Petition of Merchants, Traders, and Inhabitants of Leith, for the repeal thereof.
- Poor Laws (Ireland.)**—Petition of Inhabitants of Dumfries, for the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland.
- Slavery.**—Petitions for the abolition thereof;—of *Inhabitants of Sheffield*, signed by upwards of 11,000 Inhabitants after a Public Meeting convened by the authorities of the Town.
- Assessed Taxes.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Grantham, for the repeal thereof.
- Disturbances (Ireland) Bill.**—Petition of Inhabitants of *Whalley, Billington, and Harwood*, against.
- Corn Laws.**—Petition of *Ebenezer Elliot*, of Sheffield, for the repeal thereof.
- Taxation.**—Petitions for relief from Taxation;—of *Inhabitants of Sheffield*, signed by upwards of 8,000 Inhabitants;—of *Rotherham*;—of *Holbeach*;—of Owners and Occupiers of Land, and Inhabitants of Shipdham.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petitions for relieving Dissenters with respect to Marriages, Parochial Rates, and Registration;—of *Protestant Dissenters of the Methodist New Connexion at Sheffield*;—of Protestant Dissenters of Northwich and Middlewich;—and, of Independents of Stalybridge; referred to the Select Committee on Parochial Registrations.
- Liberty of the Press (East Indies.)**—Petition of *Joseph Hamilton, of Annadale Cottage, Dublin*, for adopting measures to secure the liberty of the Press in the East Indies.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petition of *Inhabitants of Stockport*, against the repeal thereof, and for putting the Sale of Beer on a footing of equal freedom with the Sale of ardent Spirits; referred to the Select Committee on the Sale of Beer.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

IMPOLICY OF ANY USURY LAWS TO LIMIT THE RATE OF INTEREST OF MONEY.

THE laws against Usury, rendering it penal to receive more than a certain legally limited rate of interest for the use of money, still remain on the statute-book of England, though numerous attempts have been made to repeal them. Whether the first Session of the Reformed Parliament of England will see their abolition, we will hardly venture to say; as, after the many sound and reasonable motions already brought forward and lost in the present Session, it would be hazardous to give any opinion as to the probable success or failure of any motion or measure whatever. Conceiving it probable, however, that the attention of the Government, and of the public, may be drawn to this question before the Session closes—and being anxious on this, as well as on other topics, to be rather in advance than in arrear of public opinion, we devote a few pages to the development of our long entertained and deliberate views on this subject.

Christian theology has long proscribed the custom of lending money on interest. This was but natural. In the earliest ages of Christianity, loans were only made from the rich to the poor; the poor borrowed in order to subsist. It was natural, then, that lending on interest should be condemned by a religion which inculcated charity, and made it the basis of all duties. To be consistent, however, Theology ought not to have confined itself merely to the forbidding the loan of money on interest, but ought also to have struck with the same anathema all contracts of sale in which the poor were to be purchasers. The absurdity of this was too glaring; logic was therefore sacrificed, and the proscription was limited to the loan of money on interest. We must seek for the source of this proscription, which now appears to us so strange, in an almost inevitable exaggeration of the sublime precept of charity.

In penetrating into the laws, Theology did not mark the distinction between those duties which belong only to the moral system, and those of which the law ought to prescribe the accomplishment; every moral duty became a legal obligation, every offence was transformed into a crime. Such was the natural result of the confusion of the civil and religious orders.

Lending money on interest, amongst other sins, was prohibited by the civil laws, as well as by the canons; the lenders were threatened with severe penalties, and denounced to the hatred of the public under the infamous name of usurers.

Throughout the reign of the feudal system, the barons, who formed, at this epoch, a considerable class of borrowers, took no steps to set aside the decree of the Church on the loan of money at interest. They scrupled not to violate the law by borrowing. And still less to make it a shield for avoiding repayment. The lenders, exposed to the endurance of every kind of injury and ill-treatment, in lieu of payment, were obliged to exact enormous interests. This excited redoubled hatred against them among the public; the slave of its prejudices—the multitude—heaped on the lenders that blame, of which, in reality, the conduct of the debtors was the true cause. Added to which, during the middle ages, the principal money-lenders were Jews; and to the contempt attached to the profession of usurer, was united the reprobation with which the whole Jewish race was afflicted.

Things changed with the progress of commerce. Commerce lives but by credit, and commercial credit has this peculiarity, that it enriches the borrower as much as the lender, and often even in a still greater proportion. Merchants were, consequently, interested in obtaining a revocation of the laws which prohibited loans. The barons, thinking little for the future, and caring only for the debts which they had contracted, were delighted at being enabled to throw them off by bankruptcy;—this was, for a long time, the course pursued by governments; but the same method could not suit the interests of merchants, who always require to possess the power of borrowing, and can only obtain advantageous loans by securing inviolate the rights of the lenders. The laws against usury, that is to say, against lending money on interest, entirely put a stop to credit, by substituting charity in the place of commercial contracts. From the moment that commercial interests assumed an importance in the state, one of the necessary effects of such a revolution of society was the authorising stipulations for interest.

It was under Elizabeth that the loan of money on interest was finally made legal in England. The parliamentary statute which authorised it, sufficiently marks the situation in which the legislature then found itself. In the enactment of the statute, the lending of money on interest is declared legal, whilst the preamble qualifies it as a horrible and detestable sin, absolutely forbidden by the law of God. In France, until the Revolution, it was only permitted on condition of the alienation of the capital in perpetuity; but custom tolerated what was proscribed by law; like all other absurd laws it was violated in a thousand different ways; its rigorous execution would have annihilated commerce, the slightest attempt to enforce it caused such disorder that the supreme authority was compelled to interfere, and command that the laws should remain dormant. Always eluded, it was not, however, expressly revoked; but by the decree of the 2d of October, 1780, which permitted stipulations for interest without an alienation of the principal, *without its being understood as an innovation of the usages of commerce.* In the 5th Thermidor, year IV. of the Republic, another law proclaimed, “that in future every citizen

was free to make any contract that should appear good to him, and that the obligation to which he might pledge himself should be executed in the terms and to the amount stipulated."

The legality of lending money on interest, is not now a disputed question; thus far the legislature has abandoned the cause of the theologians and juriconsults. Their arguments were too weak to endure examination, and have long since received their mortal blow from political economy. Nothing can be more absurd than the reasonings put forward by them on the subject. Their principal reason for interdicting it is the unproductive nature of money itself. "Animals reproduce their species," said the adversaries of loans: "a sheep engenders sheep; but a piece of money gives not birth to another piece of money." The penetration of these learned personages did not extend so far as to discover that with money, sheep and other things susceptible of rendering a profit to their possessors might be procured.

But in removing the interdiction which had been placed on the lending of money on interest, governments did not give it full liberty; a rate of interest was fixed above which it was made illegal to lend. In England, absolute liberty on this point has never existed. In France, it enjoyed a reign of some years; but, ancient prejudices were soon revived; and the civil code, by the act of establishing a legal interest, stamped them with its sanction. Such is the system which now prevails: the act of lending money at a higher rate than that determined by the law, is a crime punishable by the tribunals of justice,—and latterly, especially, processes and condemnations are constantly multiplying.

Whilst this practice of lending money on interest was altogether forbidden by the laws, every loan on the condition of interest was usurious, every money-lender a usurer. Since the laws have changed, the signification of the words usurer and usury have undergone an analogous change; he only is now considered a usurer who exceeds in his contracts the limits traced out by the legislature.

In fixing a legal interest, governments have at various periods acted under different views. At first they imagined that they might determine at their will the rate of interest, and that to effect this, a simple decree, worded and promulgated in the form willed by them would be sufficient. Afterwards, as they believed a low rate of interest to be in itself a good thing, they endeavoured, with the intention of favouring the accumulation of public riches, to fix that rate below the current interest which was established by the free exercise of commerce. This political conception, recommended in England, towards the end of the 17th century, by several distinguished writers, is now appreciated according to its just value; amongst those who govern, there are no longer any, with the exception of a few uninformed men who believe that the rate of interest can be diminished by violence. It is now almost a popular axiom that society no longer submits to be thus fashioned at the will of governments.

In the present age the legislature no longer indulges the absurd idea of forcibly reducing the course of interest. What then is its object in establishing a legal rate of interest at all? It is this: many persons entertain an opinion, that if unlimited liberty were allowed in stipulations of interest, serious evils would arise from it to society. These evils are very imperfectly defined, but they are comprehended in the word *Usury*,—a kind of traditional phantom, against which, under pain of being wanting in respect to his ancestors, every good citizen is bound to arm himself. There is, they say, but one method of preventing the crime of *Usury*; which is to determine a *reasonable* rate of interest, according to the current standard of commerce; and to interdict, severely, under pain of heavy penalties, all contracts at a higher rate. This wise precaution can only serve as a barrier to the fortunes of individuals, prove a source of misery to borrowers, and, in fact, be prejudicial to the public morals. Such is the spirit in which the law is now conceived; the question at present is not the prohibition of loans on interest, or the reduction of the natural course of interest, but merely the prevention of contracts which the law pronounces before-hand to be *unreasonable*: the opposition of a legal barrier to a rate of interest, which the legislature, a better judge of the affairs of individuals than they themselves, declare, in virtue of their superior wisdom and more enlightened experience, to be *excessive*.

Is this assumption of the legislature well founded? Is it right, in fixing a rule for stipulations of this nature, and punishing such as violate this rule? are the points to be now examined. This question, always one of high importance, is now, however, an object of most especial attention.

Before entering on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which result from the crime of usury, one idea naturally offers itself to the mind, which is, that the contract designated under the name of *loan*, is the only one in which the legislature so officiously charges itself with guiding the judgment of the parties concerned in it. It has never occurred to its members to fix a *reasonable* rate for the letting of houses, or rent of lands, or to punish as a usurer, any one who, for a lease, should stipulate for higher terms. They never interfere in regulating the price of merchandise, but generally leave the purchasers to settle their own conditions with the sellers, and take no further part than to enforce the execution of the engagements contracted. Every one acknowledges the propriety of thus acting, and feels that to attempt to subject all traffic to a legal rule, would be most injurious to commerce, and would put an inevitable check on its prosperity. Whence comes it then, that in the case of money being paid as interest on capital, both the government and the multitude change their opinion, and regard the introduction of authority as useful? Are there, in the nature of these things, differences which justify a contradiction apparently so singular?

The only one which, at the first view, presents itself, is entirely in favour of unrestrained liberty in the loan of money on interest. Of all articles of merchandise, money, which is the one employed in loans,

is that of which the value is most easily recognised, and consequently that in which fraud is the most difficult. Experience in business is necessary to guard a person from being deceived in the value of a house, or article of furniture, or any other commodity ; but where is the man whose knowledge is so limited, or who is so ignorant of general affairs, as not to be acquainted with the current interest of the day ? There is no commercial fact that is accompanied with so much publicity, or that is so accessible to every body. If, then, on the principle of preventing fraud, a distinction should be made between loans and other kinds of contracts, it does not appear to be the former which should be loaded with shackles ; since, from the very nature of its object, it presents natural guarantees which no other kind of transaction offers in an equal degree ; an additional reason for accusing both laws and opinions of absurdity !

But, before pronouncing judgment, we must examine the case in all its details. Thus far, we have only proposed the question ; we will now proceed to demonstrate and justify the solution given to it by political economy.

It is now no longer admissible in political economy to defend the old laws which prohibited loans altogether ; all economists are now agreed in condemning them ; and yet, most extraordinarily, the prejudices on the subject of *interest* on loans still continue to maintain their strength almost unshaken. Every year, fresh instances occur of condemnation by the courts for the crime of usury, and these condemnations are applauded by the largest portion of the public. There are few questions the scientific solution of which is so clear, and yet there are few on which popular opinions have been so long at variance with the precepts of science.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this ? Not that science is wrong, and that prejudices are to be relied on ; science, as we will shortly prove, has facts on its side ; but prejudices have only opinions on theirs, possession almost immemorial, a confusion of ideas sufficiently plausible, and some specious arguments. Science ought not, therefore, to shrink back before the obstinacy of prejudices, but rather to redouble its efforts to destroy their empire, to apply itself to the reconciling their sophisms, and especially to take from them the support of the generous sentiments of humanity.

Bentham arranges under four heads the principal arguments employed in his Defence of the Laws on Usury. This classification, which is very complete, comprehends almost all the advantages which can be attributed to the restrictive laws, and all the defects of which the system of indefinite liberty can be accused. If we are to believe the partisans of the former, the good effects of their system are,—firstly, the repression of prodigality ; secondly, the security afforded to indigence against extortion ; thirdly, the placing a barrier to the temerity of speculative men ; fourthly and lastly, the protection of simplicity from fraud. Such great advantages cannot, they say, be too dearly purchased ; and the Legislature cannot renounce them without compromising public order, and failing in its most sacred duties.

No one denies that prodigality is an evil; but in what manner can the laws on usury operate against it? Prodigality consumes many more capitals belonging to spendthrifts than borrowed capitals, particularly those borrowed at a usurious rate of interest. Now the law, supposing it to be efficacious, can only prevent the destruction of this last class of capitals. Two cases present themselves: either the man who is prodigal is successful, or he is ruined. In the first case, as long as he can give securities, such, for instance, as the mortgage of lands, he will always find funds to be borrowed from, at the current rate of commercial interest; and, as his mere prodigality does not dispose him to borrow on conditions less favourable than those which it is in his power to obtain, the law is, in this case, without effect. But, suppose the prodigal ruined, who would lend to him on any condition? Would he find even a usurer to enter into a contract with him and share his ruin? The law, which does not prevent the ruin of the prodigal, has no longer any object when once that ruin is accomplished. Let us, for a moment, grant its efficaciousness; how many ways are there not of eluding it? Will it prevent the prodigal from purchasing merchandise on credit? And can he not as easily ruin himself by these purchases as by loans? Nothing, then, can be more chimerical than the attributing the repression of prodigality to the laws on usury.

Turgot remarks, with truth, that "the only usurers who are really baneful to society, are those who make a trade of lending to young men whose affairs are deranged. Their true crime, he adds, is not that of being usurers, but of facilitating and encouraging, by this means, the irregularities of young men, and driving them to the alternative of ruining or dishonouring themselves. If they deserve punishment, it is on this head, and not on account of the usury they have committed. But the true precaution against this evil is in the law which declares minors incapable of entering into any engagements, and not in those against usury, which have no power to arrest it." The stipulated rate of interest is not, indeed, the source of the evil; it is only to be considered as an aggravating circumstance; it would not the less exist, even when the lender should have confined himself to the limits affixed by law.

Powerless against prodigality, does this prohibition offer, as it is pretended, a tutelary support to indigence? Examination proves the weakness of this second reason, which, like the first, rests on a complete illusion. As a man in indigence is not, on that account merely, a man without understanding, it is probable that, if he consents to pay a higher interest than that which is legal, it is because he cannot meet with any more advantageous means of borrowing. What effect, then, does the prohibition produce? It entirely prevents his borrowing; for it cannot make the lender prefer, on the same conditions, the hazardous investment offered him by the poor man, to the secure ones which he is certain of meeting with from the rich. But, if the poor man has a pressing occasion for money, which, as we do not suppose him imbecile, may well be presumed, can he

bless a law which leaves him without any resource, and which, from the love of a vague abstract question, condemns him, perhaps, to inevitable ruin.

Observe how little the legislation is consistent with itself. Professing the intention of protecting the indigent against the seduction of a disadvantageous traffic, it forbids them to borrow on certain conditions. But how many other kinds of traffic are there at least as important as that of money-lending, and in which, nevertheless, the law does not interfere? Is there one of greater importance to the poorer classes than the purchase of corn? Now, does the law fix a *maximum* for the price of corn? Let us examine another kind of contract—the exchange of labour for a salary. The labourer who solicits employment is, from his situation, at least as much dependent on the master, as the borrower finds himself at the mercy of the lender; add to which, that the sale of labour is, in reality, but a species of loan. The labourer yields, in consideration of a salary which he actually receives, that which ought, at a later period, to return to him in the produce of labour and capital. Why, then, does not the legislature, pursuing its system of protection throughout, establish a *minimum* for the price of labour. Ought not all those who think the legislature is right in not doing so, if they would not incur the reproach of inconsistency, to blame it for interfering in fixing the rate of interest for money?

The manner in which the greater number of loans among the poorer classes are conducted comes also to the support of our opinion. They almost always borrow on pledges; if they were to offer no guarantees, they would find no lenders at any rate; but a pawn being the most solid of all securities, it is evident, that in a loan made on this condition there is no motive for large interest, which is only demanded as a compensation for the chances of loss. The law, even supposing its system good, has no occasion, in this case, to occupy itself with determining the rate of interest; its sole object should be to regulate the loan of money on pledges, according to the principles of right and equity. But what a strange contradiction! it prohibits contracts for an interest above 5 per cent.; and, at the same time, it permits, in the pawnbroking establishments which it authorizes, conditions far more oppressive,—an interest even double the legal rate to be imposed on the borrowers!

To conclude Bentham's classification, it remains to be seen if the laws on usury are necessary to protect imbecility against fraud, and to prevent the ruinous speculations of those rash men who are called *schemers*.

Suppose a man in a state of absolute imbecility, and incapable of conducting his own affairs; it is evident that he ought not to be allowed the power of borrowing, but neither ought he to be suffered to contract any engagement whatever. There is no occasion for a law to protect him from usury; but a general law to protect incapacity. The case of *imbecility* excepted, why should not weak-minded and unenlightened men borrow as well as rent, purchase, or

sell? Is not the most stupid individual always a better judge of his own interests than the legislature, who, ignorant of the particular circumstances of each loan, can only give a blind and hazardous opinion?

As regards speculation, if the prohibition prevents the bad, it equally tends to arrest the good. Every new project offering necessarily the chances of failure, whoever borrows money for its execution ought to submit to paying a higher interest than the merchant who is occupied in a branch of industry long known and established? The fixing a *maximum* of interest must then, in many cases, be prejudicial to an incalculable number of beneficial enterprises.

Now, as political economy does not, like some statesmen, admit the principle that evil produces more evil, than good produces good, as, on the contrary, it professes the opposite doctrine, it does not regard the restraint put on bad speculations as a sufficient compensation for the obstacles opposed to useful projects. On an examination of the facts, it will be found, that out of the totality of projects executed, the number of those which succeed is very much greater than of those which fail; if it were otherwise, societies would never enrich themselves. This is true, even of projects which the inventors execute with their own resources; it ought, therefore, to be still more so of those put in operation with borrowed means. If, on one side, credit furnishes projects with the means of execution on the other, it submits them to proofs, and imposes judges on them; the idea must, in fact, please the lender, more impartial and less prepossessed than the inventor; every enterprise, therefore, supported by credit, carries with it two guarantees, because it has received the approbation of at least two individuals.

We see, therefore, to what the reasons alleged in favour of the laws on usury, are reduced. All the dangers which are made to appear so formidable, vanish on a closer inspection, almost entirely, or if they still retain some shadow of reality, it is at least evident that it is not by the laws of usury that it is possible to prevent them.

To the assumed advantages, let us now oppose the real disadvantages. A radical evil in the laws on usury, even supposing their principle good, is the facility of eluding them. With whatever severity they may pretend to arm themselves, there are always a thousand ways of avoiding their menaces. But as, in spite of their impotence to effect their object, they do sometimes strike, it hence arises that, powerless as they are in a general sense, they do not the less subject to great risks, the lenders who attempt to violate them. They foresee these risks, and, in general, public opinion rather exaggerates than softens them. What then do they do? Always finding the means of violating the law, and yet not being secure of impunity, they stipulate in their conditions, under the form of interest, for a premium which shall insure them against the risks to which the law exposes them. Thus, whilst the aim of the law is to prevent high rates of interest, its effect is to increase them by as much as is requisite to cover all risks. It proposes to itself the protection of borrowers;

and instead of ameliorating their situation it renders it still worse, and creates new embarrassments for them.

It is not only by the risks to which it exposes the money-lenders, that the law tends to heighten the rate of interest to all those who are unable from particular circumstances to borrow at a legal interest; it also produces the same effect in another way. It is sufficient that a law exists, whether it be founded in reason or not, to prevent men of strict probity from violating it; and this repugnance is still stronger and more general when the law is in accordance with powerful prejudices. The prohibition from lending, above a certain rate of interest, tends, then, to weaken the competition on the side of the capitalists who might be disposed to lend above this rate. At the same time it leaves, in this class of lenders, none but men whose morality is not very scrupulous, and who, consequently, offer less security against fraud than ordinary money-lenders. Under this new head, therefore, the effect produced by the laws on usury is still that of injuring the interests of borrowers, and increasing the evil they were destined to prevent.

It may be affirmed, without the fear of contradiction, that almost all the cases of contracts, at an enormous interest, which are cited by the partisans of the laws on usury, in support of their opinion, have been provoked by those very laws. Do we not see in history, that interest diminishes or increases in proportion as contracts are more or less rigorously executed? Nothing is more simply logical than that interest should rise in proportion to the risks. When the barons of the middle ages, from whom large interests were demanded, complained against the lenders, it was themselves alone whom they ought to have accused; for, if they had been accustomed to be exact in their payments, they would have borrowed upon much easier conditions. By far the greater number of examples alleged in favour of the prohibition were caused by that prohibition itself.

But not only is the prohibition destitute of beneficial effects, and in direct opposition to the end proposed by its defenders; it is founded on an entirely false principle; and hence arises innumerable defects of the greatest importance. The principle of the laws on usury is this, namely, that there is in the nature of things an invariable *maximum* of interest capable of being determined by the legislature, and beyond which every contract is in itself unreasonable and essentially prejudicial to the borrower. The limit fixed by the law is accounted the exact criterion of the prudence and wisdom of engagements. In other terms, the legislature, ignorant as it must necessarily be of the situation of the individuals concerned, pretends to be more capable than they themselves of judging of their own concerns, and pronounces their reason inferior to its own on the subject of their personal affairs. It is sufficient to express such a proposition for its full absurdity to be felt.

One of two things must happen; either the legal limit is so high that no one is tempted to exceed it; or, it is so low, as to shackle a great number of contracts, and then it is undoubtedly injurious.

Such is the character of the laws which in France and England, fix the rate of interest. The standard of this legal interest they determine by that which is generally paid by those borrowers who can offer solid securities. Hence it results, that if they were strictly adhered to, they would entirely shut out the resource of credit from all who were unable to give similar guarantees. Is not this a great evil? Is it just and wise to deprive of the power of borrowing, all those whom chance has not placed in a fortunate condition?

Nothing can be more absurd than to pretend to determine beforehand, and under the form of a general rule, what *maximum* of interest can be reasonably paid under all circumstances. Interest ought to vary, and does vary, according to individuals, the personal situation of the borrowers, times and places, and the state of commerce in a given quarter and epoch. No one consents to pay a high interest from caprice, or to ruin himself for pleasure: it may be presumed, and this presumption is sanctioned by the laws of all other contracts, that a man arrived at the age of maturity, enjoying a sound mind, acting freely and with a knowledge of all the circumstances, does not contract an engagement but on a just view, as much so, at least, as is possible for him to take, of that which is for his own advantage. Such is the general rule; the examples which may be opposed to it are but exceptions, and those even rare. Now the law ought not to sacrifice the general rule to the exception. If a man consents to pay a higher interest than that which is legal, it must be believed that he has a reasonable motive for so doing, and that he is only decided by the belief that the loan will be advantageous to him, notwithstanding the apparently oppressive conditions attached to it.

Two different motives may determine a man on contracting a debt; the desire of obtaining a profit, or that of avoiding a loss. In both cases it may be profitable to him to borrow at a higher rate than the legal interest; and he alone is a competent judge of whether it is likely to be for his advantage or not. New enterprises furnish an example of the first hypothesis: as, in general, in cases of success, the profits yielded by them are large enough to admit of those who undertake them, paying considerable interest. As regards the second motive, does not every one know how frequently occasions occur in which it is advantageous for a merchant to borrow at a very high interest, rather than be compelled to sell his merchandise at a loss? It is especially in a great commercial crisis that the absurdity of this law is more particularly proved; capitals are then held back, and it is difficult to meet with any money-lenders; at the same time that the great surplus of goods beyond the demand which produces the crisis, and which time alone can dissipate, makes it of the greatest importance to merchants to obtain credit. The effect of the laws on usury have been especially seen in the late panics of England, and their abrogation has therefore been loudly called for, and not by the lenders, but by those who have occasion to borrow. So true is it that the establishment of a legal interest is a thing contrary to reason, that Governments themselves, in their loans, never respect their own rule.

The legal rate in France is five per cent.; but the public loans are invariably contracted at a higher rate. Thus it has happened that the French Government has received for five francs of interest fifty francs of capital; but never has it received ninety: and exactly the same thing has happened with the various descriptions of British stocks. Is it not a singular inconsistency in a Government that it should consider that to be prejudicial for individuals, which for itself it esteems profitable?

The laws on usury are, then, prejudicial, from placing an obstacle to all useful contracts, the condition of which, regulated by various circumstances, is the stipulation for a higher interest than that which is established by law. The very basis of the system on which they rest is wrong; it is one of the remains of ancient prejudices, which attribute to Governments the right of regulating and directing every thing. The empire of these prejudices is destroyed as far as regards labour, and the various sales and exchanges which form the interior commerce of a State. Why, then, should it still subsist in the case of loans, which is but a species of exchange, and which ignorance alone could desire to subject to a particular regulation?

Thus far we have only taken into consideration the interest of the borrowers, and of commerce in general: we must now turn our attention to that of the lender. 'The loan of money on interest,' says Turgot, 'whose high philosophical doctrines place the sacred notions of justice above every other argument, 'is lawful on a more general, and a still more important principle; since it is that which forms the basis on which the edifice of society is raised: I allude to the inviolable right by which every one is the absolute master of his own property, which secures him from being despoiled of it but with his own consent, and which enables him to put such conditions on this consent as he may judge proper.' Is it not, indeed, just that the proprietor of a capital should have the power to exact an interest for the sacrifice which he makes of the enjoyment of that capital for a certain length of time? and is it not also equitable that the interest should be so much higher as the risk of losing the capital is greater? What would a landed proprietor say, if the Legislature attempted to reduce the rent of his estates, or prohibited him from receiving more than a stated sum per acre?—would he not exclaim against it as a violation of the rights of property? The laws on usury violate, in an equal degree, the rights of capitalists. Absurd as regards borrowers, they are iniquitous towards lenders.

Thus the right of capitalists, the interest of borrowers, the inefficiency of the legislative power, the fallacy of the arguments used in defence of the restrictive laws—all show that the laws on usury are bad—that the loan of money ought, like all other contracts, to be perfectly free—and that the very term of usury, as indicating a crime, should be blotted out from the criminal code. Such is the conclusion to which, we think, all these arguments tend. The only means of protecting lenders, and giving them the power of lending at a low rate of interest, is to make the fulfilment of contracts prompt and exact.

By this method, that portion of interest which forms a premium of insurance, would diminish, and the rate of interest itself would become as low as the state of society would bear.

If we believe that the laws ought not to punish *Usury* as a crime, does it therefore follow that those who are called usurers never offend against morality? Most undoubtedly not: and this explanation ought to reconcile upright and scrupulous minds to our opinions, at which they may, perhaps, have been astonished. But a distinction must be made between morality and law. The capitalist who exacts a high interest from a poor man in want, is not the less an immoral man because he confines himself within the limits of his right: he is wanting in benevolence, he sins against charity; but it is not for exceeding any particular rate of interest that morality condemns him: circumstances may occur in which it may be equally culpable to take any interest whatever, and in which even he ought to give freely. Such is the duty which morality frequently imposes; this duty cannot be prescribed by law: charity is preached, but not enforced. If a man should pass an unfortunate being, perishing from extreme want, without offering him some relief, would not his hardness of heart be revolting to you? and yet, do you think that the law ought to dive into his purse, and compel him to give? The proprietor who, in time of famine, enhances the price of his corn to poor wretches expiring with hunger, and profits by their misery to enrich himself, does he not merit public contempt as much as the usurer? But at the same time that he is despised, every one acknowledges that the law cannot interfere, and force him to sell at a particular price. Morality is one thing, and law another. It does not belong to the law to prescribe the accomplishment of every duty; it can only exercise its authority where law is violated, or injustice committed. Now, to be wanting in charity is not to commit an injustice, or violate a right. There are still other ways in which a usurer may be immoral, and without falling under the cognizance of the law. When he encourages the follies of a spendthrift, or the passions of a debauchee, he commits an immoral act; but would not the simple lender, in a similar case, be equally worthy of reproach? The immorality does not arise from the rate of interest, it arises from his being a sort of accomplice in the vices of the borrower. Now, as these vices are not punished by law, it is clear that the accomplice in them ought not to be more severely punished. The law does not punish the publican who sells more wine to men who are already drunk; and yet, at the tribunal of reason, would he not be pronounced guilty of encouraging, or even being an accomplice, in this vice?

In conclusion, we must remark, that the greatest part of the actual immorality of usurers is the creation of the Legislature. All prohibitions dictated by a false principle give birth to a corresponding class of vicious men which would not have existed but for them. It is thus that the restrictions laid on foreign commerce have engendered smugglers. Such laws are too absurd not to be violated, and yet those who infringe them can scarcely be looked upon as upright men.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL REPORTER.

SKETCH OF THE PUBLIC LIFE AND CHARACTER OF SIR HENRY PARNELL, BART. M. P.

SIR HENRY PARNELL is of the family of the poet of that name. His father was Sir John Parnell, who, at one period, was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; and who afterwards filled the situation of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir John Parnell was a man of great Parliamentary acquirement, and supposed to be better versed in the dry detail of Precedent and Finance, than any public character of his time. His acquirements were readily admitted by all parties, yet there was no man in the Irish House whom it was more an effort to hear. When he rose to speak, his matter always commanded attention; but his manner was dry, cold, heavy, and unprepossessing; and hence it was that men of very inferior acquirements, and without a tithe of Sir John Parnell's information, had more the ear of the House, and produced a greater impression in debate.

The Irish Government, however, aware of the solid acquirements of Sir John, availed themselves of his talents in two situations of much responsibility—those of Speaker, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. On a change of ministry, the father of the subject of the present sketch retired from office to private life; in all the relations of which he was esteemed. Sir John left behind him four sons, of whom Sir Henry Parnell is the eldest. The second, Mr. W. Parnell, represented the county of Wicklow for many years, in which he was left a large fortune by a Mr. Hayes, whose name he subsequently took. Mr. W. Parnell was a man of literary habits and refined taste. In 1806 he published a valuable history of the “Penal Laws which aggrieve the Roman Catholics,” which rendered him very popular with that branch of his Majesty's subjects; of whose interests he continued the faithful advocate till his death, which took place in 1820. Mr. J. Grattan succeeded Mr. W. Parnell in the representation of the county of Wicklow. Two other brothers of Sir Henry Parnell are still living; but as they have never appeared in public life, it were improper to allude to them.

Sir Henry Parnell has been upwards of twenty-five years, with the exception of a short interval in this Session, in the British Parliament. During that period he has been a uniformly active and intelligent member. He is distinguished principally by his knowledge of the Finance, Revenue, and Statistics of the empire; and in all subjects connected with the Bank, the Funds, the Debt, and all matters relating to accounts, income, and expenditure, his knowledge is considered not only accurate, but very profound. On Irish affairs, the member for Dundee has been a great authority with English mem-

bers ; but though he has made many converts to his opinions relating to his native country, among Englishmen, his peculiar notions on Political Economy do not seem to have taken very deep root in Ireland : indeed, one of the last efforts of his legislation, under the unreformed system, is one of the most unpopular Bills ever introduced into Parliament—we mean the Sub-letting Act. Though there can be no question that the operation of this act has been productive of great and almost unbounded practical misery, yet there can be as little doubt that the principle of it was peculiarly grateful to a class of men who have never felt for the miseries of the poor—we mean the class of Irish landlords.

It is no matter of marvel that a body of men, who have hitherto resisted every attempt to introduce a system of Poor Laws—who have maintained a scale of war rents in a time of profound peace—who exhibit in their proper persons all the vices of a half civilization, with none of the generous sensibilities of savage life—it is no wonder that such sordid, sensual, and short-sighted men, living only for the pleasures of the day, and having themselves no care or thought for the wants of the morrow ; aliens in a great measure, and generally absentees from their native land ; it is no wonder that such men should have hailed any measure which rid them from the burden of a too numerous and a too poor tenantry with exceeding great joy ; but he must have been indeed a very shallow statesman, who could not have divined that this system of depopulation contained within itself the seeds—indeed we may say the fruitful seeds—of a plentiful crop of sedition, independently of the certainty of a servile, and the great probability of a civil, war. Sir Henry Parnell, the propounder of the measure, was among those who thought this measure a *panacea* ; a plain proof that a man may be a very admirable political economist, and yet a very indifferent judge of the great principles of human nature.

There were two other questions with which the Hon. Baronet's name was connected, when out of office, which reflect the highest credit on his sense and sagacity. In bringing one of these measures to a successful issue, he has contributed more than any other man of his time, to the more intimate connexion between this and the Sister Island. We allude to the Hon. Member's efforts on the Holyhead and Dublin Road Committee. For years his labours were ardent, zealous, and efficient ; and the result has been a more intimate intercommunication between Great Britain and Ireland, by means of the best roads and packets in Europe. They who wish to "speed the soft intercourse," from Dublin to London, as well as they who travel for business, are deeply indebted to Sir H. Parnell.

There was yet another question, to which the subject of the present Sketch had directed his attention, but in which his views did not meet with so successful an issue. This was the establishment of *Abattoirs*, or Slaughter Houses, beyond the confines of populous cities, on the French plan. There can be no question, that the adoption of this system would be a great improvement in our domestic economy. There is a cleanliness in the butchers' shops in Paris,

and indeed throughout France generally, (it is almost the only thing in which the French are extremely clean) which is exemplary, and which it would be vain to look for in England, so long as the business of slaughtering and selling are carried on in the same premises, or under the same roof. The Hon. Member for Oldham, then the monarch of the press, now himself a Member of the House, attacked this project of Sir Henry in a very butcher-like manner, but it is to be hoped that in this age of Reform, if not of improvement, Sir Henry Parnell may again take up the subject, unscathed by the terror of meeting his ex-opponent, face to face, on the floor of St. Stephen's.

In 1828, Sir Henry Parnell was appointed to the office of Chairman of the Finance Committee. Though the then Hon. Member for the Queen's County had generally voted with the Whigs, when they put forth their strength on great occasions, still sometimes on questions of moment, and often on questions of detail, it was observed that he differed from the great body of his party, and we suppose it was on this account that Mr. Herries, who, then in conjunction with Mr. Huskisson, was playing a part very unworthy of the latter, opposed the nomination of Lord Althorp, and used his influence, such as it was, to procure the appointment of Sir Henry Parnell. About this time, Sir Henry Parnell took his name off the Book of Members of Brookes's; and this, we suppose, gave currency to the rumour that he was about to abandon his party. The truth, however, was, that Sir Henry, instead of approaching to Toryism, was *getting beyond Whiggism*, and, therefore, as a gentleman, and a man of honor, he did not care to belong to a Club, in which, with few exceptions, none but Whigs were enrolled. The objections of Mr. Herries to Viscount Althorp, as proposed Chairman of this Committee, were:—

- 1st. That he was a party man.
- 2nd. That he was unfavourable to a Sinking Fund.
- 3rd. That he had peculiar notions on Finance.
- 4th. That he was pledged to pursue a certain course in his public capacity.

To three of these objections, Sir Henry Parnell was to the full as obnoxious as the noble viscount. To a Sinking Fund he was unfavorable, and had spoken and written against it; he too, had peculiar notions on Finance, and was just as much pledged as Lord Althorp to bring his theories into practice the moment he had the opportunity. Mr. Herries must have supposed that Sir Henry, in partially dissenting from the Whigs, was making an approach to the Tories. In this, however, as we have before observed, the honourable Member egregiously deceived himself.

As chairman of the Finance Committee, Sir Henry displayed an economy, a zeal, and an honesty of purpose, worthy of all praise. His efforts on this occasion gained him unbounded confidence for his honesty as a public man, and respect for his patient industry and talent.

In 1829, the worthy Member published the first edition of his book on Financial Reform. This work may be called the manual of a British statesman: it should be the *Vade Mecum* of every inde-

pendent Member of Parliament. The whole system of National Income is developed and explained: the policy of Taxes on raw materials, as well as on manufactures, is separately considered: chapters are devoted to the Taxes on luxuries and agriculture, and to what are called protecting Taxes. Sir Henry next considers the question of a repeal of the most obnoxious of these Taxes, and proves that others might be made more productive than they now are.

In his chapter under the head of Retrenchment, valuable principles are laid down. It is first proved to be necessary: 2nd, to be practicable. Sir Henry contends that if we have to begin a new war, with a peace expenditure of 55,000,000*l.* the prospect will be most frightful: he then goes on to state that the expenditure should be cut down to the standard of 1793; and quotes the opinion of Lord Grenville, in 1816, in favor of a low military expenditure in time of peace. Sir Henry asserts (and we believe the fact to be so) that the Treasury for many years has ceased to exercise the controul that belongs to it, over the public expenditure. "Every officer," said the late Lord Lansdowne, in 1797, "seemed to be the lord of its own will, and every office seemed to have unlimited power over the purse of the nation, instead of their being, as the spirit of the Constitution directed, under the constant check of the Treasury." In point of fact, before 1797, the great departments which had the management of the expenditure, attended the Board of Treasury with their annual estimates, for the purpose of explanation and examination, previously to their being submitted to Parliament.

As proofs of the practicability of retrenchment, Sir Henry brings forward the bounties on linen, on the fisheries, and on sugar—the management of the national debt—the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland—the Irish miscellaneous services—and the colonial expenditure. The hon. baronet contends that right principles suggest that Taxation is the price we pay for Government, and that every particle of expense that is incurred beyond what necessity absolutely requires, —for the preservation of social order, and for protection against foreign attack,—is waste, and an unjust and oppressive imposition upon the public. These are just principles, and won the then Member for the Queen's County, golden opinions—not only from his constituents, but from the Empire at large. Nor are the hon. Member's remarks on the army expenditure less deserving of notice. He then contended that the force in the Mediterranean might be reduced from 9,000 to 7,500 men: that in North America from 5,580 to 4,000: and that in Jamaica from 3,479 to 2,680.

In the year 1829, the hon. baronet also published "Observations on Paper Money, Banking, and Over-Trading." In this small tract the Currency Question is shortly and succinctly stated; and there is a chapter on the Bank of England, wherein the opinion is broadly stated that in the present advanced state of society no possible detriment, either individually or nationally, could result from the revocation of the Bank Charter.

Sir Henry Parnell continued to pursue his parliamentary duties till the session of 1829, with vigour and effect. In that session, and under the administration of the Duke of Wellington, it was he made his

motion on the Civil List, for which seventy-six county members voted, while only twenty-six could be found recorded against it. This motion had the effect of overturning the Duke of Wellington's administration; yet the Whigs suffered more than a year to elapse before they employed the man who had actually seated them in power. At length, the hon. baronet was appointed to the office of Secretary at War; but from his anxiety to reduce the Estimates to the lowest possible scale, he was far from being a favourite with the army; and the Government, of which he formed a part, not yielding to his wish of diminishing these Estimates in a sum of 600,000*l.*, Sir Henry retired from office, to the infinite regret of the great body of the nation. At the late dissolution he repaired to his native county; but failing to take the Repeal Pledge, he was supplanted by some more willing candidate. During the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Portman, for the borough of Mary-le-bone, Sir Henry was invited to stand, by a numerous body of the constituency; and we have good reason to think he would have been returned had he done so: but he thought, and wisely thought, in all likelihood, that the affairs of a parish of this extent and populousness, would interfere too much with his pursuits and leisure. Sir Henry first repaired to the borough of Tiverton; but Mr. Kennedy having, we believe, obtained a qualification, he was here unsuccessful. Ultimately, the hon. baronet proceeded to Dundee, where, as our readers are aware, he was elected in the room of the late Mr. Kinloch. It now remains for us but to say a few words on the personal appearance and manners, as a speaker, of the subject of this Sketch.

Sir Henry Parnell is a man apparently near sixty years of age. He is fully six feet high, approaching to corpulent, broad shouldered, and very powerfully, though handsomely formed. He is remarkably tall, robust, and vigorous looking; and time seems to have laid its fingers but lightly upon him. His head is grey, and slightly bald about the temples, but finely formed, full, firm, and ample about the forehead. His countenance is well coloured, open, good humoured, and agreeable. His grey eyes quick, lively, and full of expression. He looks rather sensible and intelligent than deeply thoughtful. His lips are thin, his mouth well formed, with a fine set of teeth; his whole aspect is pleasing, though not a little aristocratical. His demeanour is bland, easy, gentleman-like. His address graceful, almost courtly, but manly and independent.

As a speaker, he has all the defects of his father. His manner is dull, cold, and phlegmatic, and wholly unrelieved by any of the graces of elocution. There is a total absence of energy and warmth; and no attempt is made at illustration, or point. The language of the speaker is always clear and correct, and there is no waste of words; yet, still it is impossible to be interested deeply in the sentiments of one who stands stock-still like a statue, and who does not appear in the least penetrated with the doctrines which he propounds. Nevertheless, Sir Henry has won a name which must always claim for him the attention of his auditory; but this is more from his fame at arithmetical than rhetorical figures.

THE COMMERCIAL ENQUIRER.

EAST INDIA MONOPOLY—IMPORT TRADE FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND—ABUNDANCE OF SAFE RETURNS.

THOSE who have examined the details of our Export Trade to India, as exhibited in Number XII. of the PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, will readily acknowledge that the frontispiece of its flourishing condition and growing promise, with which we endeavoured to allure their attention, was neither too boldly sketched nor too highly coloured. Commerce of such vast extent, and such infinite importance in its effects on the condition of the people, by whom its component commodities are produced, as well as on the comfort of those by whom they are consumed, exhibiting in its earliest stages so many of the indications of matured and permanent prosperity, is obviously well deserving of every encouragement which sound policy may sanction, and legislative wisdom approve. Unlike many other vents for the products of our industry, the demand for British goods in India is not the offspring of enormous loans,* anticipating the means of the consumers, and cramping their future energies, by the embarrassment of a mortgage never to be redeemed, but the result of a growing and increasing want, evinced by a series of honest transactions, in every one of which a fair equivalent has been given and received. It might reasonably be imagined that a people, among whom the staple commodities of a country, differing in so many particulars from their own, could meet, on their first introduction, with a demand so ready and extensive, must, though not cultivated by all the arts of civilized existence, at least set a due value on the ordinary accommodations of life, and be far removed from that barbarous insensibility to comfort and convenience on which the servants of the Company are, on all fit occasions, instructed to dilate. Yet, fallacious as the arguments by which it has been attempted to damp the expectations of British enterprise in the markets of India, have already been proved to be, unfortunately there is abundant reason to believe that part of the premises on which they rested, were sufficiently correct. The opportunities which the last twenty years have afforded for estimating the

* The following is a statement of loans, by means of which our exports to the various countries of South America, to a great extent, were purchased, from 1822 to 1824:—

Colombia	£6,750,000	Buenos Ayres	£1,000,000
Chili	1,000,000	Mexico	3,200,000
Peru	1,200,000	Brazil	2,200,000

future prospects of the Indian trade, have proved to those most interested in it, that however wide of reality, the account furnished by the monopolists, of the disposition of the natives to consume articles of European manufacture, the gauge of their ability to pay for them had been taken with a tolerable approximation to precision. The state of utter exhaustion to which the drain of the Company's investments had heretofore reduced the once opulent province of Bengal, and the consequent emaciation which the extortions of their fiscal system were so well calculated to perpetuate, must indeed have furnished ample grounds for distrusting the success of the earlier speculations. Great as the consumption has been, and regular as the demand continues, when we reflect that the people to whose markets we have been admitted, amount to a hundred millions, and that the chief articles of our export are clothing, utensils, tools, with which, either of home or foreign manufacture, no state of society, removed one degree above absolute barbarism, can dispense, the wonder is not that we have already done so much, but that we have not performed infinitely more. The absence of all religious or customary objection on the part of the natives to the use of foreign goods, their willingness to adopt the contrivances of superior ingenuity, and their taste for the comforts and accommodations of life, being already sufficiently established, we are naturally led to the consideration of the circumstances by which dispositions so favourable are counteracted and impeded, and the full development of which we have reason to believe the trade susceptible, not more speedily attained.

The truth is, that the demand for Indian goods in England is by no means commensurate with the reciprocal wants of India. Half a century ago, it was an unquestioned axiom at the India House, and an admission in all discussions on Indian affairs, that whatever changes might be introduced in the commercial economy of the Company, or whatever abatement might take place in their exclusive privileges, India must always be an exporting country, to be reimbursed in importations of gold and silver by its European correspondents. On this theory, deemed too clear for doubt, too elementary for discussion, the whole system of Indian legislation, previous to the year 1813, was formed. Those who presumed to question its correctness, were told that the history of Indian commerce was one uniform unvarying illustration of the proposition, that the productions of that country might be the subject of purchase, but not of exchange. In the infancy of the Company's trade, the precious metals were almost the only instruments of barter; and among the various phantoms by which they so long contrived to baffle the competition of the free traders,—a drain of the symbols of value was one of the most prominent predictions. Amidst the obscurity in which the Asiatic commerce of India, during the earlier part of the last century, is involved, and the uncertainty of the accounts which we have of its nature and extent, it is not easy to determine with confidence, whether the delusion thus sanctioned and propagated by the Company was the result of actual ignorance, or the studied design of purblind

policy. To suppose that any country, no matter how favourable its climate, or extensive its physical resources, should, century after century (for this was the theory), export the productions of its industry, receiving nothing in return but bags of gold and silver, to be hoarded in palaces and pagodas, is so utterly irreconcilable with the first principles of Commercial Economy, and betrays so deplorable a deficiency of statistical information, that were it not for the apparent sincerity with which it was embraced, assent to an error so flagrant exceeds credulity. Yet it was the received opinion, still to be traced in numberless Reports and Statements presented by the Company to Parliament, that, with an insuperable antipathy to the consumption of foreign commodities, and a positive prohibition on their importation, India had for centuries supplied all the marts of Asia with its unrivalled productions; that its stores were still unimpaired; and that the only limit to its exports was in the restricted wants and abilities of their consumers. So long as the East India Company continued to maintain their original character of merchants, the effect of this error was simply to circumscribe their own transactions within a very limited sphere, and to discourage all attempts at introducing our home manufactures.

On India, or to speak more accurately, on Bengal,—for our early relations with the Deccan and the Peninsula were casual and unimportant,—its visible influence was confined to the immediate vicinity of the English factory, on the banks of the Hooghly; the commercial circle was completed by an extensive interchange of the multifarious commodities of provinces, diversified by an endless variety of climate, soil, tillage, and manufacture, by innumerable transactions with all the countries which lie between the 40th of north and the 10th degree of south latitude, from Arabia to Japan; and the treasure which circulated from Calcutta through the Upper Provinces of the Mogul dominions, giving life and energy to their internal industry, relieved the languor and exhaustion which followed the fall of the Imperial Court at Delhi, and the ravages of the Mahrattas. But as soon as the simple mysteries of the counting-house gave way to diplomatic finesse, and the traffic commenced in sceptres and in thrones, when English clerks were converted into Residents, and Residents into Dewans of Princes, whom they clothed and stripped of the purple at their whim; when rapacious usurpers took whole kingdoms into pawn, leaving the sovereigns whom they defrauded to choose between their tender mercies and the ferocious justice of a licentious soldiery; the mistakes of the ‘merchants trading to the East’ were felt in every fibre of native industry, in the decay of trade and manufacture, the slovenly irregularity of husbandry, the waste and desolation of the country, the ruin and beggary of the people. The acquisition of the Dewanny of Bengal, and the administration of its territorial revenue, had placed at the disposal of the Company’s servants a power which they knew not how to exercise, and which they had every temptation to abuse. Accustomed as they had been to receive gold and silver from Europe for the purchase of their investments, they had un-

expectedly discovered a mode of provision which alone relieved the difficulties and dazzled the avarice of their employers, who could not, or would not, recognize the spoil and plunder of their new dominions in a costly export, with which, through the medium of a fair commerce of exchange, London had been long familiarized, and Genoa, Venice, Lisbon, and Amsterdam, successively excited the envy of the world.

But while England gazed with astonishment and admiration at the prodigious riches thus annually poured into her lap, the blighted industry of Bengal drooped and perished. It was not the mere abstraction of its produce which precipitated the ruin of that country, and the confusion of the Company's affairs; for had that iniquitous scheme of spoliation been conducted, with ordinary sagacity, the last extremity might have been long delayed, by the natural energies of the people acting on the abundant resources of the country.

It was the mode, the reckless extravagance of the system, which, not content with gathering harvests it had not sown, scattered and dissipated the seed. For as soon as the Dewan of the province, at once minister of the Prince and agent of the Company, brought the land-revenue to the market, in his double capacity of magistrate and merchant, a prodigious rise of prices consequent on the sudden diversion of so much money into a new channel, refuted the estimates of the factory, and the Company's brokers were perplexed by the competition of their fellow-servants, under the protection of the *Dustuck*, and of the native *Delals*. In this emergency, it should be stated to the credit of the Directors in England, that their first scheme of reform was founded on an enlarged view of the welfare of their subjects. Finding their trading capital employed against themselves and against the natives, they came, in 1773, to the resolution of emancipating commerce from restraint, and gave up all use of power and influence in the purchase of the two great articles of their investment, silk and piece-goods. They published an order in all the principal marts of Bengal, by which their servants were directed to purchase those articles at an equal and public market price from the native merchants. The fraud, however, and dishonesty of their own servants, soon frustrated this plan of benevolent improvement. The abuses which the above order was intended to correct, had grown inveterate by many years of criminal indulgence; the profit resulting from them was too great to be relinquished on the mere suggestion of distant and impotent authority; and the Presidency encouraged the disregard of superior orders, by the evident reluctance of their execution. Baffled by this general conspiracy of those from whom they were entitled to expect support, the Directors were forced, by urgent necessities at home, and by the contumacy of their servants in India, to abandon, in mere self-defence, the equitable policy of commercial freedom, and revert to the old system of preference and pre-emption. They declare that, "unwilling as we are to return to the former coercive system of providing an investment, or to abridge that freedom of commerce which has been so lately established in Bengal, yet, at

the same time, finding it our indispensable duty to strike at the root of an evil which has been so severely felt by the Company, and which can no longer be supported, we hereby direct that all persons whatever, in the Company's service or under our protection, be absolutely prohibited, by public advertisement, from trading in any of those articles which compose our investment, directly or indirectly, except on account of, and for the East India Company, until our investment is completed."* It were needless to explain, in lengthened detail, the operations of this compendious scheme for checking the industry and squandering the resources of a flourishing country. It will be sufficient to state concisely the succession of injurious measures by which the manufacturers of Bengal were ruined, and the peasantry reduced to beggary. 1. For many consecutive years a great export of Indian merchandise was brought to Europe, for which no equivalent in money or in goods returned. 2. To preserve the outward appearance of a fair transaction, the land-revenue was employed in the purchase of this investment. 3. Opium, saltpetre, and salt, were monopolised, in order to increase the funds applicable to this object. 4. The filatures of silk were seized by the Company; and to ingratiate themselves with the weavers of Spitalfields, the Indian manufacturers were compelled by express orders from England to employ their capital in the production of the raw material. 5. The manufacturers of cotton piece-goods, for which the city and neighbourhood of Dacca were once celebrated, and which had long been esteemed in all the markets of the world, were reduced into subjection by compulsory advances of money, the repayment of which was enforced by the arbitrary violence of extents.

The obvious effects of this convulsive struggle of bankrupt power to preserve the temporary appearances of credit and prosperity, was to produce a change in the condition of India, more rapid and extensive than is recorded in the history of any other country in the world. To the cheerful hum of manufacturing industry, which once resounded through cities long famed for their magnificence and wealth,—to the busy traffic by which the merchants of all Asia were attracted to the fairs and markets of Bengal,—to that wholesome division of labour, by which all the articles of manufacturing and agricultural produce were rapidly advancing to a state of unrivalled perfection,—a dull uniform inactivity succeeded, pervading the whole extent of those once flourishing regions; thousand of skilful artizans were driven by the cravings of hunger to the fields, and the same hands which tilled the plantations of opium, mulberry, and indigo, wove the cotton rag which covered the wretched cultivator's loins. Instead of an annual export of those fabrics for which India was once celebrated above all the nations of the earth, and which were so long the object of jealousy in London, Manchester, Norwich, and Glasgow, the homeward-bound Indiaman is freighted with cargoes of raw agricultural produce, sugar, cotton, silk, rice, &c.,

* Report of a Committee on the affairs of India, 1783.

exchanged in India for the very same manufactures which Europe formerly received from her. Had this revolution taken place in the ordinary course of commercial competition, or had the laws by which our intercourse with India is regulated, been framed on a principle of considerate liberality, perhaps no state of things could be more advantageous, either to the superior or the dependent country. Blessed with an exuberant fertility of soil, to which almost all the productions of the tropics are indigenous, if the resources of India were fairly developed, England, by the preference which dominion confers, might, without violating the principles of commercial freedom, become once more the emporium of the world. The regular activity which the boundless consumption of India, if relieved from the monopoly by which it has been oppressed, would diffuse in our manufacturing districts, might free us from the recurrence of those dreadful storms of distress in which exterior comfort and respectability are now periodically wrecked. India would be repaid in the circulation of capital, the enjoyment of the arts of life, and the consolations of religion; all of which inestimable blessings have been sacrificed to the churlish illiberality of a mean and mercenary monopoly.

In estimating the real value of our connection with India, beyond all doubt, the primary and most important consideration is the state of the Import Trade. It must be obvious to the most superficial inquirer, that the sale of our manufactures in India, must, to a great extent, be regulated by the amount of our own consumption of Indian produce. The laws, therefore, by which improvements, whether in the growth or preparation of the articles which we import, are delayed or prevented, may justly be considered an object of public concern. There is, in fact, no class of men engaged in trade, whether merchants, manufacturers, or artisans, who have not a deep and serious interest in the full development of our resources in the East. Looking at the prohibitory policy of the Continental States, and the system of retaliation which America, though late, had deliberately adopted, there is no other point to which the mind can turn with satisfaction, or rest with any prospect of probable compensation.

Before we proceed to lay before our readers a simple detail of facts relative to this important subject, we beg of them to remember, that if, in our previous remarks, we have spoken in disparagement of the present ability of India to repay us, in her own productions, for our supplies of manufactured goods, we have done so merely in the spirit of comparison between the actual and possible extension of the import trade. Thwarted, impeded, deteriorated, as they are, by the unworthy system of excluding British capital, British industry, and British ingenuity from India, as well as by the disgraceful preference shown to the produce of less deserving colonies, we shall still find that the chief articles of Indian export* are in constant and regular demand, and that

* The following are extracted from a printed price-current; as being common and constant articles of import by private traders:

Pepper---Saltpetre---Rice---Camphor---Cardemoms---Cassia---Catechu---China Root---Cinnabar---Cinnamon---Cloves---Cochineal---Coculus Indicus---Colomba

as materials on which our own industry and that of foreigners is employed, or as luxuries in which superfluous wealth is dispensed, on their preparation, carriage, and sale, immense multitudes are dependent.

The annexed is a Statement of the Total Official Value of the Imports into the United Kingdom, from the East Indies and China, together with the Mauritius.

Years.	East India Company's Trade.	Private Trade.	Total.
1814	£3,986,523	£2,311,863	£6,298,386
1815	3,948,794	4,089,942	8,038,736
1816	4,591,172	3,719,525	8,310,697
1817	4,094,225	3,593,053	7,687,278
1818	2,944,626	4,393,063	7,337,698
1819	3,244,431	4,293,132	7,537,563
1820	3,907,789	3,654,858	7,562,647
1821	3,892,805	2,340,766	6,233,571
1822	3,160,742	1,945,658	5,106,400
1823	3,636,196	3,282,344	6,918,540
1824	3,618,425	3,693,930	7,312,355
1825	3,469,433	3,112,625	6,582,058
1826	3,696,960	4,305,878	8,002,838
Average per ann.	13)48,192,121	13)44,736,637	92,928,758
	3,707,086	3,441,280	

The first column of the above statement of the official value of the imports into the United Kingdom, is manifestly intended for concealment. For what possible purpose, but to mystify and mislead, does the Honourable Company persevere in confounding their trade to China with that to India, in which they are met with the active competition of the free traders? Let it be remembered, that among the imports, for the value of which the Company take credit in this account, all the tea consumed in Great Britain is included. Of this not one pound is imported by free merchants; their trade with China is as distinct from their relations with India, as our trade with Portugal is from our trade with France; but the Honourable Company are chartered as merchants trading to the East, and therefore they must appear to trade, whether they do so or not. For the last fifty years they have had no real commerce with India; with China they do carry on commerce, on principles the most illiberal and unjust to others, though sufficiently profitable to themselves; and the

Root---Cotton Wool---Coffee---Cubebs---Dragon's Blood---Elephant's Teeth---Galanga Root---Galls---Ginger---Gums---Indigo---Lac Dye---Lac Lake---Anise-seeds---Bees' Wax---Borax---Mace---Mother-of-pearl---Munjut---Musk---Nutmegs---Oil of Spices---Rhubarb---Safflower---Sago---Sal Ammoniac---Senna---Seed Lac---Shell Lac---Stick Lac---Sugar---Soy---Silk---Tamarinds---Tin---Tortoise-shell---Turmeric---Ornamental and Scented Woods---&c. &c.

items of this trade they have hitherto endeavoured to set off against the prosperous account of the free traders.

It is not, however, so much from the quantity as from the nature and quality of the imports from India, that instruction is to be derived. It would be an endless task to enter into a minute examination of the effects produced by the present system of exclusion on each particular article of Indian export, but some of them deserve a separate notice; and preparatory to the remarks which we have to make upon this subject, we request the attention of the reader to the subjoined statement of the relative value of the produce of India, as compared with that of other parts of the world.

ARTICLES.	East India.		West India Sugar Islands.		Mauritius.		United States.		Brazil.		Egypt.		Arabia.		China.		Manilla.		Siam.		Havannah.		Spanish Main.		Italy.		St. Domingo.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Indigo, per lb.	10	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	6	—	—	—	—
Cotton, per lb.	0	5	0	8½	0	10	—	—	0	8½	8½	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	0	6½	—	—	—	—	—
Rice, per cwt.	20	0	—	—	—	—	36	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tobacco, per lb.	0	2	—	—	—	—	0	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	7½	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Raw Silk, per lb.	20	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	—	—	—	
Sugar, per cwt.	37	0	45	0	39	0	—	—	40	0	—	—	—	—	38	—	38	49	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sugar-candy, per cwt.	39	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Cochineal, per lb. ..	2	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	0	—	—	—	—	
Ginger, per cwt.	20	0	160	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Turmeric, per cwt. ...	30	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Coffee, per cwt.	34	0	81	0	—	—	—	—	40	0	—	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	0	39	0	—	—	—	38	
Hides, Ox & Cow, p.lb.	0	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	11½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

The first commodity specified in the above extract, to which we beg to refer, is indigo. In the management of this dye, the East India Company does not much interfere. The cultivation of the indigofera, from which it is extracted, demands only a small investment of capital: though precarious, it is subject to no overwhelming or ruinous risk, requires but little superintendence, is not burthened by heavy duties or imposts, and receives, in a degree, the benefit of European skill and capital. The indigofera is indigenous in India, whence it was transplanted to America, and there, under superior management and skill, it speedily excelled the produce of its native soil. Europeans, induced by the consideration of the trifling hazard to which their fortunes would be exposed in the growth and manufacture of an article requiring so small an outlay, commenced its cultivation about forty years ago. There are now in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which 37 only are conducted by natives. The average quantity produced in Bengal is 8,000,000lbs. In 1786, the import of it into this country was 245,000 lbs.; in 1826, it was 7,673,710 lbs. Four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, are supplied from India: and all Bengal indigo is better than all Spanish American indigo by 12 per cent. The superiority of the Bengal indigo is so universally acknowledged, that it

forces itself into countries where fiscal systems of most rigid prohibition prevail; and Monsier Rodet, the intelligent author of the "*Traité du Commerce Extérieur*," tells us, that though this article is charged at Calcutta, on exportation, with a duty of 10 sicca rupees per maund, yet the manufacturers of France annually consume 6,000 chests, in preference to any which can be obtained elsewhere.*

"There is, perhaps," says Burke, in his account of the European Settlements in America, "no branch of manufacture in which so large profits may be made upon so moderate a fund as that of indigo; and there is no country in which this manufacture can be carried on to such advantage as in Carolina, where the climate is healthy, provisions plentiful and cheap, and everything necessary for that business to be had with the greatest ease.

"To do justice to the Carolinians, they have not neglected these advantages; and if they continue to improve them with the same spirit in which they have begun, and attend diligently to the quality of their goods, they must naturally and necessarily come to supply the whole consumption of the world with this commodity, and consequently make their country the richest, as it is the pleasantest and most fertile part, of the British dominions."

The simple introduction of European management into India, has refuted the speculations of Mr. Burke; and M. Rodet tells us, that of 777,627 kilogrammes of indigo, the average quantity imported into France during the four years ending in 1823, were—

Superfine indigo of Bengal	99,000
Ditto do.	517,500
Ordinary do.	48,000
Madras and Coromandel	31,500
Guatamala	81,627
	<hr/>
	777,657

Of the consumption of France, therefore, seven-eighths are the production of our Indian possessions, imported either direct from Calcutta and Madras, or purchased at the sales in London. When we have added the assurance of the able author of '*Free Trade and Colonisation in India*,' that a property worth 2,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, has been created by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects *living in India on sufferance*, we have completed the picture of the trade in indigo.

The next article to which we beg to advert, is that of Cotton Wool. It constitutes one of the chief items of our Indian import; and on its importance to our manufactures, it is unnecessary to dwell. On a former occasion, and in another Publication, we took occasion to controvert an opinion declared by the late Mr. Huskisson, that the injury inflicted on us by the new American tariff, might be avenged and compensated by the exclusive use of the cotton, rice, and tobacco, of our East India possessions. We then said, that if that scheme of

* *Traité du Commerce Extérieur*, p. 143. Paris (1825).

puerile retaliation were adopted, the immediate deterioration of our cotton goods would cause us to repent of the foolish experiment. On reference to the London price-currents, however, we find that the best East India cottons, whether Bengal, Madras, or Surat, are inferior in value to the worst that are brought from any other country; they are of little more than half the value of the cotton of Berbice, 50 per cent. inferior to that of the Spanish Main, 100 per cent. to that of Egypt and Pernambuco. But the most instructive comparison is with Bourbon, the cotton of which small, insignificant, and comparatively barren island, is full 120 per cent. superior to that grown in the most fertile districts of the most fertile country in the world! On this head, we cannot do better than avail ourselves of the assistance of a writer, whose accuracy and means of information are unquestionable; and who has the happy facility of compressing his facts and arguments into a smaller space than any other author with whom we are acquainted.

'In 1814, the quantity of cotton wool imported into Great Britain from India, was 2,850,318 lbs.; in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411 lbs.; but afterwards fell off greatly from this amount; and, in 1826, was only 21,187,900 lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough; the rude produce of unassisted native industry is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry in the different colonies in America. To what is this inferiority to be attributed, but to this?—that the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants; in fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the produce of India. It is grown, prepared, and brought to market just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this; they are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greatest number. Cotton is not an article of difficult production, or one requiring a capricious selection of soil and climate; a moderate share of skilful culture is sufficient to bring it to perfection in any soil of competent fertility and suitableness in North and South America, in Africa, and in Asia, from the equator to the 30th degree of latitude, on both sides of it, and in longitude from the Philippine Islands on the one side, round to the Mauritius on the other. Why, it may be asked, do not British-born subjects engage in the culture of cotton in the same manner in which they engage in the culture and manufacture of indigo? The answer is easy.

'The quantity of British capital which is allowed under existing regulations to benefit the agriculture of India, is comparatively trifling, and it is more advantageously employed in producing indigo than in improving cotton: a few hundred acres of land are sufficient to invest a large capital in indigo, and a very small number of Europeans is sufficient for superintendence. Thousands of acres would not be sufficient for the same investment of cotton; from the small number of Europeans, there could be no adequate superintendence over so wide an extent of country, and there could be no security against depredation in a commodity far more liable to it than the other. Moreover, to improve the cotton of India, the present annual and coarse varieties must be supplanted by perennial and finer ones,—a circumstance which would occasion a complete revolution in this branch of husbandry, a revolution which could only be effected by European proprietors, or their tenants; besides all this, the introduction of expensive machinery, both for cleaning and packing, would be necessary. What

European in his senses, holding land at a high rent from a native proprietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven, and where by law he may be removed from his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon so precarious a speculation?''*

This is the present state of the culture of a commodity in India, which, we were told by the late Colonial Minister, was to supersede the produce of Georgia and New Orleans. A similar good-fortune was foretold for Indian tobacco and Indian rice; the former of which, destined to drive that of Virginia, Maryland, and Cuba from the market, is now as bad as ever; the latter full 50 per cent. inferior to the rice of Carolina. When we consider that the first step in the improvement of these articles could be taken until the year 1834, perhaps the ostentatious menace of prohibition, into which Mr. Huskisson was inadvertently betrayed, will be considered a little premature; and we make no doubt, that the manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow, as well as the slaves of snuff and cigars, will think it better to coax than to irritate their American purveyors.

In describing the process by which the province of Bengal was laid waste, we dwelt at some length on the interference of the Company in the culture and manufacture of silk. Our readers may probably have imagined that it was somewhat disingenuous to relate this antiquated wrong in the tone and manner of present complaint. But what must they think of the system of the Honourable Company, when they are told that the acts which, in 1783, were denounced by a Committee of the House of Commons as the fruit of boundless avarice and rapacity, have, by mere negligence, to use the mildest term, been allowed to continue until now?

The whole of the silk filatures are still in the hands of the Company; the monopoly regulations enacted in 1793 were in force until the month of July 1827, when, urged by the repeated remonstrances of the merchants engaged in the East India Trade, the Board of Control compelled the Directors to send out orders to modify them. 'They claim,' says the author of 'Free Trade and Colonisation,' 'a right of levying extents as exercised by the Crown in revenue cases in this country! By advances to the peasantry in the silk districts, and making them their debtors, they had, in reality, rendered the cultivators and manufacturers completely subservient to them; reduced them, in short, to a condition worse than that of Russian serfs, or villains. Owing to this state of things, and the prohibition on the part of Europeans to hold lands, every attempt made by private individuals to invest their capital in the manufacture of silk, ends in ruin, and the virtual monopoly in favour of the Company has been established, to which we have alluded. The increased quantity of imports during the last few years, has arisen chiefly out of indirect importations from China by private individuals, consequent upon the just and politic improvements made in the silk trade in this country. In the year 1826, there is an increase beyond 1814 of no less than 673,747 lbs., a large portion of which is China silk imported from Singapore.'

* See 'Free Trade and Colonisation of India.'

We now come to an article more important, perhaps, than any which we have hitherto considered—Sugar, the great staple of the tropical world. The discriminating duty by which the Legislature, in defiance of every principle of justice and policy, has granted a preference to the produce of the West Indies, were, of itself, sufficient discouragement to its cultivation in India. There, however, the sugar cane is indigenous; and we have the authority of Bishop Heber, that, in the whole range of country, from Dacca to Delhi, and thence through the greater part of Rajpootana and Malwah, the raising of sugar is as usual a part of husbandry as turnips or potatoes in England.*

The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the East Indies, in 1814, was only 43,789 cwt.; but in 1826, it was 342,853 cwt.; of this prodigious increase, 186,245 cwt. is the produce of the Mauritius, from which petty and comparatively sterile island we receive more sugar than from the whole of British India, with its area of 600,000 square miles, and its population of a hundred millions! In 1823, the duties on Mauritius sugars were equalized with those on the produce of the West Indies; but, as the great increase had taken place before that time, viz., in 1820, it cannot fairly be ascribed to that assimilation. A new soil, unexhausted by the bad husbandry inseparable from the exclusive cultivation of sugar, the labour of cheap slaves, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. The Mauritius sugar was, at first, of a very inferior quality, and a great deal of it is so still.

‘The best is now superior to the best Bengal sugar, the only description which can be imported into this country by about 5½ per cent.

‘During the last eight years, there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron-founder, Mr. William Fawcett of Liverpool, no less than 200 sugar mills; the greater number of them with steam-engines attached. To the territories of the East India Company not one has been sent—no such improvements are introduced there! Here the sugar-cane continues to be grown by the same rude husbandry, and sugar manufactured by the same miserable processes as, in all human probability, three thousand years ago. The land belongs exclusively, to the Natives. European skill and capital are carefully and systematically excluded; and as long as this impolitic and absurd restraint continues, the sugars of India will be inferior, and will be costly; and it is even doubtful whether, if India enjoyed the monopoly which is now employed against it, it would be capable, with all its advantages of soil, climate, extent, and free labour, of competing with the British West Indies. Unquestionably it would not with those portions of tropical America possessed of a soil and climate equal to its own.

‘Again: As, in the case of cotton, it may be asked, why European skill is not at present applied to the production of sugar as it is to that of indigo? The reason is very obvious: more skill and more capital are required in the one pursuit than in the other; the culture of the indigo plant is simple, and the returns rapid; that of the sugar-cane complex and tedious. An indigo crop is reaped in three months from the time of sowing; a crop of

* Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. ii.

sugar-cane is liable to a depredation in an open, unfenced, and unprotected country; one of indigo to hardly any at all. Indigo works, capable of producing yearly 10,000*l.* worth of the dye, may be constructed for about 700*l.* Sugar works capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of 24,000*l.* Who would invest such a capital in a country where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor receive security upon it; where the judge and the magistrate are hostile, because labouring under unusual prejudices and delusion of their caste, and where the administration of justice is in such a state, that the appeal to it is nearly hopeless?*

We have thus, with the assistance of the able author, to whom we owe so much acknowledgment, and whose short pithy essay we earnestly recommended to our readers, placed before them the disadvantages under which the productions of Indian labour, in competition with those of the western hemisphere, and some parts of Africa and Europe. The details into which we have gone respecting the principal articles of Indian export, might be usefully extended to the inferior commodities, of which a list has been already given. Sufficient however, has, we trust, been done to direct the inquiries of those who are interested in the permanent prosperity of trade, to the growing importance of our connexion with India. How can we expect any considerable increase of our own Export Trade to that country, if we cramp and fetter its internal energies, by laws which deteriorate and spoil the only commodities which it can give us in return? There is no branch of domestic industry which does not suffer from this short-sighted system of preferences, pre-emptions, protecting duties, monopolies, and exclusion. The weavers of Spitalfields, the cotton-spinners of Manchester, the manufacturers of cloths at Leeds, and of shawls at Norwich, the cutlers of Birmingham and of Sheffield, the shipowners and shipbuilders of London, the innumerable intermediate agents, merchants, brokers, factors, shop-keepers, and others, by whose instrumentality the productions of the East would be distributed to the community, have all a deep and serious interest, in the application to our trade with Asia, of the sound principles of commercial freedom. To the people at large, the increase of the accommodations of life, which would immediately follow the adoption of a liberal policy in this respect, independently of all considerations of justice and humanity, is abundant incentive to active and earnest exertion. Men whose conduct is actuated by the higher motives of enlarged benevolence, here surely have glorious opportunities of indulgence. To a heart really warmed by the suggestions of disinterested philanthropy, no prospect can be more consolatory or encouraging, than that of civilising, improving, and, by the bland allurements of the arts of peace, converting a hundred millions of fellow-creatures, sunk in the lowest abyss of ignorance, misery, and vice, to a just appreciation of the comforts and decencies of life, and a due sense of the dignity of their own nature.

Experience has proved to the satisfaction of all reasonable men, that the only mode of extirpating the degrading superstitions by

* See 'Free Trade and Colonization of India,' p. 14.

which the minds of the Hindoos are enslaved, is to bring them into a close and intimate relation with ourselves, not by the intemperate importunity of studied and advertised instruction, nor by the cold solemnity of the dull durbar, but by that gradual interchange of good offices and unrestrained communication of ideas, which imperceptibly, but certainly, takes place in the ordinary business of life.

When interest, and liberality, and experience, and justice, and policy, and religion, combine, is it possible that the merchants, the moralists, the statesmen, the priesthood of England, can be deaf to the earnest appeal of India for justice? O for a Burke, to unfold the grievances of an injured people, and to enlist all the best feelings of our nature in the cause! Little did that great man think, when wasting the remnant of a long life in the obscurities and intricacies of Indian details, that after his death, near half a century would elapse before the wrongs which roused his commiseration to more than mortal eloquence, would be redressed. Painful, indeed, to leave the high ground on which he would have rested this great question of policy and dominion, and to degrade it into a paltry calculation of commercial gain. But the commercial prospects of a country like England, and the prosperity of such a world as India, whether in a moral or a political point of view, are objects of the highest concern. They are not to be sacrificed to the improvident provisions of a charter, no matter by what solemnities ratified and sealed. The renewal of this charter, or the abrogation of the authority now exercised under it, must soon become the subject of long and anxious debate. Never were more important interests at stake; never was opposition to a just and liberal system so completely organized; on no subject of public discussion has ignorance so universally prevailed. For us, it shall be our endeavour to prepare those who are interested in the result, with a body of facts and arguments, which will enable them to see through the sophistries of the monopolists of Leadenhall-street; being fully convinced that he who contributes, no matter in how trifling a degree, to the demolition of that stupendous fabric of injustice, impolicy, and imposture, the Commercial System of the East India Company, deserves well of his country, of India, and of mankind.

THE MIND OF MAN.

THE mind of man is as a mirror or glass, capable of the image of the universal world, and as joyful to receive the impressions thereof, as the eye rejoices to see the light; and not only delighted in beholding the variety of things, and the vicissitudes of times, but raised also to discover the inviolable laws, and the infallible decrees of nature; but if any man shall think by view and enquiry into sensible and material things, to attain that light whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature and will of God, then is he veiled through vain philosophy; for the sense of man is as the sun, which shines and reveals the terrestrial bodies, but conceals and obscures the stars and bodies celestial.—*Bacon.*

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

MEASURES FOR ADJUSTING THE DIFFERENT INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY.

SIR,

Lincoln, 22nd April, 1833.

The result of Sir Wm. Ingilby's motion, for a reduction of the Malt Tax must satisfy our rulers that a Property Tax must be resorted to, or the Fundholders go unpaid. This is as it ought to be; for although the Land-owners ought to pay for having been our law-makers so many years, and suffering the whole community to be injured by the Fundlords, as Sir William calls them, there is no reason why the productive classes, who have never had the means of redressing their grievances until now, should continue to be the victims of the rich drones of the State.

I believe the following suggestions may be of service to Lord Althorp, and would save the nation, provided an equitable arrangement was made with the Fundholders; without which, I see nothing but dreadful convulsion, in which those *honest* public creditors, the depositors in Savings Banks, will be involved, as well as the people who have got cent. per cent. for their money, by resorting to the step of returning from a paper to a metallic currency.

1st. A Property Tax.

2d. The abolition of all useless Customs and Excise Offices, created by the Tories, for the purpose of patronage.

3d. The reduction of all salaries in the public departments to the actual worth of the services performed.

4th. The immediate discontinuance of all unmerited pensions, and a reduction of those which are merited, equivalent to the alteration in the value of money.

5th. A sale by public auction of all Crown lands.

6th. A permanent Duty on Corn.

7th. A compulsory residence in the United Kingdom, for at least nine months in the year, to be required of all half-pay officers in the army and navy, and of all other pensioners of the State.

Until some such measures as these are carried into effect, I trust the oppressed people of this country will do their utmost to force a repeal of the Assessed Taxes, and avoid, as much as possible, the consumption of heavily taxed articles. Depend upon it, the people have the means of reserving these objects in their own hands, if they have only the courage and virtue to take advantage of their situation. An army ten times as large as ours, cannot compel people to pay the tax-gatherer, or to consume exciseable articles. We have only to be peaceable, and to meet our enemies with *passive resistance*, as that excellent body of men the Quakers, do, who uniformly refuse to pay tithes; and as Earl Fitzwilliam declared he would do, if the Reform Bill were not passed.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

AN ENEMY TO INJUSTICE.

ERRORS IN MR. PEEL'S BILL—ITS EFFECT ON THE OPERATION OF THE CORN LAW.

SIR,

Newcastle-on-Tyne, 27th April, 1833.

The importance of the question must be my excuse for addressing you. The Parliament having decided that no alteration shall take place in what is called "Peel's Bill," and it being more than probable that time may not be found for full discussion of the Corn Laws this Session, I beg to submit to you the expediency of proposing to correct, what may now be called a clerical error in the existing Bill.

It is now admitted by every person who has written, thought, or spoken, upon the subject, that the calculation of the effect of Mr. Peel's Bill *was* to depress prices 4 per cent., and that its effect *has* been to depress them 25 per cent. The present Corn Bill, which does not admit of wheat being imported free of duty, until the average price reaches 73s. per quarter, (and that requires the best wheat in the London market to be sold at 90s.) was formed, for "the protection of Agriculture," as it is whimsically called, upon the assumption of 4 per cent. depreciation by the change in the currency; but it being now discovered that there was an error in that assumption, of 21 per cent., Justice and Equity demand that this error shall be immediately corrected, upon the same principle that a clerical error in any valuation or account would be rectified.

This the House of Commons ought to do forthwith, whether it entertains the principle of the Corn Law, or not: otherwise the country is saddled with a Bill, which, in effect, prohibits importation of wheat free of duty, until the average price rises to 88s. per quarter, and the price in London to 110s. per quarter. This duty was never meant to be a source of revenue; for I think no Minister durst raise money by a tax upon bread. It was meant solely as a protection to the monopoly of the British Landowner; and if it had been known at the time the Bill passed, that the depreciation would have been 25 instead of 4 per cent., the price for importing wheat free of duty would have been fixed at 58s. instead of 73s., and therefore, by making this alteration now, the Legislature will give the same protection that was contemplated at the time the Bill passed, and in fact prevent the perversion of the spirit of the law itself, which assuredly contemplated the admission of foreign wheat to home consumption at a price short of a famine price.

The scale of prices for regulating the duty upon foreign wheat was, at the time of the measure being introduced, considered to go to too high a point when it was fixed at 73s., as the minimum point of duty; but the operation of the Currency Bill has raised it to a point up to which an *actual famine* can alone force prices. In fact it may be safely stated that no Administration dare allow the prices to go to such a pitch, without an Order in Council to admit Foreign grain duty free, and so rendering the act of the Legislature a mere nullity. You will observe that, with the scale as proposed, the duty upon wheat, at the present prices, would be 16s. 8d., and last week it would have been 18s. 8d., which is protection enough with a vengeance.

I have the honor to remain,

Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

WM. REDHEAD.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION AT HULL ON BEHALF OF THE OPPRESSED POLES.

SIR,

Hull, April 27, 1833.

I am aware that the interest you take in POLAND will render this communication not unacceptable. It is designed to give you some idea of the proceedings in Hull on behalf of that afflicted nation. Since the transmission of the late petitions from this town in favour of Poland, and the publication of the 4th Number of the "Hull Polish Record," the friends of Poland here have not been inactive: on the contrary, they struggle on in spite of every obstacle, in the seeming confidence that although their countrymen are not to be easily convinced of all the good they can achieve when they choose to exert themselves, it is still worth while to persevere in order to obtain their strenuous co-operation, when they shall eventually be assured of the importance of the cause they are exhorted to espouse, and of their ability, when combined, of supporting it with effect.

On the 5th of this month, the Association of the Friends of Poland held its 5th Ordinary General Meeting, which was attended by a great number of ladies. Some donations were announced; several members were added to the Society; various interesting communications were read; and many exquisite specimens of engravings by Polish artists were exhibited. A Polish officer, M. Sawaszkiewicz, who distinguished himself at Ostrolenka, and is now in Hull, was introduced to the meeting. He addressed the assembly in eloquent and energetic language. Amongst other observations, he expressed himself as perfectly convinced that Great Britain, with her preponderance in the policy of Europe, had only to say, "Rise up Poland!" and Poland, as by a miracle, would start up from the tomb. "Besides," said he, "it is her own interest, well understood, which commands her to establish a lasting peace on the continent, and to oppose a barrier to the aggrandisement of Russia, which, to the same extent as its political trespasses go unpunished, will overspread Europe more and more with its dangerous system, cripple and impede your commerce, and threaten even the *naval glory of Great Britain*. Hence," he continued, "I SPEAK TO THE WHOLE ENGLISH NATION, and invoke their serious attention! A glorious and brilliant arena presents itself for the exertion of the talents of some superior genius, inspired with the love of country and of humanity. I pierce into futurity, and think I hear the names of the most eminent advocates of our cause in the BRITISH PARLIAMENT prattled at the cradles of Polish grandchildren, with the same feelings as the words 'My Country!' and 'Kosciuszko!'" The gallant exile concluded his address, which was listened to with profound attention, by the affecting ceremony of presenting to the Association a little vase, containing, as he said, what was dearest to him in his exile, viz. a *small portion of his native soil*, taken from the grave of Kosciuszko, at Cracow. "Reflect," said he, "that the land to which this earth belongs bears eighteen millions of unfortunate beings; that it has too long been drenched with torrents of blood, and now with tears! John Sobieski, king of Poland, during the war with Turkey, wrote to his consort, saying, that 'Our land, in consequence of continual wars with barbarians for the safety of Christendom, is so imbued with blood, that, take (said he) a clod, and press it in your hand, and it will emit drops of gore.' After the incessant wars that have afflicted Poland since that period, what can I add to this expression of my august compatriot?" At the termination of this interesting meeting, the ladies were especially exhorted to interest themselves in the humane task of contributing to alleviate the unexampled sufferings of the people of Poland, and to communicate to the Committee such useful suggestions as might occur to them.

On the 19th inst. an article appeared in the *Hull Advertiser*, entitled "Considerations on Russia," signed with the initials "L. S." It is an *exposé* of the internal weakness of Russia from one who is evidently well-informed on the subject, and it opens with the following sentence:—"As the ambition of Russia be-

comes daily more and more developed; as it directs the policy of all Germany—keeps even France in check—imposes upon all the courts of Europe—plants, by the subversion of Poland, its foot in the centre of the continent—restrains our commerce by its treaty with America, and, now that Turkish affairs are on the carpet, lays its rapacious paws upon Constantinople, threatening our Indian possessions, it is worthy of every British patriot to reflect upon the real strength and resources of this power.” The writer then proceeds to shew that this “Colossus,” so heterogeneously composed—without a pedestal of general patriotism, without a basis of right and justice on the part of its government, is extremely likely to fall to pieces through domestic discontent, and gives examples of insurrections in various parts of the empire of an extensive nature, even in the *military colonies*, which are erroneously supposed to be a source of strength. Already the cry of “Liberty! Equality! and No Tyranny!” has been raised in this preserve of despotism; and the Emperor has been compelled to such mortifying concessions as may have provoked him to avenge himself by further oppressing the Poles.

The views of the author of this article perfectly coincide with those of Mr. Kirwan, as displayed in a late Number of your Review. “If,” he concludes, “we do not seriously exert ourselves to stop the ambitious views of Russia, I believe, that, in order to possess Constantinople, she will foment war between Holland and Belgium, will occupy France with civil broils, already prepared for breaking out; and eventually *we* shall likewise be obliged to endure much for our country, that we may be protected from Russian intrigue. I leave the subject, however,” (he observes) “to the reflection of those into whose hands we have committed our welfare, and that of our posterity. Let us remember that the disease becomes mortal, when the remedy is not applied in time.” That you may, however, be in possession of the entire communication, I beg leave to send you the paper which contains it. The “Advertiser” of yesterday has some comments upon the communication, in a letter signed “Promptus,” written in the same spirit, and with historical illustrations. This writer, obviously, does not look on history “as an old almanac,” but rather as the *Sybilline leaves* of statesmen, and from which the Czar himself might learn useful lessons. “The present condition of Turkey,” he says, “might serve as a warning to Russia, if, instead of being merely cunning, she were wise enough to profit by example; for since the shock that the Mussulmans received from the power of Poland, and especially since the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, when Mustapha II. was defeated by Prince Eugene, the Ottoman empire has gradually been sinking under the weight of its own unwieldy power, or the suicidal influence of its barbarous polity.” At this moment Constantinople is ready to drop into the fatal embrace of the hyperborean *boa-constrictor*, and a new and formidable naval power to rise up in the Mediterranean, **UNLESS WE PREVENT IT!** and if the Russians be suffered to obtain possession of the Porte, they must *afterwards be driven out*. Mahmoud is now in a similar predicament with the Sophy of Persia about a century ago, when he solicited the assistance of Peter the Great against Shah Thamas.

I beg to add, in conclusion, that in all the Hull papers of this week, advertisements have been inserted, calling attention to the ASSOCIATION FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUNG POLISH EXILES, under the presidency of the Prince Czarlonski, and Lists for Subscriptions have been placed in the Banks, the Booksellers’ Shops, and the Newspaper Offices. Farther publicity has also been given through the medium of the local prints to the *Society of Ladies* lately formed in Edinburgh, under the patronage of Lady Ann Wardlaw Ramsay, the object of which is to collect funds for the Institute above-mentioned.

I sincerely hope that these laudable exertions will be crowned with the success they merit, and have the honor to be,

SIR, Your’s truly,

AN OBSERVER.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW

And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 9.

FOR the first time, during the present Session of Parliament, there were not a sufficient number of members assembled at three o'clock, the hour of opening, for forming what is called "a House." There are three different scales of numbers fixed for the *quorum*, without which the House cannot proceed to business; and the circumstances of each are these:—if the House meets to receive petitions at 12 o'clock, then forty members are enough to begin business; and, as the Speaker leaves the chair at 3, without a motion for adjournment, the meeting at 5 is not considered a new meeting of the House, but a mere continuation of the former sitting—so that forty members are still enough for that purpose. If the House meets for ordinary business at 4 o'clock, for the first time in the day, then forty members also are required to constitute the *quorum*. But if the House meets at any time to commence its proceedings by balloting for an Election Committee—that is, for impanelling, by lot, a jury of thirty-three, to try the merits of any disputed election—then 180 members must be present before they can begin: and if these be not present on the Speaker counting the House, which he does the first thing after taking the Chair, then the House must be adjourned—not until more members arrive, which would be the reasonable mode, but to the next day; so that all the proceedings of Parliament are suspended until that period.

It must be clear, that the more extensive the number requisite to form the *quorum*, the more easy it must be, at any time, for the Ministers, by requesting their adherents to absent themselves, to defeat the formation of a House, when any motions are coming forward to which they have a strong objection. On Thursday, the 9th, there was not a single member of the Administration present—and there was an equally marked absence of their adherents; so that the general conviction was, that this non-formation of the House was the act of the Ministers, or of those acting in compliance with their known wishes, if not under their actual directions.

The object of such a proceeding it is not difficult to understand. There were four subjects on the Notice Book for that day, all of which would be likely to be disagreeable to the Ministers.—1. Mr. O'Connell's Bill for the entire extinction of Tithes in Ireland. 2. Mr. Buckingham's motion for the substitution of a Property and Income Tax, touching the idle and the rich, in lieu of the existing burthens on the industrious and the poor. 3. Mr. Bulwer's Committee for considering the Repeal of the Stamp Duties on Newspapers. And 4. Colonel Perceval's enquiries as to the still remaining vacancy in the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. If the House had been formed, and had proceeded to business, all these would have been troublesome topics to Ministers. But by defeating the formation of the House, they would effect a postponement of them all to some distant day—as such motions, when not brought on upon the day originally fixed, are obliged to be entered for such days as the movers may be able to find unoccupied; or, if none can be found absolutely vacant, to place them *after* such as are already entered, on the nearest available days; in consequence of which, many of them can never be brought on at all.

It is said that Mr. Bulwer's motion respecting the abolition of the Stamp Duties on Newspapers was put off three successive times last Session, by the non-formation of a House; and other instances have been mentioned to us, of a similar application of this mode of postponement to motions that could not be met with a direct negative, and which the Ministers therefore thought it desirable not to have argued at all. Such practices as these may serve the narrow purpose of the day; but, in the end, their effects must recoil upon the heads of those who resort to them.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 10.

The principal discussion of the evening was on the Dutch Embargo, which was brought forward by Mr. Alderman THOMPSON, who gave a description of the injuries inflicted on the Shipping and Commerce of England by this embargo; and contended that it did not equally punish the Dutch. In order to substantiate this view of the case, he accordingly moved for an account of all vessels that had been detained in consequence of this embargo, specifying their names, tonnage, and cargoes.

Lord PALMERSTON, who replied to Mr. Alderman THOMPSON, did not intend to refuse the accounts moved for; and therefore it was unnecessary for him to enter into any detail upon the present occasion. He endeavoured to show, however, that the Dutch suffered still more from the embargo than the English, though he admitted it was the cause of great commercial loss to both.

The discussion now took a new turn, and hinged on the legality or illegality of any interference; and in that part of the debate, the Solicitor General, Mr. Baring, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel,

Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Pollock took their share. In the course of it, Mr. Baring made the following observations with reference to the Solicitor-General.

‘ Mr. BARING said that the sentiments uttered by the hon. and learned gentleman were quite novel; and had, he supposed, been specially reserved for the reformed House of Commons. It was singularly incongruous to hear a law officer of the Crown denounce an attachment to legitimacy, and to hold it up as an excuse for persecution, for so he must designate the treatment which the King of Holland had experienced. (Hear.) If he might venture to offer advice to one *who sold advice to all the world*, (a laugh) he would recommend the hon. and learned gentleman to confine himself in future to questions of law, and not to hazard such extraordinary opinions on policy and morality. Such doctrines would not have been uttered in that House fifteen years ago, when constitutional principles were quite as well understood as at the present moment, without being visited with severe reprehension. He wished to know what great political object was to be obtained by persecuting the poor King of Holland? It was the duty of the Foreign Secretary to take care that the national honour was not insulted, but it was also his duty to see that the interests of commerce were not unnecessarily injured.’

The *esprit du corps* of the learned body in the House, was strongly excited by this allusion to barristers *selling their advice*, and giving their opinions in any variety of shade for money: and when it is recollected that Dr. Lushington, the zealous advocate *for* the abolition of Slavery, had pleaded before the King in Council *against* the abolition of Human Sacrifices by the burning of living widows, to the extent of 700 in each year in India: and that the only excuse he could offer for pleading against the abolition of such murderous rites, was, that he was *retained* by the Braminical party, and *obliged* to do the best for his clients: it was hardly to be wondered at that *he* should feel especially aggrieved at this imputation on his craft. He accordingly thus retorted on Mr. Baring.

‘ The hon. Member for Essex had accused the learned Solicitor-General with selling his opinions. Considering the quarter from which that charge emanated, he could not help thinking that it was a most unhappy one. The hon. Member had himself *trafficked in opinions* on a very extensive scale. (“Hear, hear,” and laughter.) He had successively promulgated and changed every variety of opinion; taking a moiety of one, and a moiety of another, he had so mixed them up, one with another, that he at last succeeded in rendering them almost incomprehensible to himself, and unintelligible to all besides. (Cheers and laughter.)’

Mr. HUME, after this, asked Lord Palmerston why the British interests had been neglected at Constantinople: and was answered, that the ambassador had been on his way, but had been detained wind-bound at Naples for a month: but that the Secretary of Embassy at the Turkish capital had discharged his duty to the entire satisfaction of the Government.

Mr. BARING asked Lord Althorp when the two great questions of the Bank Charter and the East India Company’s Charter were to be brought on; to which the reply was, that the former might be expected to be brought on in a week or two; but the latter was more

uncertain, though undoubtedly it would come on some time or other during the present Session—the delay arising from incompleted negotiations between the Board of Controul and the East India Directors.

The Army Estimates followed this, being brought forward by Mr. Ellice; and these occupied the House till about two o'clock, when it adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 13.

The House met at twelve, to receive petitions: and the parties in attendance being upwards of 100, balloted for precedency on the list. The result was, that as in the three hours devoted to this purpose, not more than thirty-six persons could be well heard—that is, allowing five minutes only to each person, or twelve to each hour—all those who came out on the ballot after the fiftieth on the list went away in despair. Of those who remained, there were many that had to present thirty, forty, and even fifty petitions each, chiefly for the *immediate* abolition of Slavery: and the consequence was that they could only say they had so many petitions to present, to name the places from whence they came, and lay them on the table, without even untying the bundle, but placing them altogether in a heap—for which so many rolls of blank paper would have done just as well. From thence they were thrust into great bags, and carried out of the House into cellars, in several hundreds at a time. The practice of petitioning, has, indeed, so exceeded all useful bounds, that as there is hardly ever a day on which 300 or 400 are not presented, it becomes literally impossible even to enumerate them all; and many, we believe, are laid on the table and transferred to the cellar, without any body seeing or knowing any thing of their contents. In the House of Lords, Lord Suffield presented 201 in a lot; and said, though he had already presented 2,000, he had yet another thousand in arrear, and all for the *immediate* abolition of Slavery. We shall see, by-and-bye, how very little attention is paid by the Ministers to this almost universal prayer of the nation.

The Irish Church Bill underwent discussion: and Dr. Lefroy, Mr. French, Mr. O'Connell, Lord Althorp, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Hume, Mr. Wynn, and others, took part in the debate; but no progress was made, no clauses were agreed to or negatived; in short, though much was said upon it, nothing was done, so that on the Speaker leaving the chair to go into committee on the Bill, when the business on it could alone begin, it was so late (near two o'clock,) that Lord Althorp proposed to "report progress," as the phrase is (though certainly no progress had been made) and to ask leave to sit again to resume the subject on Wednesday. When it will end, no one can safely predict.

The House did not adjourn till past three o'clock; and the distant Members, after travelling home by day-light, got to bed about five in the morning, when sober and industrious people were getting up.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—MAY 14.

It is rather unfortunate that a discussion on so important a subject as the Corn Laws should have been held in the House of Lords, on the same evening as the discussion on the Abolition of Negro Slavery in the House of Commons—because, in the first place, it is exceedingly difficult to enlist public attention deeply in two subjects at a time; and next, because each of the debates occupies a larger portion of matter than any ordinary man of business can find time to peruse in the day or in the week of their publication, according as his newspaper reading is daily or weekly; and if not read in that day or that week, it has little chance of being read at all, as other topics arise to create new claims to attention, and the attraction of the newest being generally the strongest, the older topic, though only by a few days, is obliged to give way.

In point of importance, we hardly know which should take precedence. That the existence of Slavery creates, daily and hourly, misery for 800,000 of our fellow-beings, we are quite certain; and therefore we think it never can be too soon to see this abomination swept away from the earth. But that the existence of the present Corn Laws creates want, hunger, suffering, disease, and despair, to a much larger number than 800,000 of our own fellow-countrymen, is also undeniable; and therefore we think it never can be too soon to see them abolished.

We despair of seeing either accomplished so soon as we could desire. Slavery, we fear, will still endure for twelve years longer, unless the slaves should be the first to break their own chains, which we ardently hope and cordially desire. And the tax on the Staff of Life—the first necessary of subsistence drawn from the soil which God has given for the food of man as well as beast,—may continue for even a longer period still, unless the consumers of corn, whose interests are more at stake than that of the growers of it, should be the first to compel an abatement of this iniquitous impost on the bread of the poor, which we as earnestly hope, and should as cordially hail, as the accomplishment of any other public good, wrung from those who apparently never *will* concede anything to the relief of their dependents, but from the fear of worse consequences ensuing.

As we must reserve, however, a large portion of our space for the debate in the Commons, and as the Resolutions of Lord Fitzwilliam, to which his speech refers, have been already printed in a former Number of this Work, we must content ourselves with recording a few only of his most prominent statements.

Earl FITZWILLIAM said, that in proceeding to call the attention of the House to his proposed resolutions on the corn laws, he would endeavour to do his best to render justice to that great, and in his mind all-important subject. He, however, felt a great degree of diffidence, when he thought of the apology which was due to their lordships from one so recently introduced among them, who attempted to draw so largely on their attention. He should not have presented

himself to their notice so early, had not it been his most solemn and steadfast conviction, that the question of the corn laws was one which was not yet settled, but which both Houses of Parliament were imperatively called upon to adjust finally, and in such a way as to content all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

He begged to assure their lordships that in mootng this question at the present moment, he knew full well he was advocating a change against the opinions of many high authorities in that House, for both of whom he entertained the highest respect, and for one of whom his devotion, admiration, and friendship could never be impaired; but in endeavouring to call the attention of their lordships to the subject, his own view really was, that the question must be opened. It was not a question that was now settled, but one on which there must be, before their lordships come to a final adjudication upon it, various and repeated discussions; but while he was aware, to the fullest extent, of this, if he were to fix the period the most prudent to enter into a calm and deliberate consideration of the question—one, he admitted, of extreme delicacy—he knew of no period at which the question could be so well discussed as when there was no anxiety, no agitation prevailing in the country. Noble lords might say that he (Earl Fitzwilliam) was agitating a question upon which no interest or anxiety prevailed, but that was the very reason why it ought now to be discussed. It would, indeed, be dangerous to enter into a discussion of the subject when the price of corn should reach (and who knew when that time might arrive?) 90s. or 100s. per quarter. At such a time no safe adjudication could be arrived at. In proceeding further with this subject, he must first disclaim any intention to offend their lordships, or any individual, but he must stop to inquire what was the object of the corn laws. He understood from a noble lord near him, that their object was to have the country cultivated (hear), and to have the population fed. (hear.) That object he wished also to carry into effect; but in supporting the present system, their lordships who furnished him that answer could not have consulted the documents and returns laid upon the tables of both houses of Parliament. If, however, there was anything in that answer, it was this,—that the corn bill afforded an independent supply of food to the population; but he would respond to that answer what had been the imports of corn during the last year, and, indeed, ever since the passing of the present bill, and during the previous enactment? Returns had been moved for by noble lords, not with a view to show that there was an independent supply of corn, but that the landowner and the farmer would be ruined by the imports. The supply might have been adequate some centuries ago, but the increase of population in this country was such that it was impossible to suppose that the supply could be adequate, without a considerable import; in short, there was no independent supply in this country. Then came the consideration of the question as to the terms upon which corn should be imported, for exclusion was impossible; for what would that be but telling the population of this country that they should not exist? The quantity of corn was not sufficient to feed the population of this country with-

out considerable imports, indeed its growth was quite inadequate to the growth of the population, and if it was said that corn should not be imported, it was neither more nor less than to put a limit on the population of this country. In order to provide for the cultivation of the land, it became then necessary to make that cultivation worth the labour of the occupier and the landowner; such was the argument on the other side; and in order to secure that cultivation, the price of corn must be kept up, and the means by which this was to be effected was the restriction from importation, in order that there might be a modified scarcity, for without a modified scarcity of corn there would be an end of the whole question. If that was not the object, why then throw open the ports? But that such was the case was obvious, because it was the means by which the ulterior object of raising the price of corn was attained.

He must now touch upon another branch of the subject, that which referred to the effect which the existing law had upon the commerce of the country at large. He might, perhaps, here state that he had not had much intercourse with their lordships, except with a few who were his private and personal friends; but he could not help stating, that from what he had seen, heard, and read, their lordships' house was not the place in which the importance of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity was valued at the highest rate. The prosperity of those interests was not pursued here in the manner in which, according to his humble judgment, it ought to be; and if he was asked his reasons for this statement, he should say that the present bill was a proof of the allegation. (Hear.) He would tell those who disbelieved this statement, to consider what had been the effect of this measure upon the price of commodities, and the further effect of creating a high rate of wages, so injurious to the manufactures of the country, as connected with foreign competition, if not tending to the abolition of the commerce of the country. There were certain wiseacres in this country who said that machinery was so improved that it mattered not what was the price of manual labour. These gentlemen could not have visited the workshops, manufactories, or the counting-houses of the merchant, or they would find that even now, with all the assistance of machinery, wages formed a great item in the price of every manufactured article, and impeded greatly the competition with foreign states; and he would take leave to say, that it would require great ingenuity to show that it signified nothing to the prosperity of British commerce whether wages were high or low. He was not wishing to insist that the price of corn regulated the price of labour; but in the long run it must have an effect, unless another circumstance, which no individual would wish to see, took place, namely, a deterioration in the situation and condition of labour. There were but two alternatives in the event of a rise in the price of corn—either to raise the price of wages, in order to place the labourer in the same condition, or you must deteriorate from that condition, in order to enable the British manufacturer and merchant to compete with foreign competitors. That was a proposition which he believed it was impossible to overthrow. The whole of these interests were implicated, for if on a rise in the price of corn an

increased rate of wages must follow, the manufacturer must either sacrifice his profits or be driven out of the foreign markets. No man would desire to see any such results. He could not but remark that he had a few weeks ago seen an answer given by a noble earl, not now in his place, to a proposition made to him for the formation of a political club in the county of Worcester. That noble earl was stated to have answered that he saw no reason for a Conservative club, because his rents had been well received, and the 3 per Cents. were extraordinarily high. It had not occurred to the noble earl, that in stating the high price of stock he was stating one of the great grievances under which the country laboured: the high price of stock—for instance, the 3 per Cents. at 90*l.*—was neither more nor less than a low state of profits. This was the great cause of the grievances about which both houses were assailed, and he believed that if the small tradesmen with a capital of 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* could realize a profit of 10 per Cent., nothing would have been heard of a repeal of the house and window tax, or of agricultural distress. (Hear.) To a man of 100,000*l.* capital a diminution of profit would not be ruin, though his profits were reduced from 8,000*l.* to 300*l.* or 400*l.*; but to a man with 1,000*l.* capital, by turning which he might realize an income of 100*l.* per annum, a diminution to 30*l.* or 40*l.* would be absolute ruin.

‘He entertained a great respect for the landed gentry of England. He thought them as respectable as any other class of the community, but he would not pay them the compliment of saying that they were better. Vice and virtue were, according to the dispensation of Providence, equally distributed amongst all classes of society, and he believed that the land-owners of England were as good as the weavers or chimney-sweepers, or any other class of the general community of this country, but not a whit better. (A laugh.) He saw no reason, that could be called a reason, in the proper sense of the word, why a law should be passed, giving to the landed proprietors of England, at the expense of the rest of the community, a larger capital than they would otherwise possess. It might be said that they had passed laws to protect trade and manufactures, but they had repealed those laws. (“No, no.”) His noble friend near him said “No” to that assertion, but he would repeat it, and was ready to prove it. (Earl Grey was understood, in an under tone, to say that the prohibitory duties on manufactured articles had been only reduced to 30 per cent.) Well, his noble friend admitted that there had been a reduction to 30 per cent. Was 30 per cent. the amount to which they taxed themselves in regard to the importation of foreign corn? No such thing. His noble friend was well aware that it was not 30 per cent., but 60 or 70 per cent. (Cries of “No, no.”) He would maintain that it was. If it was not, the whole of the argument on the other side of the question was at an end. What was the price of corn at Dantzic? The medium price was about 30*s.* per quarter. (The Duke of Wellington—“35*s.*”) Well, he would take it at 35*s.* What was the amount of duty on foreign wheat at the present moment in England? About 30*s.* If their lordships would refer to the corn-law at present in existence, they would find that 63*s.* per quarter for wheat in England, was the medium

price which it selected, and at that price the duty on foreign corn was 23s. 8d. per quarter, according to the provisions of the act. He was well aware that that was not the duty levied; but that fact constituted in itself another argument against the provisions of that bill. But when stating the duty, he was entitled to take it at 23s. 8d. and that amount of duty, upon wheat bought at 35s. per quarter, was equivalent to a duty of from 60 to 70 per cent. Was there any sense of justice in such a proceeding? Was it fair,—was it just towards the people of England—that they should be told that they should not eat foreign corn until it was taxed double the amount of any other commodity imported into this country? He, for one, doubted the wisdom of imposing a duty of 30 per cent. upon foreign manufactured articles; but he would not go into that subject now. He would say that it was neither just nor wise that they should tax the principal necessities of life at a far higher rate than silk and cotton, and other such commodities. They had reduced the duty on silk 30 per cent., and what had been the effect of that measure? Why, that we actually become exporters of silk, not only to the continent generally, but even into France itself. But it would be said that the landowners were oppressed. Why, the whole country, all the classes—all the interests in it—were oppressed. But then it was asked, “Will you throw the labourers out of employment?” He would do no such thing. He would ask, in reply, “Did the present corn-laws keep them in employment?” Would any man say so? Let their lordships look for a moment to the report of the poor-law commissioners, and they would there see how far it could be said that the labouring classes were employed at present. Let them look to the reports from Cambridge, Buckinghamshire, and Sussex; and they would see that the present corn-laws had no such effect. Would they continue them with the hope that they would produce an effect which, long as they had been in operation, they had not brought about? For his own part he doubted whether the landed interest, as a particular class, was more oppressed than any other class of the community. He would next draw their lordships’ attention to the effect which the rise in the price of corn had upon the poor-rates. They could see, that in different parts of England it had the effect of directly increasing their amount. If he was a member of the other house at the present moment, he should have adopted a course different from that which he was now pursuing. If he had remained a member of the House of Commons, he should have looked forward with something bordering upon hope, that this question would be entertained there with a view to its consideration. Considering that this question had not been discussed in that house for many years, he thought that the course which he had now adopted was the best one to induce their lordships to take the subject into consideration. He was desirous rather to break ground upon this occasion, inviting their lordships to consider the subject, as he hoped they would do, fairly and fully in all its parts, and all its bearings, with a view to the general interests of all classes of the community: for sure he was that no class of men in the country were more interested in the final settlement of this question (and finally settled

it never would be, unless by free trade), than the occupiers of land. As long as the present law existed, holding out to the owners of land, and to the bidders for it, the tenantry, a price higher than they could naturally get for their corn, so long the occupiers of land in this country would be exposed to difficulties and distress. This law entirely deranged all negotiations between landlords and tenants, with their respective contracts, for they would always calculate the rent, according to the medium price assumed by the act of Parliament. 80s. was the medium price of the former corn law, and from 60s. to 64s. was the medium price of the existing corn law, and that price was taken as the basis of all arrangements between landlords and tenants. Now 64s. had not been secured to the tenants by the present law, nor near that amount. Whether, indeed, they considered the manufacturing population, or the agricultural classes, or the ultimate interests of the proprietors of land themselves, he was satisfied that that House never would do any thing that would more entitle it to the gratitude and respect of the country, than by going into the consideration of the laws which regulated the importation of foreign corn, for which purpose it was that he now proposed the resolutions which he already had had the honour of laying on their lordships' table.

The Earl of RIPON said, that having been alluded to by his noble friend as the author of the former corn bill of 1815, his sentiments, as expressed on that occasion, had been inaccurately described by his noble friend, and having supported the present law, when it was introduced by the noble duke opposite in 1828, their lordships would not be surprised at his anxiety to take the earliest opportunity to express his opinion respecting the resolutions which his noble friend had proposed for their lordships' consideration and adoption upon a question of such importance, and his noble friend had in no degree overrated its importance: he felt it his duty, as one of those connected with the government, to take the first opportunity, distinctly and unequivocally, to declare their sentiments upon this subject, and the course which it was their intention to pursue. (Hear, hear,) Before however he would proceed to the consideration of the resolutions which his noble friend had proposed—before he would point out the danger of entertaining them, and state grounds to show that it would be utterly impossible for their lordships to pass such resolutions, he felt it necessary to advert to a portion of the speech of his noble friend, which he had heard with no ordinary pain. His noble friend had told them that he felt that he was addressing an assembly that could not adequately appreciate the conflicting interests involved in this question.

Earl FITZWILLIAM said, that his noble friend mistook him. He certainly did not say so. What he had said was, that he feared he was addressing an assembly which, without any fault on its part, did not as fully appreciate the manufacturing and agricultural interests as the persons more immediately connected with them.

The Earl of RIPON said that the words which his noble friend had just mentioned were precisely those which he had used, and he would put it to their lordships whether they did not bear the interpretation

which he had put upon them? (Hear.) He had heard the declaration of his noble friend with considerable pain, the more especially, as in discussions upon this question the constant effort had been to set one interest against another. (Hear, hear.) If they were an assembly, as his noble friend had described them, that did not properly appreciate the conflicting interests engaged in and mixed up with this important question, and he was confirmed in his interpretation of his noble friend's statement, on referring to his language, when he told them that he would have adopted a different course if he had to address the other House of Parliament, (hear, hear,)—if such was their character, they were not fit to entertain this question at all. He had heard his noble friend's remarks on that subject with very great pain they were too much in accordance with sentiments which some persons out of doors were ready to employ, to which it was most dangerous that any thing like an authorized currency should be given, and to which, if his noble friend's sanction should be afforded (and he was sure his noble friend would not upon reflection give his sanction to them), the dissemination of such pernicious opinions would render it impossible for that House adequately to discharge its functions to the state. (Cheers.) His noble friend had totally failed in establishing any one of the propositions which he had proposed for their lordships' adoption. His noble friend had said that they deceived themselves greatly if they imagined that this question was settled. Was there any great question of public expediency which, taking into account the fluctuations of times and circumstances, could, in the eyes of a statesman, ever be regarded as settled? All that a statesman had to do was to seek for some sound principle, and to trust to the sense of the people, and to the benignant dispensations of Providence, for the success of the experiment. He should be glad to know what sort of settlement his noble friend proposed. If his noble friend's resolutions should be carried, he proposed no plan in them for the settlement of this question. It was impossible from his noble friend's speech to guess what system he would propose to substitute for the law which he called on their lordships to abolish. He told them, indeed, that this question never would be settled until it was settled on the basis of free trade. He (the Earl of Ripon) had thought a great deal on the subject of free trade, he had read a great deal about it, and he had conversed with many on the subject; but he had never found any one who could explain his idea of what he meant by free trade. Did his noble friend mean by free trade no duty at all? ("No," from Earl Fitzwilliam.) Then, after all, upon his own showing his noble friend was not really for a free trade (hear, hear), he was for a duty either to regulate or to raise the price of corn. (Hear, hear.) His noble friend told them certainly that they could not regulate the price of corn, though he (the Earl of Ripon) thought they could, but at all events his duty must be to raise the price of corn. His noble friend told them that if the price of corn should rise to 90s. the people of this country would rise against the present law. His noble friend forgot that if corn should rise so high in price the present duty would altogether cease, and foreign corn would be imported free of duty.

(Hear, hear.) But that would not be the case if a fixed duty should be imposed, and it was plain that his noble friend was for the imposition of such a species of duty. All the arguments which his noble friend had employed against the present duty would apply with tenfold force to a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) His objection to the resolutions proposed by his noble friend was first of all on account of the time and circumstances when they were brought forward. He next objected to them because, as it appeared to him, they involved a gross fallacy in the statement with which they set out. He further objected to them on account of the inferences which they drew, and the conclusions to which they came; and finally he objected to them because they proposed to pull down the whole existing structure of the corn laws, and to build up nothing in its place. Perhaps he, and those who thought with him on this subject, might be called heartless and rapacious tyrants, oppressors of the people, and enemies to their welfare. He denied the justice of any such accusation. In taking the view which he had done of this question, he was swayed by no mean, he was influenced by no party motives. (Hear, hear.) He took that course which his judgment pointed out to him as the just and the correct one. He knew that, with respect to this subject, much popular clamour prevailed. Public opinion—true public opinion—he respected, he would give to it his best attention; but popular clamour he would resist so long as he had the power of doing so. (Hear, hear) His sentiments, and the sentiments of those who held the same opinions with himself, might be liable to misrepresentation, but he was well assured that no misrepresentation, that no calumny, that no attempt to hold their lordships up to public execration, would ever induce them to swerve from the line of duty (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of WINCHELSEA would not have addressed their lordships on this occasion, had it not been for an observation which had fallen from the noble earl who opened the debate. That noble earl seemed to think that due attention was not paid in that house to questions relating to commerce and agriculture: this unquestionably, was not the fact. Due attention was paid to those subjects. He should oppose the resolutions of the noble earl, because they were calculated not to benefit the country, but to inflict mischief on it. It should be observed, that four-fifths of the manufactures of this country were consumed by the agriculturists; and in proportion as that interest was impoverished, in the same proportion would the manufacturing interest be injured.

The Earl of WICKLOW said it was quite clear that the plan upon which the noble earl wished to proceed would throw a considerable quantity of land out of cultivation, and would consequently deprive a certain number of the population of employment. What new channels were to be opened for the employment of that population, or what channels of industry were now overflowing, had not been hinted at, much less pointed out. He thought that too much dependence had been placed on the idle assumption of political economists, that so soon as one source of employment was dried up, another would immediately be found. He thought that the whole

system upon which these theorists proceeded went to this point—namely, to render this country, instead of being, as it now was, independent, absolutely subservient to other nations for the great article of subsistence. What effect would a measure founded on the principles laid down by the noble earl produce with respect to Ireland? Ireland was to this country in a great measure what Sicily was to the Roman empire—an inexhaustible granary. Now, if the system recommended by the noble lord were adopted, what would be its effects on this country and on Ireland? A vast quantity of English manufactures were consumed in Ireland, and for these she could only pay by the produce of the soil. Contract the market for that, and in the same ratio the call for British manufactures must be reduced. By adopting such a course, they would drive the country into a state of barbarity; but by giving due encouragement to agriculture, they encouraged industry, and gave employment to the manufacturers of Great Britain.

Earl FITZWILLIAM, in reply, briefly maintained his original argument.

The resolutions were then put *seriatim*, and negatived without a division.

It will be seen from this, that there is no hope of any alteration in the Corn Laws passing the House of Lords: Mr. Whitmore's motion on the subject will try the sincerity of the House of Commons: but so long as the Members of these two Houses are chiefly composed of gentlemen of large landed property, whose chief desire it is to maintain high rents, for which high prices of corn are indispensable—we fear there is no rational ground of hope that they will generally sacrifice any portion of their own interests to promote those of the community at large.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 14.

The House met at four o'clock, to ballot for three Election Committees, and 280 members were present at the opening. The balloting occupied nearly two hours. The gallery was then opened: and the rush into it of strangers, who had secured admissions to hear the debate, was tremendous; several persons being thrown down by the eagerness of those who pushed on to secure the front seats. Among the persons present, were observed many Dissenting Ministers, and Members of the Society of Friends.

After the Private Bills had been gone through, it was agreed that an hour should be allowed for the presentation of petitions relating to Slavery only: and with the understanding that each Member presenting them, should confine himself strictly to a mere mention of the name of the place from whence the petition came, and whether it prayed for the gradual or immediate abolition of Slavery. This being settled by common consent, the presentation began, in the order

of the names entered on the Public List: and never, perhaps, on any occasion, was the utter inutility of petitioning more forcibly shown, than in this. One Member began; and in answer to his name, merely said, "Fifty-two petitions, Sir, from various places in Surrey, for the immediate abolition of Slavery." To which the Speaker answered, "Please to bring them up." They were accordingly taken, in one large heap, laid on the table without being even untied, and from thence thrust without opening or examination, into the large bags provided for their conveyance to the cellars. Another and another followed in the same way: some, who had a few only, named the places or congregations from whence they came; but by far the greater number who had many, presented them in a heap in the way described: and when any member, ministerial or otherwise, added one word beyond the bare name of the place and object, he was assailed with cries of "Oh! oh! oh!" till he desisted.

A very great number of the petitions were signed exclusively by females; and although one would have supposed that in an assembly of well-bred and well-educated gentlemen, such a circumstance would have entitled the petitions to additional respect: yet, in every instance, the mere announcement of a female petition was received with sneers, sarcasms, laughter, and jests! If the Members so conducting themselves, had mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters, it is difficult to conceive that they would not rejoice at finding them interesting themselves, and using the influence of their sex, on behalf of the oppressed negro. And yet, to the disgrace of the offenders be it said, that a large majority of those present, indulged in those unworthy expressions of ridicule, which proved how little they had learnt to appreciate truly the virtues of the female character, and how unworthy they are to participate in the gratification of female society.

Mr. BUXTON, whose name was last on the list, rose to present upwards of 300 petitions for the *immediate* abolition of Slavery: and he began to enumerate the places from whence they came; but was soon obliged to desist, and merely add, "from various and sundry places."

There was one, however, to which, from its magnitude and importance, he felt it his duty more particularly to advert, namely a petition from the Ladies of England, for the *immediate* abolition of Slavery; which, though not even in contemplation ten days ago, had received, on sheets sent from various parts of the country, no less than 187,250 signatures, exclusively from female hands. This statement, which to us, has something awful and imposing in its bare announcement—that 187,250 English women should take so deep an interest in breaking the chains of those who have been so long oppressed, was received, like all the former ones, with peals of laughter! By the aid of several gentlemen who assisted Mr. Buxton, this immense record of female sympathy—a volume that in a purer and better state of society, would have been treasured up in the archives of the kingdom, as a monument of female worth, which matrons and children, might advantageously consult through ages yet unborn, and which every descendant of the African race might hereafter regard with a veneration.

tion almost bordering upon religious—was brought into the House amid the jeers and scoffs of those whose ideas and whose feelings could rise no higher than a joke, and whose perverted taste made that a subject of laughter, which should have been one of grave and earnest admiration. That we may not be supposed to overcharge the picture, we give the following short paragraph from the report in the Morning Papers of the following day, as very faintly expressive of what actually took place.

‘Much *merriment* was occasioned by the SPEAKER directing in the usual manner that the petition should lie upon the table. After lying there for a few minutes, it was *dragged out* of the House, (by being hauled along the dusty and unmatted floor) by two messengers, amidst loud cries of “oh! oh! oh!”

It should be explained, that this sound is a species of *continuous groaning*, rather than one of distinct exclamations; and that this groaning is now the common manner of expressing contempt or disapprobation, in that *honorable* House, who are implored, in every petition, to take such steps, as *in its wisdom* it may see fit, to remedy the grievances complained of, and to devise the appropriate remedies.

It was about seven o'clock, when Mr. STANLEY rose to make his statement to the House, explanatory of the Government plan for gradually extinguishing Slavery in the colonies. By that time, there were probably 500 Members in the House; and silence and order being at length restored, he proceeded to explain the Ministerial views. His tone was altogether supplicatory and subdued, and formed the most perfect contrast to his introduction of the Irish Coercion Bill. In the latter, anger, fierceness, and implacable determination were predominant:—in the former, mildness, submission, dread of wounding any party, great deference to public opinion, extreme willingness to compromise and calm conflicting interests, were the leading traits of thought and action. The whole speech occupied three hours and a half in the delivery; and was addressed rather to those who sat behind the ministerial benches, as endeavouring to reconcile them to the graduality and moderation of the measure, than to the opposite side of the House, where the West Indians and Tories, as one section, and the Immediate-Emancipationists and Liberals, as another section, could hardly be expected to be propitiated by a plan, which seemed diametrically opposed to the views of either. The party which Mr. Stanley was most anxious to carry with him, were, the Whigs of the old school, who deem the upholding of their party, the greatest object of importance—the Ministerialists of the new school, who fancy England can never get another Government, if the present Ministry go out—and the Subservients of both schools, who follow authority, whichever way it leads, and who have no higher a conception of public duty than to support the powers that be, and take shelter under the ample robe of a large majority. In this, we fear he was but too successful. But, as the premises laid down in his Speech were such as any *immediate* Emancipationists might have cordially adopted, though his conclusions fell far short of what these premises warranted, we shall make a selection of some of the

more striking portions of it, and let our readers form their own judgments on it as they go along. They prove to us, that Slavery has inherent evils, which can only be cured by the entire extinction of Slavery itself—that all attempts at gradual improvement and amelioration have hitherto failed, and must always meet the same fate:—and that therefore the only remedy for such evils, is not gradual but *immediate* abolition. We give the principal portions of Mr STANLEY'S facts and arrangements, and it will be seen whether even *he* does not prove this beyond all contradiction.

Mr. STANLEY then proceeded to address the committee, and commenced by expressing his confidence that the committee would not fail to extend to him a large share of kindness when they reflected that, after having been for only a short period, in the office which he had the honour to fill, it devolved upon him, in the discharge of his official duty, to bring under the consideration of Parliament a question of unparalleled magnitude and importance, involving greater interest perhaps than any question which had for many years been submitted to the legislature. This question also was surrounded with difficulties of a peculiar nature, owing to the time at which it was brought forward. In the safe and satisfactory solution of the question were involved not only a maritime commerce amounting to 250,000 tons of shipping annually, and a revenue of between 5,000,000*l.* & 6,000,000*l.*—not only the interests of a vast body of proprietors resident in the colonies and this country, whose very existence depend upon the issue of the question, but also the temporal interests of between 700,000 and 800,000 of our fellow-subjects, and of their descendants throughout generations yet unborn. This was not all,—it was impossible not to perceive the influence which the successful or unsuccessful issue of the mighty experiment now about to be tried must have upon millions of foreign subjects. Those were difficulties enough to appal any man who ventured to bring the subject forward. In the situation in which he was placed, all that he could do was to consider what course he could pursue which would achieve the most good at the smallest risk of evil. The government was placed between two conflicting parties, one having a deep pecuniary interest in the question, intimately acquainted with the subject, connected with the colonies by social ties, and at present labouring under embarrassments which rendered them doubly jealous of any measure which might affect their interests. On the other hand, a universal and extended expression of feeling pervaded the country, and there never was a time when the determination of the people was more absolutely or irresistibly expressed, because it was founded on that deep religious feeling, on that solemn conviction of principle, which admitted of no palliative or compromise, and which pronounced itself in a voice to which no minister could be deaf. The time had gone by when Parliament could decide the question whether slavery should or should not be perpetual; the question now to be decided was, what was the safest, the speediest, and most effectual mode of procuring its final and entire abolition. They were mistaken who thought that the deep feeling of the necessity of the utter extinction of slavery was a

feeling of yesterday, that it was a momentary enthusiasm, which if opposed would die away; it was the same spirit which fifty years ago pressed upon Parliament, and compelled it, in spite of alleged national interests, and in defiance of all the arguments that could be urged in favour of commercial and prudential considerations, to decree the abolition of the trade which supplied negroes from the coast of Africa.

If any body would take the trouble to look back to the language of the great men who laboured so successfully to effect the abolition of the slave trade, they would find that though that question was then separated from that of the abolition of slavery, the former was considered only as the preliminary step to the latter. Perhaps he might be forgiven if he called the attention of the house particularly to the language of those distinguished men who in former days, to use the words of Mr. Canning, 'attacked only the outworks of the great fortress, yet undoubtedly looked forward with a certain conviction in their minds, that the destruction of those outworks would lead to the fall of the citadel itself.' In 1792, Mr. Burke published his celebrated letter to Mr. Dundas, in which he exhibited a plan which he called a negro code, and which he apologized for not having exhibited to the public twelve years before. That letter contained this passage—'I conceive that we should not look for the origin of the trade to the place in which it began, but to the place of its final destination. I therefore was and still am of opinion that the whole work ought to be taken up together, and that the gradual abolition of slavery in the West Indies should go hand in hand with any thing which may be done with respect to the supply of negroes from the coast of Africa.' Mr. Burke's code embraced the abolition of the trade and provisions for the final extinction of slavery in the colonies. In the debates of 1806 and 1807, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, and Lord Grenville, though they disconnected the questions of the abolition of the trade, and the extinction of slavery, evidently looked forward confidently to a future period, when the latter object would be effected. Mr. Fox said 'the abolition of the slave trade will lead to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies.' Mr. Wyndham said 'that he wished for nothing more at present than the abolition of the slave trade, but he did not hesitate to say that when the proper period arrived, and the consent of other powers could be obtained for its abolition, slavery itself ought not to be suffered to exist amongst the institutions of any civilized state.' Lord Grenville, on bringing forward his motion in 1807, said, 'that the first step from slavery to freedom was effected by the slaves becoming prædial or attached to the land, and that from thence they ascended to liberty. I look forward to the period when the negroes of the West Indies, becoming labourers, will feel an interest in the welfare and prosperity of the country to which they are indebted for protection, and will be called on to share largely in defence of the islands in which they reside.' He had read these extracts in order to show to the house that the feeling which now pervaded the country was of no temporary description, and that the imperative cry for the abolition of slavery was founded on a deep and settled conviction that it was consistent with religion, justice, and also with sound policy,

that this disgrace should not be suffered to remain part of our national system. Parliament had frequently confirmed the principle of the abolition of slavery.

In 1823, Mr. Canning proposed his memorable resolutions, as an amendment on the motion of Mr. Buxton, which motion was, to all intents and purposes, similar in scope and principle to that which ministers were then about to submit to the consideration of Parliament. Those resolutions received the unanimous support of that house, and they declared that Parliament looked confidently forward, through the local legislatures adopting efficient measures of legislation, to the final termination of the system of colonial slavery too long in existence. They had more than eleven years' experience of the effect upon the colonial legislatures of that emphatic expression of the wishes and voice of Parliament and the mother country, conveyed in the tone of friendly admonition, and strengthened by the voice of authority, and what was the result? The colonial legislatures were deaf to the voice of friendly expostulation; they seemed to set at defiance the voice of authority. They had, doubtless, in some instances, adopted regulations since 1823, calculated to ameliorate the physical condition of the slave, but it was vain to look to any of their enactments which on the face of it proposed to itself the termination of the system of negro slavery.

The resolutions of 1823 were followed up by an order in council in 1824, which, in addition to these intentions of the legislature, added the establishment of a protector of slaves, specified the right of the negroes to possess property under certain conditions, and to demand his manumission upon certain terms, pecuniary and of police, even against the will of his master. How, then, were these resolutions and suggestions of Parliament in 1823, backed by the imperative command of an order in council, in 1824, received by the colonial legislatures? Not a colony, without a single exception, but scornfully rejected them (hear, hear); not one colony but disdainfully refused to obey the suggestions and determination of Parliament and the mother country. (Hear.) Well, matters thus remained,—that is, the colonial legislatures persisted in setting the voice of Parliament at defiance, till 1826, when Mr. Canning, the subject having been again brought under their consideration, expressed on the occasion his deep regret, and the deepest anxiety, and he (Mr. Stanley) would add the deepest indignation, at the remissness of the colonial legislatures, in adopting the resolutions of 1823, and acting upon the order of council in 1824. Mr. Canning, however, did not adopt a harsh tone, though far from being satisfied with the result of the measures of 1823 and 1824. He did not call upon Parliament to immediately adopt such measures as would bring the “contumacious opposition” of the colonial legislatures to the test, but thought that “respite”—more time, ought to be extended to them for reconsidering their proceedings; and as a “test of their sincerity” to carry the determinations of Parliament into effect, he proposed that certain draughts of bills should be sent out to them for their adoption. This respite Mr. Can-

ning proposed avowedly as a "test of the sincerity" of the colonial legislatures, previous to calling upon Parliament for its effective aid towards punishing its "contumacious opposition." Mr. Canning never for a moment questioned the right of Parliament to thus effectively interfering with the colonies; but merely considered that right as an *arcanum imperii*,—a constitutional sanctuary, that should only be brought under the public eye in extreme cases. Parliament acted upon Mr. Canning's suggestions, and accordingly eight bills were sent to the colonies to be there legislatively and executively carried into effect, as so many means to the great end which the mother country had so much at heart—the final termination of the entire system of colonial slavery. What was the result? Not a single colony condescended to adopt a single bill out of the entire eight (hear, hear); and the colonial legislatures raised their voices in lofty indignation at our interference in what they declared to be their exclusive business and concern. This took place in 1826; he was then addressing Parliament in 1833; and up to that hour neither the voice of friendly expostulation nor of authority had produced the least alteration in the contumacious conduct of the colonial legislatures—not a single step had been taken by any of them with a view to the extinction of negro slavery. (Hear, hear.)

The order in council explicitly laid it down that no slave should receive more than a certain amount of corporal punishment (39 lashes) in one day: that female bodily punishment should be abolished altogether, and that a registry of all punishments, crimes, &c., should be kept by the master and overseer, to be submitted to the protector of slaves, who was then to make his report to the Colonial Secretary. How were these recommendations acted upon by the colonial legislatures? Here, at least, was a definite and tangible test of their sincerity. Here were recommendations, one of which especially came recommended by every principle and feeling dear to human nature; so that if there existed, on their part, the slightest disposition to co-operate with Parliament in the amelioration of the condition of the negro, here was a graceful opportunity. If there was any one recommendation which appealed more than another to the manhood, the humanity, the honour of Colonial Legislators, it surely was that of the abolition of the corporal punishment of female slaves. (Hear, hear.) It was with a spirit, God knew, not of bitterness, but of deep regret and sorrow, that he had to state that up to that very hour not a single colony had abolished the practice of the corporal punishment of female slaves. (Loud cries of "Hear.") In some of them, it was true, certain restrictions had been imposed, but in those very restrictions the principle of the right and justice of the punishment was distinctly recognized; and in others, where some regulations respecting the decency of the sex were adopted, the practice was unequivocally maintained. Talk of improving the social habits of the negro as a means and essential condition of his political improvement,—talk of developing and culturing his moral faculties, in the face of this monstrous abomination (cheers),—talk of inducing a habit of respect and reverence for the laws, of teaching him to behold in his white master a

guardian, a moral guide, an intellectual instructor, while his wife, daughter, or sister, was at the mere mercy, the wanton caprice, of some overseer, who might any moment inflict on that wife, daughter, or sister, degrading bodily punishment on her bare person (continued cheers),—talk, he repeated, of their improving the negro as a moral being and a subject of the laws, while they themselves perpetrated a practice, the test of barbarism, of fierce brutal savagery—that test which separated the civilized man from the barbarian—the inhuman treatment of women! (Great cheering.) How could a negro with such degrading and demoralizing facts staring him in the face improve as a moral being and a member of political society? (Hear, hear.) The supposition was a mockery—a cruel insult. (Cheers.)

The order in council prescribed that the evidence of slaves should in all cases be admissible in courts of justice, care being taken, as in the case of infants and persons of imperfect intellect and education, that the negro (a full-grown infant to all practical intents) should be thoroughly examined, and proved to understand the obligation of an oath and the effects of his evidence, the onus of disproving his competency being thrown on the party against whom he sought redress. How was this just and wholesome rule followed by the colonial legislatures? In but two of them (as we understood the Right Hon. Gentleman) was slave evidence admissible at all, and in none against his master or against a white. (Hear,) Even against a fellow-slave a certificate of a magistrate or a clergyman, according to circumstances, was necessary to his being permitted to give evidence. He had stated that a slave could not give evidence under any circumstances against his master (loud cries of "Hear,") nor in any capital case against a white man. (Hear.) Now, in the name of common justice and our common nature, how could it be justified that evidence might be given which would bring a negro to the scaffold, and yet refused against a white man even in a civil case? Either the evidence in the former case was valid, or it was not. If it was, why should the white master be beyond its reach; if it was not, why should the fellow-slave be its victim? He had stated that, as a general proposition, no slave evidence could tell against a white man. There was an exception, which, however, but strengthened the rule—a negro's evidence would be received against a white in any case in which a white might be alleged to co-operate as an accomplice with a black in any resistance of a master's oppression; but in no other case save one, involving an attack upon another white, was a slave's evidence admissible. And this again, was justice, and teaching the slave to reverence the law and to revere the white man as a moral guide. (Cheers.) The negro was taught, and painfully made to feel, that though his evidence might hang a brother slave, it could not affect a white man's property to the extent of a shilling, and yet he was discontented with the tender mercies of his white protector? After reading some details of West India distress, as gathered from Reports as far back as the last century, he said,

It was not his intention to have gone into this part of the question, but he was led to notice it in consequence of the assertion, which was

so frequently made, that the distress of the planters was the fruit of agitation alone, and not the necessary result of the state of slavery, and the system of cultivation, he would not say adopted willingly by the present proprietors, but forced upon them by circumstances. But supposing that agitation were the cause and only cause of the present distress among the West Indian proprietors, he turned round again and asked "where is your remedy?" It was very well to say "we will exclude from the island all knowledge of what passes elsewhere," but he would tell them that they could not do that. (Hear, hear.) They could not prevent the voice of the country being heard within the walls of that House; they could not prevent the debates within those walls from being read throughout the country; they could not prevent the report of those debates spreading far and wide; they could not prevent the knowledge of what was going on in this country from reaching the colonies themselves, and from penetrating into the minds of the slaves, aggravated by the incautious comments and language which they found applied to those debates. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, they wished to stop this agitation, and put an end to this danger, their only course was to advance. (Cheers.) They must remove the cause of agitation and of complaint, the voice of which was now heard, and would continue to be heard as long as the House of Commons did not, in accordance with the wishes of the country, take decided and effectual measures for declaring that the system of slavery should cease. (Cheers.) If he should be told that the course he was taking was unsafe, and that, indeed, there was no course he could pursue which was not full of danger to the colonies and this country, he would reply, that of all the dangerous plans that could be adopted, the most likely to entail ruin and destruction on the colonies and the mother country was the system, now happily impracticable, of standing still at the present juncture, instead of at once acting fearlessly and decidedly. (Cheers.) This was not the only case in which the best mode of avoiding difficulties was boldly to face and grapple with them, and in which a timid attempt to shrink from the danger they were afraid to meet, and appalled to look at, only aggravated the reality of that danger, and rendered it impossible for them successfully to cope with it. (Cheers.)

Various objections had been raised against any precipitate and hasty measure; indeed, against the taking of any steps for the conversion of the slave population into a population of freemen. In the first place, it was said that the effect of any such measure would be greatly to diminish the amount of production, and to render the cultivation of sugar impracticable. The colonies would consequently be thrown up, and the planters involved in absolute ruin. Now, as far as the amount of the production of sugar was concerned, he was not certain that it would not be for the benefit of the planters and the colonies, in the end, if that production were in some degree diminished. But the question for the members of that House to consider was, whether, looking at the statements which he should have the honour to lay before them—and he should state facts and figures which could not be denied—they would encourage and support a system by which this

extent and amount of production was kept up. He would cautiously abstain, as far as the nature of the case allowed—at least such was his intention—from using any irritating expressions, or of availing himself of any popular topic of declamation, his object being to have this question deliberately and calmly discussed, rather than to excite the passions and feelings of the House by statements of individual cases, which would prejudice the general question, and only tend to an acrimonious discussion; and he trusted that every gentleman who followed him in the debate would so far do justice to the subject under consideration as to abstain from quoting individual cases. (Hear, hear.) But it was his duty to lay before the House papers with respect to the production of sugar, the labour exacted to produce it, and its effect on the population, which he believed would produce such a strong impression as to induce the House to believe that the time was now come when, for the sake of humanity alone, they ought to step in for the purpose of limiting and regulating the extent to which the slave was at present called on to labour. (Hear, hear.) He held in his hand a comparative statement, with reference to six West India colonies, showing the decrease or increase of the slave population, and the amount of the production of sugar within those islands during the same period.

The account was extracted from an official statement in the *Triennial Registry*, and was, therefore, open to no objection on the score of inaccuracy. Allowance was made in it for every importation and exportation, and for every manumission; it gave the apparent, and also the real increase and decrease, during three periods of three years—namely, from June 1823 to June 1826; from June 1826 to June 1829; and from June 1829 to June 1832; and likewise the average amount of the slave population, and of the production of sugar during the same periods. He ought, however, to state, that with respect to the last period, all the returns had not yet been made. He found by this document that, with two exceptions, and even they bore out the statement,—in all those islands there had been a gradual increase in the production of sugar, and a corresponding gradual decrease in the amount of the labouring population. (Hear, hear.) In the island of Jamaica the average quantity of sugar annually exported was, for the first period, 1,354,448 cwts.; for the second, 1,389,576 cwts.; and for the third, 1,410,626 cwts. The number of the slave population was, during the first period, 334,393, and during the second, 327,464. The return of the number in the third period had not yet been completed. The island of Demerara afforded a frightful proof of the destructive effects which the amount of labour compelled from the slaves had on the population. In that island the quantity of sugar exported during the three periods was, respectively, 652,336 cwts., 662,655 cwts., and 806,120 cwts.; while the slave population had constantly decreased during the same periods. In the first, the number was 72,722; in the second, 71,005; and in the third only 67,741. (Hear, hear.) Thus, in the last period, 67,741 slaves produced 806,120 cwts. of sugar, while in the first, 72,722 slaves were required to produce 652,336 cwts. (Hear.) In Barbice the slave population

amounted in the first period to 22,074, in the second to 21,246, and in the third it had decreased to 20,831; while the exportation of sugar during the corresponding periods amounted to 58,655 cwts., 64,230 cwts., and 94,312 cwts., showing a frightful increase in the production compared with the amount of the population. (Hear, hear.) The account with respect to St. Lucia showed a similar result. The number of the population during the first period was 13,909; during the second, 13,860; and during the third, 13,687; while the amount of sugar exported was, during the first period, 77,976 cwts.; during the second, 87,410 cwts.; and during the third, 88,778 cwts. In these four islands, therefore, the amount of the negro population had fallen, while the amount of production had gone on continually increasing. (Hear, hear.) He had mentioned that there were two exceptions, and these were the islands of Trinidad and Barbadoes. In the former there had been a trifling increase in the population as well as in the amount of production; but it must be taken into consideration that there was a great influx of free labourers into this island from the Spanish main. With respect to Barbadoes, the amount of sugar exported during the first period was 320,795 cwt., and during the second 299,456 cwt., while the population was during the same periods respectively 79,848, and 81,347. He therefore conceived that he had proved as plainly as could be done by figures, that whenever there was a forced increase in the production of sugar, whether occasioned by the distress of the planters, or by any other cause, it was necessarily attended by a sacrifice of human life, and a diminution of the slave population. (Hear, hear.)

He could not help reading another statement with respect to Demerara, which placed in a more striking view the frightful effect which this forced increase in the production had on human life. The statement to which he alluded pointed out the age, quality and strength of the slaves, on whom this great mortality had fallen. He might perhaps be told that the decrease which had taken place in the slave population was the not yet-recovered-from effect of the stoppage of the slave-trade. But he found in this document that there was a decrease in the number of children under 10 years of age, which could only be accounted for in one way—the encreased labour and diminished productiveness of the parents. As compared with 1817, there was a decrease in the number of slaves under the age of 40, of 23,644; and between the ages of 30 and 40, the time at which labour was most severe, the present population, as compared with its amount in the same year, had experienced a diminution of 11,653; while, on the other hand, an increase had taken place in the number of the slaves, who had passed that age, and were considered unequal to any great labour. He did not think that he need add anything to this statement (hear, hear,) but if it were necessary for him to do so, he could refer to returns, which had been carefully examined, and which shewed the decrease of population on cattle farms to be 2 per cent, among unattached slaves $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on coffee farms 3 1-10 per cent; and on sugar plantations $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (Hear, hear.) On cotton plantations there had been no decrease, but an encrease of 1 6-10 per cent. He had now shown that increased production was accompanied

by decreased population : that the decrease of population fell heaviest on those classes from whom the severest labour was exacted ; and he had now only to show the mode in which this labour was exacted by the increased severity ; the recorded punishments in Demerara were 17,359, the number of slaves being 60,599. In 1830 the number of slaves had decreased to 59,547, while the number of punishments had increased to 18,324, and the number of lashes inflicted in that year was no less than 194,744. In 1831 the population had still further decreased to 58,404, but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes amounted to 199,507. (Hear, hear.) Now, let the House bear in mind that this was the official record of punishment, not including the punishment inflicted by judicial authority, or on reference to magistrates, because there existed no return of this latter sort, but inflicted in one of the Crown colonies, under the improved system, and under the check of the record. (Hear, hear.) It was a return given by the masters of the slaves themselves, of the extent of despotic and irresponsible punishment inflicted by their own authority, amounting in one to almost 200,000 lashes. (Hear, hear.) Without desiring to impute any cruelty to the planters, he called on the House to consider what must be the amount of unrecorded punishment in colonies where the same protection was not afforded the slave as in this comparatively free colony of Demerara, and what the extent of unredressed injustice, and of bitter oppression ; and he was sure that the House would not refuse to interfere, and to interpose its supreme authority between the oppression of the slaves and what Mr. Canning called "the abstract love of the cart-whip." (Hear, hear.)

They were told that it would be impossible, under any other system, to render the slaves industrious ; thus, all their legislation proceeded on a mistaken notion ; that they knew not the condition of the colonies, and that they were absolutely ignorant of what those gentlemen pleased to call the "negro character." He conscientiously believed that any man who chose to take the pains of informing himself on the subject might form a better and clearer idea, because a more unprejudiced one, of the "negro character" than those men who had passed their lives in the West Indies. (Hear, hear.) The latter individuals made this palpable mistake ; they attributed to the character of the negro those faults which necessarily resulted from the moral degradation of slavery. (Cheers.) He believed that it might be proved, that the negro, under proper inducements, would be found neither less inclined to be industrious or to accumulate property than those whose lot it was to wear a fairer skin. (Hear, hear.) But they were told, with an air of triumph, to look at the manumitted negro ; and they were asked to point out, if they could, twenty instances of manumitted slaves engaged in field labour. In reply to this objection, he would ask another question ; and he called upon these objectors to produce him twenty instances of field labourers who had been manumitted. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that the manumitted slaves mostly belonged to one class, and that not the class of field labourers. Within a period of ten years, commencing in 1817, there had been

14,163 slaves manumitted, and hardly an instance could be produced of a field negro among the number. (Hear, hear.) Two-thirds, if not three-fourths, were females,—a fact which spoke for itself; for it was not difficult to understand to what class of females they belonged, and what inducement the planters had to liberate them as well as their children. (Hear, hear.) If it could be proved that manumissions occurred only among domestic slaves, mechanics, and tradesmen, it was not extraordinary that no case could be discovered of their applying themselves immediately on their manumission to the more degrading and fatiguing occupation of field labour. (Hear.) The facts of the case, then, destroyed the inference which was sought to be drawn from it. (Hear, hear.) If an instance was shown of a manumitted field slave who would not work, he would then admit that a *prima facie* case was made out by those who asserted the incapacity of the negro for freedom; but if this argument was good for anything—if it was to be considered conclusive, it was an argument against the abolition of slavery within any definite period—not merely within the next ten years, but within the next hundred years. (Cheers.)

It was said that the slaves were at present unfit for freedom, because they had no domestic ties, and no habits of industry; and that they would be utterly ruined if thrown on the world to act for themselves. Continue them, then, it was said, in a state of slavery until they were fit for liberty. His answer was, that they would be kept in a state of unfitness; that they would be debarred from acquiring industrious habits and the ties of family; and they would be told that they must on those accounts remain in a state of slavery. (Hear, hear.) It was also said that they were unfitted for a participation in the blessings of liberty because they had no education, no religious feelings, but were ignorant and brutal. If this charge was just, on whom did the guilt fall? (Hear, hear.) Who was to blame that the negro was still ignorant, if so he was, and that he lacked industrious habits? Was it not those who regarded him from the childhood to the grave, and from generation to generation, as a mere labouring animal, who took no pains to cultivate his mind and raise his moral feelings; nay, more (and he spoke it to the shame of a Christian age and a professedly Christian country), who were permitted to deprive the negro of the means of religious instruction, because they feared it was incompatible with the maintenance of a state of slavery. (Hear, hear.) But assuming that religious instruction was inconsistent with the continuance of slavery, would that house shut out the light of gospel truth, and stifle education on purpose that at all hazards and at all risks the system of slavery might be preserved? (Cheers.)

‘He believed that, from the state of most of the colonies belonging to other countries, they might draw a lesson of deep censure to themselves. In the Catholic colonies the greatest attention had been paid by the priesthood to the religious instruction and educa-

tion of the slave. In some of these colonies it was a regulation that no man should be at liberty to keep a slave unless he could prove that he had taken pains to instruct him in the principles of the Catholic religion. Had any such system prevailed in the English colonies? (Hear, hear.) He had no wish to touch on any point of an irritating nature, nor to refer further to the obstacles which had been put in the way of the spread of religious instruction in the colonies; but this he would say, that that house would ill discharge its duty if it did not put forth its authoritative declaration, that throughout all the possessions of His Majesty the benefit of religious instruction, and the free choice of religious worship, should be left undisputed to all classes of the King's subjects. (Cheers.)

In contradiction of the assertion, that the habits of voluntary industry were denied by nature to the negro, he begged to refer to the evidence given before the committee by Mr. Lovell, himself a man of colour, and originally, he believed, a slave. [The right hon. gentleman here read a short extract from the evidence of Mr. Lovell, to the effect that a number of liberated negroes in Antigua had worked for themselves with great industry, had accumulated some little property, and purchased dwelling-houses.] He would also appeal in support of his argument to the experience of a gallant admiral in that house, who knew, from personal observation, that free labour in Bahama had been attended with a similar good result. Dismissing St. Domingo from his consideration, because he did not think, when the peculiar situation of that island was looked to, arising out of the revolution which occurred in that place, it could be fairly taken into the argument, though he could state that sugar was cultivated to a great extent even there; he would state to the house the only practical example which the world afforded of the emancipation of a slave population effected on a large scale, and with comparatively entire success. Since the plan of government had been before the country, he had had an opportunity of conversing with the Vice-President of Venezuela, who had been a protector of slaves in the Caraccas, on the subject; and he learned from that gentleman that, in 1821, Bolivar having determined on adopting a general system of emancipation, a council was formed of persons of high station, to purchase, according to a tariff of value, the freedom of slaves out of funds raised from a tax on the property of persons dying intestate. They first of all liberated those who had borne arms in the cause of their country, next the aged and decrepit, and afterwards they preferred such as were remarkable for industrious and moral habits. In 1821 there were 100,000 slaves in Venezuela, and at the present moment there were only 25,000. The effect of the manumission, he was told, had been most happy. The freed slaves were industrious, and felt no degradation in associating with those who had not yet regained their liberty; while on the part of those there was no jealousy, because they felt that their hour of freedom was approaching surely, though perhaps slowly. The freed slaves had no reluctance to engage in agricultural employment; and the consequence

was, that the agriculture of the country was increasing in prosperity every day. He was also informed that sugar cane, which before was not cultivated, was now produced in great abundance; and that rum was exported to the neighbouring islands, and to the British possession of Trinidad, and sold in the Trinidad market under the name of the best Jamaica rum. (Cheers.)

Having stated what he conceived to be the circumstances under which the question was now placed—the circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to stand still, and which also made it impossible for us to proceed onwards without incurring some danger, the events which had recently taken place in the colonies, the facts as they stood recorded in their official documents, the repugnance of the colonial legislature to take any effectual measures, and the necessity which existed for Parliament's proceeding cautiously and gradually, but firmly and resolutely, to the complete and final attainment of the one great object which the country had now at heart—he meant the ultimate extinction of colonial slavery—having stated all this, he would now proceed to lay before the Committee the means by which, in his opinion, the great transition from slavery to freedom might be effected with the most certainty and the least danger. He would preface the statement which he was going to make, by observing that the vote to which he should call upon the House to come that evening would not, of necessity, lead any member to acquiesce in all the details of the plan which it would be his duty forthwith to submit to their consideration. Those details would sketch the outline of the proposal which it was now his business to make to the House, but which in its future progress would be susceptible of much modification and amendment. He held, that in a plan of this kind, embracing objects so important and so various, there was an absolute impossibility that any Government could devise a measure which in all its parts should be unexceptionable—which should not be liable to many great and grave objections, and which should not be capable of receiving many amendments from the advocates of the different interests which would be affected by it. He thought that by submitting it to their calm and dispassionate consideration, and by endeavouring to reconcile the conflicting interests and claims to which it was likely to give rise, they would be enabled to accomplish the hallowed object of extinguishing slavery in every country which owed allegiance to the British Crown.

He proposed that every negro should, from that day—or perhaps he ought to have said from the day in which this Act should be passed—be entitled forthwith to claim to be put in such a situation as would entitle him hereafter to claim all the rights and privileges of a freeman—a situation in which he would no longer bear about him any taint of a servile condition—in which he would be released from all dread of irresponsible corporal punishment—in which he would be in the full enjoyment of all his domestic ties and comforts,—in which he would not be compelled to see his nearest and dearest

connexions insulted by the whip, or by the threat of the whip,—in which his evidence would be received in all courts of justice, either for or against his employer, as freely as that of any other of His Majesty's subjects,—in which his right to property, acquired or bequeathed, would be full and undisputed,—in which he would enjoy every privilege of a freeman, subject only to this restriction, that he should be under a contract to labour for a certain time industriously for his present owner, who would then only be his employer. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps it would be as well for him (Mr. Stanley) to meet here the objection "How will you deal with the multitudinous restrictions with which the colonial legislature has fettered the slave?" He would sweep away all those restrictions at once, by declaring the negro a freeman. From the moment he was declared a freeman, the restrictions which applied to him as a slave would cease to apply to him in his capacity of a freeman. The negro, being no longer a slave, would be entitled to contract marriage—his evidence would be indisputable—his right to property would be admitted,—he would be entitled to seek the religious instructor he liked best,—and, in a word, as he (Mr. Stanley) had said before, he would enjoy every privilege of a freeman, upon the condition of consenting to labour for a given time upon a particular soil. He could not believe that if the matter merely stood thus, this proposition could be considered such an infraction on the freedom of labour as would hold out a temptation, even to the sturdiest advocate of unqualified emancipation, to hesitate in giving his assent to the boon of freedom, coupled as it was with these restrictions; for any man of common reflection must see, that under this system slavery must in a few years vanish from the King's dominions. He called upon the House to contrast the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country with the condition in which the negro labourer would be placed under this new system. In England, the agricultural labourer worked hard for a pittance which, God knew, was scanty enough; he was distracted with cares for the subsistence of his wife and family; he laboured diligently and hardly, in order to earn a sum which was barely sufficient to provide him with food and clothing. Now, what was the condition in which the resolutions which he held in his hand would place the negro labourer? He would be made to enter into a contract, by which his master would be bound to give him food, and clothing, and such allowances as were now made to him by law, or to give him in lieu thereof a pecuniary allowance. For this consideration he would be called upon to work for his master three-fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled between them whether that should be for three-fourths of the week or of each day. The remaining fourth of his time he would be at liberty to transfer his labour, if he so thought fit, elsewhere; but if he were inclined to give it to his master, his master would be obliged to find him employment, according to a fixed rate of wages.

Then he had been asked, how was this scale of wages to be fixed? This was undoubtedly a point of some difficulty, as there was no criterion by which to settle it. Refer the question to the planters, and they would say that the rate of wages should be according to the outlay in procuring for them the necessary articles of food and clothing. But that he denied to be a true criterion; and yet you had no free labour to compare slave labour with, or to regulate its prices by. (Ironical cheers.) The noble lord cheered; but he should be obliged to the noble lord to point out to him where free labour existed in our West India colonies, and, when he had pointed it out, to prove its existence. He (Mr. Stanley) was convinced that at present there was not that demand for free labour in any of our slave colonies which could form any certain regulator for the amount of wages which ought to be paid to a free negro. He could devise no better mode than that of compelling the planter to fix a price on the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship, and by enacting that the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of his spare-time, if given to the master, the negro should receive one-twelfth of his price annually. In this way the master and the slave would both act in reference to each other. If the master fixed a high price for his negro, he would have to pay him high wages in proportion to that price. If he fixed a low price, then, upon the payment of that price by any other person, on his behalf, the negro would be positively and absolutely free. The proposal, then, which he had to make to the House was, that the apprenticed labourer should give up to his owner three-fourths of the profits of his labour, in consideration of the food and clothing which he received from him; that he should be at liberty, if he so thought fit, to give one-fourth of his labour elsewhere; but that if he gave it his master, whose interest it would be to receive it, he should receive for it an amount of wages proportional to the price set upon it by his master. The Government had therefore divided the price for his freedom into so many instalments that at the end of twelve years all the price put on the slave by the master would be paid to the master out of the proceeds of the slave's industry. (Hear, hear.) In what condition, then, was it that the planter stood at that moment? He obtained for the next twelve years three-fourths of the labour which he now possessed in the slave from the apprenticed labourer; for the remaining fourth he would, if he employed it, have to pay certain wages. He might not choose to employ it; but then, if such was his determination, he lost the labour of his apprentice; and if nobody else engaged it, he was bound in law to make the loss good.

Under these circumstances, he put it to the House whether it was not strictly in order to allude here to the loss which this alteration would occasion to many of the West India proprietary? Was it fitting, that upon them, and upon them alone, should be thrown the loss accruing from the destruction of a species of property into the legality of which he would not at that moment enter, but of which

he would say, that it had been repeatedly sanctioned by the imperial legislature? It was exceedingly difficult, in the present condition of West India property, to get any safe criterion by which to judge of its value. He knew an instance of an estate which now produced 1,400*l.* a-year, and on which there was a mortgage of a sum between 4,000*l.* and 6,000*l.* Some years ago there was a mortgage of 10,000*l.* upon it, which had been diminished by payments out of the rents of the estate to the sum he had just mentioned. The House would scarcely credit him when he told them that that very estate had recently been sold for a sum which would be covered by the proceeds of the first year from it. He admitted that the insecurity of West India property had had a great and palpable effect upon the exchangeable value of it in the money market, and that when West India property was brought there now, it was at a depreciation truly frightful. Now, let the House look for a moment at the profit derived at present from West India property; and on this point he was speaking from the returns of West India property to the Board of Trade. On examining those returns, the House would find the net profits arising from the sale of sugars. The planters had told the House the cost of raising a hogshead of sugar, the number of hogsheads which they imported annually, and the price of each hogshead, as ascertained by the *Gazette*. Now, from these data it would appear that the net profits arising from the cultivation of sugars was 1,200,000*l.* a-year. The House had not equal data for calculating the net profits upon rum and coffee; but taking them to amount to 250,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* a-year, the total net profits of West India property would amount to 1,500,000*l.* a-year.

Now, His Majesty's ministers proposed to advance to the West India body a loan to the amount of ten years' purchase of this annual profit, or in other words a loan of 15,000,000*l.* It would remain as a question with Parliament in what manner, and upon what condition that loan should be repaid to the country. It would also remain with Parliament to consider whether it would require the repayment of that loan, or would convert it into a gift, according to a plan which it might hereafter become his duty to submit briefly to the House. Parliament might consider that sum equal to one-fourth of the proceeds of the slave's labour, and with that sum and the other three-fourths of his labour, he would at the end of 12 years have received a just compensation for the price of his slave, and for all the expense to which the slave might have put him for food and clothing. It was only right, however, to state, that during that time the planter would have to pay interest upon his loan, and to that amount he might perhaps be considered a loser. Now, he thought that it would not be denied that this remuneration must be borne either by the produce of negro labour or by the revenue of England. It could not be borne by the planters, for that would neither be fair nor just; it must, therefore, be borne by one of the two alternatives to which he had already alluded. Upon one or other of them, beyond all question, the choice of Parliament must rest. There

might be gentlemen who thought that you ought not to take any thing from the profits of the negro so long as he continued a slave. In that opinion he could not concur. He thought that taking a portion of their wages from them now, for the purpose of purchasing their freedom hereafter, would induce them to lay by some part of their earnings afterwards when they became free, would teach them habits of prudence and forethought, and would materially tend to their moral improvement. He thought such a plan much better than saying to them—"You shall work three-fourths of the day for your master, and your master's advantage; but for the remaining fourth, which belongs to you, you may work or not, as you please; for in either case food and clothing will be provided for you."

He believed that he had now stated, in as much detail as was then necessary, the principal features of his plan, with, perhaps, one single exception. That exception was, that it might be necessary to add to the provisions of the Bill that of which the want had rendered all former enactments null and void—he meant, that it might be necessary to give to the executive some discretionary power. It might be necessary to distribute through the chartered colonies what already existed in the Crown colonies,—namely, stipendiary magistrates, appointed by the Crown, uninfluenced by the local assemblies,—free from local passions and prejudices,—who would discharge equal justice to the rich and the poor, the black and the white,—who would watch over and protect the negro in his incipient state of freedom, and who would aid and direct his inexperience in forming a contract which might have so material an effect upon his future life. There was one other object to which he thought that the unprotecting care of this country ought most specially to be extended. He would call upon the House to aid the local legislatures, or even to proceed without the aid of the local legislatures, in establishing in the colonies schools for the religious and moral education of their inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) They were now going to emancipate the old negro upon certain conditions, after the lapse of a certain fixed period of time; but they were also going to emancipate the young negro immediately, and without any conditions. (Hear.) 'From the present moment, then,' continued Mr. Stanley, 'your responsibility begins. Into their minds you must implant wholesome principles as the basis of wholesome habits. You are placing them in the rank of freemen, it is your duty to qualify them for holding that rank honourably, virtuously, and beneficially. You are bound not to throw them upon the world impressed with the idea that the lot of man is labour from his cradle to his grave, and that he must die with no other hope, and with no other consolation than that he has come to the end of a weary and laborious pilgrimage. (Cheers.) You must imbue them with such principles as will insure the performance of their duty here,—as will teach them the necessity of moral restraint to secure their happiness hereafter,—as will instil into them the purest motives of action,—as will fit them for freedom in this world, and as will enable them to

leave it, not as the brutes, who perish without hope of immortality. (Hear, hear.)

I have now gone through the details of the proposition which His Majesty's Government have deemed it their duty to submit to your consideration. I know the difficulties, the almost insurmountable difficulties, which it will have to encounter in carrying it into practice. I know the disadvantages under which I bring it forward at this particular crisis; but I still bring it forward, in the confident hope, that in these resolutions the germ is sown which will soon ripen into perfect fruit, which, when matured by the fostering care and protection of persons wiser and better qualified than myself, will secure to the country, to the colonies, and to all ranks and classes and colour of His Majesty's subjects, that from this day forth there will be a virtual extinction, in the dominions of Britain, of all the horrors of slavery; and that, in no distant period, by no uncertain operation, but by the action of this machinery, every trace which mars the face of freedom will be erased and blotted for ever from our laws and institutions. (Great cheering.) There are those who first started this mighty question, and broached its god-like principles, who have not lived to see the triumph which is reserved for it in these our days. They laboured in their generation strenuously and vigorously for that fulfilment which we are now about to accomplish,—they were satisfied with the foundation which it was their fortune to lay, and they trusted that it would be strong enough to support the glorious superstructure which is now about to be reared upon it. Like the prophets of old, they hailed the day-star from on high, and exulted in that prospect, which they saw through a glass, darkly, and not as we do, face to face. It is not, however, without feelings of the deepest and most heartfelt satisfaction that I recall to your recollection the fact that one man, the most religiously-inspired, the most conscientiously-influenced of all who laboured in the dawn and rising of this great and glorious cause,—Wilberforce (great cheering) still remains to witness the final consummation of that important triumph to which his early energies were devoted, and to exclaim, like the last of the prophets to whom I have before alluded, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace." (Great cheering.) I have now only to offer to the House my humble apology for having detained them so long on this subject. I will conclude, after thanking them once more for the patient attention with which they have listened to me, by expressing my sincere and earnest hope that the counsels of the House, under God's gracious providence, will be so guided and directed, that England may now, a second time, set to the world the bright and glorious example of a commercial nation holding commercial advantages light in the balance when compared with the dictates of humanity, and justice, and religion,—that we may see the extinction of slavery *gradually* and safely, but completely and entirely accomplished, and that by moderation of language, and reconciliation of conflicting opinions, we may be induced to forget

the *extrême wishes* we may have formed on either side, and thus to show the world the proud example of a deliberative assembly vindicating its character for *moderation* and decision in the line which it adopts,—a line which, in my conscience, I believe to be honourable to the nation to which this assembly belongs, and which I consider is the surest pledge of the successful issue of the experiment on which we are now about to enter. (Great cheering.)

It was half-past ten o'clock when Mr. STANLEY concluded his speech, of which we have given the most important parts: and we ask our readers whether he has not made out a case, not for gradual but for immediate emancipation—not for a purchased but for a free redemption,—being our duty towards the unhappy slave. And this, too, we hope, will be the issue to which we shall come at last. But we shall reserve our comments for a future page; and give the speech of Lord HOWICK, the predecessor of Mr. STANLEY in the Secretaryship of the Colonies,—in the truth, soundness, and true statesman-like views of which we cordially and entirely concur.

Lord HOWICK said that, situated as he was, the House would feel how painful it must be to him to be compelled, by an imperative sense of duty, to state an opinion adverse to the plan which had just been unfolded by his Right Hon. Friend. The present was a question of which the importance had not been underrated at either side of the House. It was a question upon which were at issue, not only the honour of the country, but the happiness of millions. The proposed mode of treating it was pregnant with such fatal results, that he must briefly state his reasons for opposing it.

It had been said that the first resolution gave the slave the essentials of freedom; but this was attempting to dupe the House with words. The only distinction between the slave and the freeman was the condition on which he gave his labour, and that being the case, how did his Right Hon. Friend seek to get rid of Slavery? For three-fourths of his time the negro is to be the apprenticed servant of his master, not by his own free choice, but by a contract forced upon him. And what was that contract? That he was to give three-fourths of his time for the food and clothing which he now received. Now, in the evidence taken before the House of Lords, it was stated that the value of the supply furnished to each negro was 45s. a-year. So that the negro, for three-fourths of his time, was to give his labour for one-fifteenth of its value. Was not this a distinct mark of slavery? His labour would not be voluntary, it would be extorted by the fear of punishment. His Right Hon. Friend asked in what respect the apprenticed negro would differ from the labourer in this country? The difference was the greatest in the world,—it was neither more nor less than that one contracted voluntarily, the other compulsorily.

Was the plan intended for the benefit of the slaves or their masters? There would be, no doubt, a dispute upon this point. If for the master, he (Lord Howick) most solemnly protested against any part of the system in respect to the pecuniary interests of the master. Whatever were the claims of the master on this country, he had at least none

on the slave. The slaves, on the contrary, had themselves claims for compensation. (Hear.) But his Right Hon. Friend might deny that he intended this measure for the benefit of the master. He might say he proposed certain parts of the scheme for the benefit of both. If this was the case—if he meant to promote the benefit of the slave as well as that of the master, this should be distinctly shown. But it was difficult to understand how the slave was to be benefitted by giving away so large a portion of his labour. Why not allow him to apply it to his own purposes? His Right Hon. Friend said, that though there was no difference between the white man and the negro, there was a difference between the character of slave and freeman—that the slave had contracted habits of idleness, which he could not readily get rid of. But was not the plan of his Right Hon. Friend calculated to continue that very evil? He said that the negro had been compelled to labour under a system of force, fraud, and injustice. Why then continue, for twelve years more, that same system of forcing the negro to labour without the idea of reward, and solely by the idea of punishment? The necessary tendency of the regulations was to perpetuate that vicious association of ideas which slavery necessarily produced. On the view of the interest of the negro, therefore, he (Lord Howick) was prepared to reject the scheme.

But there was another view to be taken of the subject, and one to which some Hon. Gentlemen were likely to give their chief consideration—the interest of the planters. He asked what would be the effect of the regulations on the interest of the masters? Nominally, the planter would have a right to three-fourths of the labour of the slave. But how much would that nominal advantage really produce to the master? It was not to be expected that the slave would voluntarily give up his time to his master. His Right Hon. Friend had truly stated, that men would not labour diligently and strenuously; except under the impulse of some strong stimulus. In this country, in every country where free labour existed, men were induced to work to avoid the pressure of want, and they knew that the reward they should obtain would be in the direct proportion of their diligence and industry. In the case of slaves, they laboured because they knew if they did not, they would be subject to punishment, and therefore they submitted from a sense of terror to do what was disagreeable to them. Which of these motives could be brought to bear on the apprenticed negro? Had the apprenticed negro any motive to voluntary exertion? His wages were not increased by increasing exertions. In no respect would he be a greater gainer by work than by idleness. He would do as little as he could, not only from a desire to avoid fatigue, and to reserve his strength for those hours which were at his own disposal, but from a determination to make a contract and bargain unprofitable, which was in the highest degree unjust, and to the advantage of his master.

If the plan of his Right Hon. Friend failed to enlist the feelings of the negro, how stood the case on other grounds? He had admitted that there must be some stimulus. The planters, and every witness who

had spoken upon the subject, concurred in stating that a slave would do twice as much work for himself, in a given time, as the utmost amount of punishment would induce him to do for his master. (Hear.) This was the case even under the present system: with the cart-whip at his back, the negro could not, by any amount of punishment, be forced to give out the full amount of his power. Accordingly, the colonial legislatures had uniformly refused to allow the punishment of slaves to be diminished. The abolition of the whip was one of the first improvements pressed on the colonists. In the debate of 1823, Lord Seaforth (then Mr. Ellice) stated that there would be no difficulty whatever in procuring the assent of the planters to this obvious and necessary improvement. He (Lord Howick) was afraid that Lord Seaforth was not aware of the real cause by which the labour of his negroes was obtained. The legislature of Jamaica, however, refused to give up the driving system, and the driving system was still in full vigour in Jamaica (hear), and in every one of the legislative colonies. The whip had been abolished in the Crown colonies; and he would read the sentiments of a person of great authority, speaking the sentiments of a committee of planters. 'It is only through fear of punishment that ill-disposed slaves can be induced to work; and by the orders in council the slave managers are so fettered, that their power is inadequate to compel a proper quantity of work.' For 'ill-disposed slaves,' we might say 'slaves in general;' for, as far as regards unwillingness to labour for another, every slave is ill-disposed. (Hear.) His right hon. friend had quoted the number of lashes inflicted in the last three years in Demerara, and had stated, that although there had been a decrease of the slave population, there had been a great increase of the number and severity of the punishments. He (Lord Howick) wished he had read the sentiments which followed from the protector of slaves in that colony, in which that able and intelligent officer added—"and three-fourths of the punishments have arisen out of difficulties in respect to work." The same officer said that seven-eighths of the whole punishments inflicted in the colony arose, directly or indirectly, from the same source. (Hear.)

A still more remarkable fact was, that notwithstanding this vast increase of the number and severity of punishments, the effects they were intended to produce had daily diminished; that there was a rapidly increasing difficulty in compelling the negro, by any amount of punishment, to give that degree of labour which he was capable of performing. The colonial legislatures, in rejecting the improvement offered to them, considered that if the present system was to be kept up in full vigour, the power of stimulus must not be diminished. His right hon. friend asked whether there was so much punishment in Jamaica as in Demerara? He (Lord Howick) thought much less, for, as the number of lashes was regulated, they must be made up in intensity (hear); and this was borne out by the fact, that in no colony was the mortality so great as in Demerara.

It might be alleged that he (Lord Howick) was arguing inconsist-

ently with his former opinions, and he admitted that his opinions upon this subject had undergone a very great change; the more he had inquired, the more his views of it had enlarged. He was now ashamed to think how lightly he had imbibed the notion that it was all a delusion to talk of the evils of slavery, and that the slave was not to be pitied. The last time this question was discussed in the house he did not vote. It was brought forward at the close of the session by the noble and learned lord now on the woolsack in the other house, but even his eloquence failed to convince him; he thought there was more declamation than reason in that speech, and actually went away without voting. When he was appointed to the office he lately filled, he became satisfied that the negro ought to have protection against an abuse of the power which the master possessed. But he was not then convinced of the evil inherent in this system itself, and it was only by the progress of discussion that he became convinced of the practical failure of the experiment on which we had been acting of late years, and particularly during the last two years; and that if the present system was to be maintained, and the negroes were to work by force and not by will, the evil was less where the master was an irresponsible despot.

In Jamaica there would be cases of infinitely more cruelty than in Demerara, but the total amount of suffering would be less. A good master in Jamaica need seldom use the whip. The slaves in that island knew that the power of punishment existed, and therefore did not provoke it. But in Demerara, the slave knew that there was an amount of flogging beyond which the master could not go, and if he could bear that, he might be as idle as he pleased: practically it was the fact, that such was the feeling of the slaves, and that they acted upon that feeling. If the slave received twenty-five lashes for being idle to-day, he said "I will be worse to-morrow; you have reached your limit." This was, therefore, a source of struggle and irritation between master and slave, but the punishment was utterly inadequate to enforce a proper degree of labour. If this was the case under the order in council, what might be expected during the hours that the apprentice worked for his master? The negro would have no possible interest in the work; he might stand seven hours a-day with his hoe in his hand, and would do as little as he could.

An hon. Member near him reminded him that he had said nothing about the slaves' subsistence. He was glad he had mentioned that circumstance, because he might not perhaps have adverted to the manner in which the slave subsisted in Jamaica. The whole value of the articles the planter gives to each negro was 45s. a-year, and the only thing in the shape of provisions was one-third of a barrel of herrings, which was not so much food as seasoning for food. The Noble Lord read an extract from a work entitled *Notices of Jamaica in 1811*, written by a planter of thirty years' experience, who stated that the negro had a lot of land given him, from which he was expected to subsist himself and family. If the provision-garden was unproductive or insufficient, the negro was not allowed to obtain a supply from the

stores of the planters. Such, with a few exceptions, he said, was the general practice from one end of the island to another. In case of want, brothers were to assist sisters, uncles nieces, and children parents; and the aged and infirm, who had no family, were to have recourse to the charity and benevolence of their neighbours. "It was the duty of the negro to provide food for himself and his family, and it was his own fault if he did not take the necessary precautions against want." His (Lord Howick's) argument went to show, that if, under the order in council, there was no possibility of extorting from the negro an adequate amount of labour, it was quite impossible to do so under the system proposed by his Right Hon. Friend.

The punishment, under this system, was to be left in the hands of the magistrates; and let him ask any Hon. Gentleman who had seen agricultural labour performed, how a magistrate, when a gang of slaves was brought before him for idleness, was to decide the point? Suppose they said they had passed the time with the hoe in their hand; that they had done as much as they could, and were sorry they could not do any more; how was the magistrate to decide in such a case? How was it possible to obtain from any labourers the amount of labour they could give? Task-work had been suggested, but it was impracticable here. Suppose it could be adopted, however, how could a magistrate decide a point which depended upon individual strength, upon soil, and upon other points which varied materially? A negro of ordinary strength might work 120 cane-holes a-day, but the accidents of dry or wet weather would make a difference. How was the magistrate to enforce labour from the slave—and when he said labour, he meant strenuous, not inefficient, exertion—under these circumstances? It would require a whole army of magistrates,—as many magistrates as planters. But the experiment had been tried, under ten times as advantageous circumstances as it could be under the plan his Right Hon. Friend proposed, and in the case of white labourers too. The high price of labour in the Australian colonies led to the experiment of sending out indentured servants, who were bound to work for their masters on a specified scale of wages; and the experiment had invariably failed. The reason was obvious. They laboured without any interest; they had no object in their exertions. The masters were driven to resort to compulsion; the servants were punished, and came back more idle and stupid than before. There was, however, in this case, no previous animosity against the master; but the negro apprentices would have money, and many a year of drudgery to lay to the account of their masters, as well as many a raw back. (Hear.) The white men entered voluntarily and by choice into the agreement; their situation was improved thereby, and, if gratitude was a sufficient motive, those men ought to have worked. The negroes, on the contrary, instead of a sense of justice, would be stung by a sense of injustice at receiving only a 15th part of the value of their labour.

Then, whether the interests of the masters or the negroes were considered, the plan proposed by his Right Hon. Friend, if by any

accident it should come into operation, could not answer. But how could it come into operation? His Right Hon. Friend said that he should pass the law by the authority of the British Parliament, and that there was no limit to the authority of Parliament to legislate for the colonies except Parliament itself set a limit. With respect to the legal right this might be true, but he considered that, in giving free constitutions to the colonies, this country had, practically at least, given up all right to interfere with the local legislatures, unless there was a strong necessity for such interference. He admitted that there was the strongest possible necessity for interference in this case; but as the right arose from the necessity of the case, it should be limited by it, and we should go no further than was necessary to do strict justice to all classes in the colonies. But when the people were opposed to a law, it was very difficult to make it operative. How would the people of Jamaica treat this measure? Would the judges, who are planters, hold it good? Would colonial juries convict? His Right Hon. Friend must abrogate in his Bill every constitutional privilege in the colonies. (Hear, hear.) It was only extreme necessity that could justify this; but did that necessity exist? He, (Lord Howick) believed we could not trust the colonial legislatures to legislate, if we allowed them the right over the labour of another, which would be enacting a continuance and perpetuation of slavery. But on a different principle we had a right to act: let us say that every man is alike entitled to the produce of his own labour (hear, hear), and to judge how it can be most profitably employed for his own benefit, and he would allow the colonial legislatures to do what they pleased. (Hear.) His right hon. friend admitted there was no competition to regulate labour in Jamaica, but unless competition could be introduced, we could not introduce free labour. Unless competition was brought to bear on the mind of the negro, he could have no notion of free labour.

The conclusion to which he (Lord Howick) had been irresistibly led was, that there were only two possible courses to be adopted; we must recognize perfect slavery or perfect freedom: the present scheme was neither. To leave things as they are was an evil which his right hon. friend had argued in a masterly manner. He had correctly stated that the population of Demerara was wearing down. Various reasons had been given to account for the diminution of the slave population; but the fact was, that the diminution was in direct proportion to the labour exacted from them, and was regulated by the number of pounds of sugar for each slave. The noble lord then read an extract from a sworn return to the Court of Policy, Demerara, showing this fact. The cultivation of sugar was carried on by hired agents, who had no permanent interest in the welfare of the slaves, and experience showed that their employment depended upon sending home a large crop of sugar, and drawing the smallest remittance. In the Anna Regina estate in Demerara, till the end of 1831, the quantity of sugar raised was small and the number of slaves increasing. In the estate of Reedy Hook, the attorney was raising a large crop for the advantage of the

proprietor, and to the distress of the slaves. At the end of 1831, Mr. Moss, the proprietor, dismissed the attorney of the Anna Regina estate, and substituted the manager of Reedy Hook. The result supplied the comment. In six months the negroes on the estate had diminished from 805 to 800.

His right hon. friend said it was desirable to get rid of the existing system, but how, he had asked, was it to be safely accomplished? The safest course was by fixing a date, at the earliest possible period, for the absolute and entire termination of slavery. He did not say this was perfectly safe, but it was safer than any other. If we proceeded on the scheme of his right hon. friend, or any other, we should not bring our views to bear on the mind of the negro. He will be told he is free, yet he will get no benefit from his freedom. Gratuitous labour will be exacted from him under compulsion, and it must be exacted by increased severity. As to the other alternative, he might be told that it was impossible to speculate on free labour. He doubted the accuracy of that opinion. If we afforded to the colonial legislatures encouragement and assistance, they would acquiesce. The proprietors in this country, if they chose to exert themselves, and act together, had the means of controlling their agents in the colonies. There might be danger in carrying any measure into effect against the wish of the legislatures, but a greater danger in attempting to carry a complicated plan, which was neither one thing nor the other. It would not satisfy the slave, and would create discontent amongst the masters. What would be the result if emancipation were carried without the consent of the local legislatures? He confessed that only bad consequences were likely to result from it; but he did not anticipate bloodshed. The negro would gain all he wished, and what had he to expect from disorder? It had been suggested that the colonists would resist; but how far had the colonists the power of resistance? How was slavery maintained? It was by our military force; withdraw it, and slavery fell to the ground. (Hear.) He considered his plan infinitely more calculated to benefit every interest of the country, than that propounded by the right hon. secretary for the colonies. His earnest and conscientious opinion was, that it might with more safety be adopted, though he did not mean to contend that it, or any plan that could be proposed, was entirely free from danger. Committing, therefore, not without anxiety, to the consideration of the House, the propositions which were the result of his humble conviction, he trusted that they would in time, and under the will of an overruling Providence, be regarded with favour. (The noble lord sat down amidst loud cheering.)

Sir R. PEEL rose to suggest that some arrangement should be made with regard to the adjournment of the debate (hear, hear), in order that a distinct understanding might be come to by the whole house respecting the resolutions which had been proposed by Government that night. He was disposed to deprecate the adoption of any hasty or premature judgment on the subject. The resolutions proposed that night differed from any former resolutions which had ever been

submitted to the house, in this respect, that they involved no vague principles, but detailed a specific plan for the abolition of slavery. He therefore thought it would be most conducive to the character of the house to adopt no such resolutions without first appropriating due time for their full consideration, whether the judgment of the house should determine for their ultimate rejection, their adoption, or for the reception of any qualified measure founded on them. The house, in fact, was placed in a new position by the introduction of the resolutions of government. A practical plan for the abolition of slavery had been submitted to its consideration, and a variety of circumstances indispensably necessary for fully appreciating that plan must necessarily be taken into view. The immense, the unspeakable importance of the subject demanded the opportunity for the fullest consideration. For himself, he should not at the present period enter into the merits of the question; he wished for time; and he hoped the proposition for postponing the debate would meet with the concurrence of the rest of the house. He was desirous, for the character of the house, as well as for the general interest of the country, that the further debate of the question should be deferred to a day so distant, as to afford time for the mature consideration of the whole bearing of the question. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ALTHORP entirely concurred in the sentiments expressed by the right hon. baronet. He was convinced that no man who felt the immense importance of the question could consider his proposition for delay unreasonable. The proposition was one which did not alone affect the convenience of the members of the House, but it also concerned the public at large, and on that ground he thought it desirable that full opportunity should be afforded for the consideration of the question. The discussion which had occurred ought not to be considered a final one, and he thought the best mode would be to propose that the chairman report progress *pro forma*, and in the interim the propositions could be printed. He therefore should suggest that the further debate be adjourned till Thursday the 30th instant.

Mr. BUXTON objected to the extent of the postponement, but wished, at all events before any period was fixed for the resumption of the debate, to be informed on one point, whether the money alluded to in the propositions was to be paid by the negroes or the country; If the negroes were to be called upon to pay a single farthing, unless for their own benefit, he should on that score alone oppose the measure.

Lord ALTHORP replied, that government, in submitting their plan to the House, did not intend to exact any pledge. They left the details entirely to the discretion of the House, and merely contended for the main principle of the measure. They at present undoubtedly meant that the negro should pay the wages he received for one fourth of his time during twelve years, as the price of his redemption.

While Lord Althorp, Mr. Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel, were conversing about the most convenient day, and had fixed upon Thursday the 23d, Sir RICHARD VIVYAN rose, and observed that that was the

day fixed for Epsom Races, when gentlemen could not be expected to attend! The force of this objection was immediately felt by a large number, who repeated, "Epsom Races! Epsom Races!"—and as the running of the horses, and the bets depending on the issue, carried the day against the discussion for emancipating the negroes, Thursday, the 30th of May, was finally settled upon, to meet the convenience of all parties! This needs no comment.

In consequence of Mr. Stanley's not making any motion, or putting any resolution to the vote, no amendment could be moved, as there was no motion before the House; but, had the resolutions been put to the vote, it was our intention to have moved the following, of which we had prepared a copy, as an amendment:—

'1. That every slave in His Majesty's dominions has an absolute right to freedom, without delay, and without price.

'2. That from and after the 12th of August, 1834—the anniversary of His Majesty's birth-day, slavery shall cease to exist in every part of the British empire.

'3. That immediate measures be taken to ascertain the actual amount of pecuniary loss that may be sustained by the owners of colonial estates, from the substitution of free labour for slave labour on their several plantations; and to determine to what extent the national funds should be appropriated to compensate all those by whom such pecuniary loss should be actually sustained.

'4. That an adequate supply of preventive police, independent magistracy, and teachers for infant and adult schools, be sent out from the mother country to all our colonies, the expence to be borne out of the funds hitherto appropriated to the support of our military establishments in those parts, which, on the entire abolition of slavery, may be extensively and safely reduced.'

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Leave of Absence.

To Mr. Charles Russell, a week; Mr. O'Reilly, a week.

New Member sworn in.

Col. De Lacy Evans, for Westminster.

Notices of Motion.

Mr. Charles Buller.—On going into Committee of Supply, to move Resolutions declaring the necessity of continued and extensive reductions in all departments of the public service.—[Deferred from Friday 17th May till Monday, 20th May.]

Sir George Staunton.—To call the attention of the House to the state of our Commercial Relations with China, and to the measures which are now become indispensably necessary, for the purpose of placing that very important branch of British Commerce upon a secure and honourable basis, and to move Resolutions upon the subject.—[Tuesday, 4th June.]

- Mr. Buckingham.**—That a Select Committee be appointed, to consider to what extent and in what manner it may be practicable and desirable to raise a Fund by a Tax on Property or Income, or both, to enable the Parliament progressively to repeal those existing Taxes that press most heavily on the industrious and labouring Classes.—[Tuesday, 11th June.]
- Mr. Ruthven.**—Resolution, That the reduction of Taxation and the diminution of the public burthens by every attention to economy, are objects of paramount importance, and that, in justice to the people who pay Taxes, all *Sinecure* Places should be abolished throughout the British Empire.—[Tuesday, 25th June.]
- Mr. Buckingham.**—That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the expediency of converting the whole amount of the Public Debt of the Country into Terminable Annuities, for such periods, and at such rates of interest, as may be deemed just to all parties.—[Tuesday, 2nd July.]
- Sir Robert Bateson.**—In Committee on Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill, to move in 2nd section, that four Bishops in rotation be members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and that these be in every year the representative Bishops of the succeeding Session of Parliament:—Also, that in the 46th line of 14th section, the words “two hundred” be omitted, and the words “three hundred” be inserted.—[Wednesday, 15th May.]
- Mr. Frederick Shaw.**—Copies of all Patents or Grants, or the material parts thereof, whereby the owners of Improvements or Improprate Tithes in Ireland are expressly bound to repair the Chancel, or provide for the discharge of clerical duties, so far as the same can be made out.—[Deferred till Wednesday 15th May.]
- Mr. Frederick Shaw.**—Copy of Correspondence (if any) between the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Irish Judges, relative to the Juries (Ireland) Bill.—[Wednesday, 15th May.]
- Mr. Cobbett.**—To move a Resolution for an Address to His Majesty, to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel from the Privy Council, on account of the proceedings of the right honourable Baronet, relative to the Currency Acts of 1819, 1822, and 1826.—[Thursday, 16th May]
- Colonel Davies.**—On the Motion for bringing up the Report of the Committee of Supply, to move, That a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the Military and Colonial Expenditure of the Country.—[Monday, 20th May.]
- Mr. Lloyd Watkins.**—Resolution for the Repeal of the whole Duty on Malt, and for the imposition of such a Duty on Beer and Spirits, as may cover the deficiency.—[Deferred till Monday, 20th May.]
- Mr. Bernal.**—Resolution founded on the Evidence taken before the Committee on the Election for the Borough of Hertford.—[Deferred from Wednesday 15th May till Friday 24th May.]
- Mr. Hume.**—To take into consideration the Report of the Committee on the expediency of erecting a new House of Commons.—[Tuesday, 4th June.]
- Mr. Buckingham.**—To move a Resolution, declaring the practice of forcibly impressing Seamen for the Naval Service of His Majesty to be unjust, cruel, and unnecessary; and that such a violation of the liberty of the subject ought to be discontinued.—[Tuesday, 18th June.]
- Mr. Wilks.**—Bill to prevent the duration of Parliaments longer than three years.—[Deferred from Tuesday, 14th May, till Thursday, 20th June.]
- Mr. Buckingham.**—To move a Resolution, declaring that the practice of flogging, both in the Navy and the Army, has a tendency to degrade the characters of those subject to its infliction, without improving the discipline of the Services, and that therefore the practice ought to be abolished.—[Tuesday, 25th June]
- Mr. Parker.**—Bill to amend so much of the Statute 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c.30. s. 40, as enables a Prosecutor to put in evidence a previous conviction for Felony before verdict.—[Deferred from Wednesday 15th May, till Wednesday, 22nd May.]
- Mr. Parker.**—Bill to enable Justices in Petty Sessions from time to time to empanel a Jury, and to try persons under a certain age, accused of certain small offences.—[Deferred from Wednesday, 15th May, till Wednesday 22nd May.]

Mr. Pelham.—Bill to remedy certain defects as to the recovery of Rates and Assessments made by Commissioners under divers Drainage Acts, after the execution of their final awards.—[Deferred from Wednesday, 15th May, till Wednesday, 22nd May.]

Reports of Election Committees.

Tiverton Borough Election.—House informed, that the Select Committee on the Petition of William Anstey, and others, have determined,

That James Kennedy, Esquire, is *not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament, for the Borough of Tiverton:

That the last Election for Burgesses to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough of Tiverton, so far as regards the Election of the said James Kennedy, Esquire, is a void Election.

New Writ for Tiverton.—in the room of James Kennedy, Esquire, whose Election has been determined to be void.

Reports brought up.

House of Commons Buildings Committee.—Report, with Resolutions and Minutes of Evidence, brought up; Resolutions read, as follows:—

1. "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the present House of Commons does not afford adequate accommodation for its Members, and that no alterations or improvements could be made in the present House which would afford adequate accommodation, due regard being had to the health and general convenience of the Members, to the despatch of public business, and to the expense to be incurred. And the Committee therefore recommend the erection of a new House of Commons, and they refer the House to the Evidence which has been taken, as to the Plan and Site, and the Expense in such case to be incurred."

2. "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the imperfect ventilation of the present House is most injurious to the health of the Members, and it is expedient that the immediate attention of the Board of Works be directed effectually to remedy so serious an inconvenience."

Petitions presented.

Roman Catholic Marriages.—Petition of Roman Catholic Clergymen for enabling them to perform valid Marriages in their chapels, without being ratified in the Church of England.

Poor of Ireland.—Petition of Aaron Atkinson, of Dublin, and Forty-one Citizens of London, for appointment of a Committee to sit every year in Dublin, to compose Bills for the employment of the Poor of Ireland.

Vote by Ballot.—Petitions in favour;—of Inhabitants of Clone;—of Kilcormack;—and, of Inhabitants of Walsall.

Equitable Adjustment.—Petition of Members of the Pollokshaws Political Union, for an equitable adjustment of the claims of the Fundholders.

Taxes.—Petitions for the reduction thereof;—of Traders, Mechanics, Artizans, and Inhabitants of Atherstone;—of Chairman and Committee of a Meeting of Inhabitants of Birmingham;—and, of Inhabitants of Walsall.

Factories Regulation Bill.—Petitions in favour;—of Inhabitants of the town of Hertford;—and, of Salford.

Taxes on Knowledge.—Petition of Inhabitants of Walsall, for the repeal thereof.

Education (Ireland.)—Petition of the Moderator and Clerk of the Provisional Synod of Fife, stating that there are many persons in Ireland unacquainted with the English Language, and who have not Divine worship performed, or religious instruction dispensed to them, and praying for measures to strengthen the efficacy of the Reformed Faith in Ireland.

Jews.—Petitions for the removal of disabilities affecting them;—of Freeholders and Inhabitants of Truro;—of Persons of the Christian faith resident in and near London;—and, of persons professing the Jewish religion, being working-artizans and resident in London.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR MAKING THE SLAVES BUY THEIR OWN FREEDOM.

NOTWITHSTANDING the length to which our report of the speeches of Mr. Stanley and Lord Howick extend in our present number, we cannot resist the desire to devote a very few pages to an exposition of the Government plan, which we shall take paragraph by paragraph, *seriatim*, and very briefly express our opinion of each.

It should be remembered that the first appearance of this plan was in the *Times* of Saturday morning, when it struck almost every one with astonishment—the West Indian interests looking upon it as a spoliation of their property, and the Immediate Abolitionists regarding it as the most insulting mockery of all their hopes, and a treacherous betrayal of all their confidence.

A meeting was held at the Foreign Office, on Saturday, at one o'clock, to which about 200 members of the House of Commons were invited; and Mr. Stanley there went into an elaborate detail and defence of the plan of which the heads only had appeared in the public papers. All would not do, however; the dissatisfaction at the meeting, though stifled from respect to the feelings of the Ministers, and but very moderately expressed where it obtained utterance at all, was, nevertheless, deep and general, and must have been felt, by the propounders of the plan, as a severe reproof to their policy or their judgment.

Accordingly, a Cabinet Council being held on Saturday, after the breaking up of the Meeting, and another on Sunday, in despite of Sir Andrew Agnew's proposed Bill, it was determined to make a revised sketch of the heads of the plan; and on Monday morning the *Times* contained, what for them is very unusual, a "more correct version" of the Government Resolutions than those which had appeared on Saturday. Instead of a leading article of the Editor, on which it would perhaps have been rather too hazardous to stake the reputation of the paper, till public opinion should be more distinctly expressed, an article appeared in its columns, commending the plan, for its skill, novelty, ingenuity, &c., declaring it to be safe and satisfactory, and such as indeed must please all parties. This was printed in large type, with open spaces between the lines, and, in every external appearance, like the usual leading articles of the Editor, but introduced as the communication of a Correspondent, so as to admit a loop-hole of retreat, in the event of the public pulse not responding; though nine out of every ten of its readers, seeing that the Correspondence of the *Times* is usually put in as letters, with heads, dates, and signatures, would regard this either as an original article of the Editor, or one made his own by adoption, and to which he desired to attach all the force which the influence and circulation of the paper could afford it.

Still all would not do. In the City, and at the West-end, within the walls of Parliament and without, no party, except the projectors of the plan, and their most unconditional adherents, had a good word to say in its favour.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it was brought forward by Mr. Stanley on Tuesday, and supported by the speech we have already reported, so that the Government evidently mean to persevere in its great outline, though they may consent to modify some of the details. Our objection to it is, however, so strong, that we see no hope of its being so amended as to meet our views. It is founded throughout on the unjust and unholy principle, that man has a right to enslave and hold property in the person of his fellow-man: and flowing from so corrupt a fountain-head as this, the streams must all, of necessity, be tainted with corruption. We will give the Resolutions, or Heads of the Government Plan, *seriatim*; and subjoin our brief comments on the whole. The following is the plan adverted to:—

1st. That every slave, upon the passing of the intended act, shall be at liberty to claim, before the protector of slaves, custos of the parish, or such other officer as shall be named by His Majesty for that purpose, to be registered as an apprenticed labourer, and shall thenceforth enjoy all the rights and privileges of a freeman, shall be capable of giving evidence in all courts, criminal as well as civil, and as well against their employers as against any other persons, of serving upon juries, and in the militia—of attending whatever place of worship or teacher of religion he pleases, and shall have and enjoy all other rights and privileges whatsoever of a British subject.

2d. That the terms of such apprenticeship should be—

3d. That the power of corporal punishment should be altogether taken from the master, and transferred to the magistrate.

4th. That in consideration of food and clothing, and such allowances as are now made by law to the slave, the labourer should work for his master three-fourths of his time, leaving it to be settled by contract whether for three-fourths of the week or of each day. That by a day is here understood only ten hours, seven and a half of which are to be for the master as above, in consideration of food, clothing, and lodging, and that all the time above such ten hours is not to be affected by these regulations.

5th. That the labourer should have a right to claim employment of his master for the remaining one-fourth of his time, according to a fixed scale of wages.

6th. That during such one-fourth of his time the labourer should be at liberty to employ himself elsewhere.

7th. That the master should fix a price upon the labourer at the time of his apprenticeship.

8th. That the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, that for the whole of his spare time, if given to the master, the negro should receive 1-12th of his price annually; and in proportion for each lesser term.

9th. That every negro, on becoming an apprentice, shall be entitled to a money-payment weekly, in lieu of food and clothing, should he prefer it, the amount to be fixed by a magistrate with reference to the actual cost of the legal provision.

10th. That every apprenticed labourer be bound to pay a portion, to be fixed, of his wages, half-yearly, to an officer to be appointed by His Majesty.

11th. That in default of such payment the master be liable, and, in return, may exact an equivalent amount of labour without payment in the succeeding half.

12th. That every apprenticed negro, on payment of the price fixed by his master, or such portion of it as may from time to time remain due, be absolutely free.

13. That every such apprentice may borrow the sum so required, and bind himself, by contract before a magistrate, for a limited period, as an apprenticed labourer to the lender.

14th. That a loan to the amount of 15,000,000*l.* sterling be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, on such colonial security as may be approved by commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

15th. That such loan be distributed among the different colonies, in a ratio compounded of the number of slaves, and the amount of exports.

16th. That the half-yearly payments hereinbefore authorized to be made by the apprenticed negroes be taken in liquidation of so much of the debt contracted by the planter to the public.

17th. That all children born after the passing of the intended act, or who at the time of its passing shall be under the age of six years, be free, and be maintained by their respective parents.

18th. That in failure of such maintenance they be deemed apprentices to the master of the parents (without receiving wages), the males till the age twenty-four, the females to the age of twenty, at which periods respectively they and their children, if any, shall be absolutely free.

19th. That this act shall not prevent His Majesty from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the Colonial Legislature for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes of the community. And that respectable persons, wholly unconnected with the Colonies, shall be sent out to act as District Magistrates and other officers, for the protection of the negroes and preservation of the peace.

20th. That upon the recommendation of the local Legislatures, His Majesty will be prepared to recommend to Parliament, out of the revenues of this country, to grant such aid as may be deemed necessary for the due support of the administration of justice, of an efficient police establishment, and of a general system of religious and moral education.

21st. And that with this view effectual protection shall be given to all teachers of religion of whatever persuasion.

On these heads we submit the following brief observation, numbered to correspond with the preceding paragraphs.

1. The Slave, by a mere change of name and registry, as an apprenticed labourer, is thenceforth to "enjoy *all* the rights and privileges of a freeman." This is a direct falsehood in the very front of the matter. He has no choice left him, but Slavery under a new name; he *must* work, without a choice of masters, without stipulation of conditions, for ten hours a day, as before; and so far as the deprivation of the exercise of his free-will to change his master, or to

demand more wages, more food, or more clothing, he will be as much a Slave as ever.

3. The transfer of the power of inflicting corporal punishment from the master to the magistrates is still a badge of Slavery. If he is "to enjoy *all* the rights and privileges of a free man," why should he be subjected to corporal punishment, that is, flogging by the whip or lash, at all?

4, 5, 6. The negro is called upon to exercise a degree of forethought, prudence, and self-denial, of which none but the best educated, and the most discreet of our artizans in England are capable, when he is expected to work hard during the fourth of the day placed at his disposal, and pay his weekly earnings over to a magistrate, for the very remote and uncertain prospect of freedom, in twelve years time. It is difficult to prevail on English labourers to lay by the earnings of the summer, for the wants of the winter, or to cast their thoughts forward to *one* year, and the negro is called upon to labour hard, and lay by his earnings, not for the purchase of any tangible enjoyment within his grasp, but for a benefit so remote that he may never live to enjoy it.

7. The master being allowed to put a price upon his Slave, whether of 10*l.* or 100*l.*, is a direct recognition of the unhallowed and unchristian principle that man may justly steal, entrap, and enslave his fellow-man, by force or fraud, or both; and then compel him to pay the price of his redemption. The principle is detestable—it will be registered with indignation, by every true lover of freedom; and, if there were no other blot in the plan than this, it would be sufficient to ensure its utter condemnation.

8. Supposing all the most favourable circumstances of good health, unwearied industry, punctual payments, and every other advantage, twelve years is the *shortest possible* time in which a Slave can hope to be free: and this is a plan which is characterized as "safe and satisfactory," to those who have sent thousands upon thousands of Petitions to both Houses praying for the *Immediate* Abolition of slavery! If this be not mocking the hopes of the people, we know not what could thus be termed.

9. The offer of money payment instead of provisions and clothing is a mockery.—No planter will provide both: and if the money be asked for, the magistrate will have proof given him that the legal provision costs the planter from his wholesale importations so small a sum, that the negro could not obtain, by its actual money cost, in the West India market, more than half of his already miserably stinted allowance.

12. In paragraph 1 of these proposed resolutions, it is said that from the moment of the slave being registered as an apprenticed labourer, he shall "thencefore enjoy *all* the rights and privileges of a freeman,"—but in paragraph 10th the dream has vanished, and it is not until after he has fully paid the uttermost farthing of the price fixed on him by his master, by 12 years of unceasing labour—that he

can become "absolutely free."—Was ever contradiction more palpable than this?

14. A loan of 15 millions is to be advanced on the security of Colonial Property; when it is known that there is scarcely any property in the Colonies that is not already mortgaged up to its full value, and in most cases beyond it, for advances already obtained from merchants, consignees, and others.—But the Government propose making their own security good, by enacting that the Government claim on such property, should take precedence of all others—which would be a flagrant robbery of the existing and previous claimants, and a more arbitrary violation of the rights of property than any ever proposed by any Government having any pretensions to the character of being a just one.

16. Though the planters are to have the enjoyment of the 15 millions—it is, after all, the blood, and sweat, and tears of the oppressed negro, that is, to be exhausted for 12 long years, to repay both principal and interest!—The concoction of such a scheme is perfectly diabolical.

17. 18. What, under ordinary circumstances, namely the freedom of the children, would be a blessing, is by their plan turned into a curse: for the slave, in addition to the charge of paying for his own redemption, is called upon to maintain his helpless and unproductive children, or see them also pass into slavery, giving all their labour without wages for 20 or 24 years!—*after* which, say these immediate emancipationists, they shall be absolutely free!!—Oh shame! where is thy blush?—Hypocrisy, where is thy dissimulation?—

19. 20. 21.—The protection of the peace in every colony, is an expence which should be borne by the colony itself. All our troops should be withdrawn, good government established, and every colony made entirely to maintain itself. The possessions that drain the mother country of her wealth, are not worth the having; and the sooner all our colonies are made to support themselves the better. As to religious teachers, our wonder is that any man propounding so iniquitous and irreligious a plan as this, for rivetting the chains of the negroes for twelve years longer, and making them pay the price of their own redemption after all—could ever mention the word "religious," or think of it, without shuddering. But, under a form of Government, where it is ordered by law, that whoever may be the ruling monarch, from Charles the 2d to George the 4th, and whatever his character or his habits, he is to be called in the solemn forms of prayer, "our *most religious* and gracious King,"—which has been the unchanged form of expression through every succeeding reign for years past—may deem slavery, both "moral and religious." If the teachers do their duty, however, as servants of Christ, and true preachers of his Gospel, they will denounce slavery in every form; and hasten, as far as they can, the triumph of Civil, Political, and Religious Freedom,—for they are all offspring of one great Parent,—Truth and Justice—over all the world.

THE RETROSPECTIVE TRAVELLER.

VOYAGE FROM SCIO, BY LESBOS, OR MYTELENE, TO THE BAY OF SMYRNA.

ON the evening of the eleventh of August, we entered the Straits of Scio. Towards sun-set, the rocky hills that towered above the shores were covered with a light grey tint, which contrasted beautifully with the strong shades of the cliffs and precipices below. Mid-way towards the base of the mountains were fertile grounds, exhibiting a rich profusion of verdure, and the valley that skirted the edge of the sea was covered with charming retreats, embosomed amid the dark foliage of luxuriant vineyards and orange groves. It would be impossible to convey an accurate idea of the pleasure with which I surveyed this rich and classic scene. It surpassed all that I had expected or conceived, and charmed and delighted every sense.

From the entrance of the Straits, we had a view of the bay between Samos and Cape Coulbe, just round which is the antient Teios, now called Bodrun, the city walls of which, originally four miles in circuit, now lie in one continued heap of ruins. Independent of its celebrity in history, it is rendered sacred by the birth of Anacreon. It once contained a superb temple of Bacchus, the work of the architect Hermogenes, though Dallaway describes it in 1795 as being a vast heap, overgrown with olive and vine trees, in a flat enclosure, thickly planted. "Amidst the pile," says he, "sections of Ionic pillars, fluted, and a capital, with the volutes and ivy leaf of superior delicacy, caught our attention; there are, indeed, many proofs of its extent and magnificence, but its dilapidation was of so remote an era, that they are mostly broken and decayed." Polwhele thus apostrophizes it:—

See the sad types of festal pleasure flown,
Dim flowering olives dew the *Teian* fane;
And canker'd vines, around each pillar'd stone
Aspiring, its Ionic base distain :

Yes! hoar Anacreon! where thy joyous train
Their ruby cups to thrilling music quaff'd,
Thy sacred plant obtrudes an idle chain,
To clasp, poor parasite, the dripping shaft;
And green oblivion glooms where Love and Bacchus laugh'd.

Being on deck at sun-rise on the following morning, I had an opportunity of observing the surrounding scenery of the island of Scio, and the coast of Asia Minor, under all the varied hues and shades which it presents at different altitudes of the sun, and found them all

rich and beautiful. We had advanced farther up the Straits during the night, and possessed a more extended view both of the opposite shores and of the island itself, while the light winds and slow progress of our vessel prolonged our enjoyment of the view.

In examining the few historical records that a confined marine library afforded, I found the erudite and entertaining Dallaway had concentrated all the testimonies of ancient authors respecting the former state of Scio, and, having visited the island himself, had profited by so favourable an opportunity to give a sketch of its more modern condition, which he has executed so ably as to furnish a sufficient excuse for transcribing the most material parts.

The ancient Chios, or Scio, (according to this authority), retains more of its former prosperity than any island in the *Ægean* Sea. The fertility and beauty which they discovered, invited the Ionian States to establish a colony more than a thousand years before Christ, which soon attained to a degree of political consequence as the allies or subjects of the continental cities of Greece. A fleet constantly prepared for action, and the maritime genius of the people, gave them the command of the *Ægean* Sea. Historians record very frequent changes in their subjection or alliances, the result sometimes of necessity, but more frequently of choice. Their most ancient friends were the Spartans, whom they deserted for the Athenians, but during the Peloponnesian war they again revolted to the Lacedemonians. After a failure in the first attack by Chares, the Athenians indulged the resentment of conquerors, and levelled the new walls of their city with the ground.

The kings of Pergamus, Eumenes, and Attalus, appear to have become possessed of Chios either by conquest or by cession; and the Chians, as allies of the Roman people in the battle of the Romans with the Galatians under Cneius Marcius Vulso, were rewarded by a declaration of their freedom, with the protection of their former masters.

Upon the extinction of the Attalian kings, they were attached to the Roman territory, and, when the empire was divided, they remained subject, until the reign of Manuel Comnenus. In the partition of the Eastern empire in 1204, by the French and Venetians, Chios was allotted to the Byzantine throne, and afterwards granted to the Genoese, by Michael Paleologus, in remuneration of assistance against the Latins.

In the reign of Amurat, or Morad the third, in 1575, it was treacherously taken by Piali Pasha, after having been held by the Genoese nearly two centuries and a half.

After a calamitous siege in 1694, the city and island were regained by the Venetians, who were betrayed by the Greeks during the inveterate quarrel with those of the Latin church, but their possession was of short duration, for, in 1696, Mezzomorto, the African renegade, a celebrated Admiral, invested the island with success, and it was again added to the Ottoman empire, with whom it at present remains.

The island is computed, as nearly as the extreme irregularity of the coast will admit of ascertaining, to be about 130 miles in circumference. It is intersected by mountains of volcanic shape and structure, distinguished by the antients as the Phannean and Pellanaean; the latter is in the district of Arrisia, famed for the produce of wine, so much esteemed at Rome in its most luxurious days, for its cost and exquisite flavour. Pliny relates that Greek wine was prohibited in Rome, A.U.C. 675, by a sumptuary law; and Varra says, that Lucius Lucullus, when young, did not remember it to have been served more than once at the most costly feasts. Upon his return from Asia, he brought with him a thousand gallons. C. Censius, the prætor, had Chian wine first given to him by a physician, as a cordial. Cæsar, in one of his triumphal suppers, distributed about a hundred gallons, which was considered as an instance of extreme profuseness, nor was it until the seventh century after the building of that city, that it became common in the houses of the most affluent. "We tasted some of it," says Dallaway, "which did not disparage its ancient fame." It has a flavour similar to that of Monte Fiascone, and is called, by way of excellence, the wine of Homer.

The honour of giving birth to that divine bard is claimed by the Chians with natural avidity, and they are allowed to have urged a greater number of circumstances than their competitors, in support of their claim. A family of his descendants were called *Homeridæ*; and, as if the art of poesy were hereditary, they produced Parthenius, of no trivial name amongst poets. Leo Allatius cites many authors to prove Homer a native of this island, and upon more accumulated evidence decides on that circumstance as a fact. But his own confession may be more satisfactory in his hymn to Apollo; for his *inhabiting Chios* may convey a certain degree of proof that he was born there. Ion, an elegiac and tragic poet of the age of Eschylus and Sophocles, was also a native of Chios.

Venus was the divinity to whom the highest honours were paid in this island; her temple was uncommonly splendid, and the females devoted to her service not less beautiful than numerous. The education of the sex was equally hardy with that of the young men, and in the public gymnastic exercises they contended with each other, uncumbered by dress. Notwithstanding this exhibition of rigid discipline, the natives were addicted to the most effeminate luxuries; and it is said, to their eternal reproach, that they were the first in Greece who used slaves. The Epicurean philosophy was very successfully recommended by Metrodus, and enforced by the example of his practice. His definition of happiness is succinct and plausible—"a sound constitution, and a security of its continuance."

Whatever might have been the remains of ancient architecture, no traces are now to be discovered; all have yielded to time, or more probably to the more effectual destruction of misguided zeal or appropriation.

The city of Chios appears to have been at the most distant period of considerable extent and beauty. Modern Scio, as it is now called,

is esteemed the handsomest town in the Archipelago, and from its Italian masters has derived much of the European accommodation. In beating to windward we stood within half a mile of it, from which distance it presented a fine appearance, more particularly the southern part of the town, in which are several Turkish mosques, whose circular domes, and slender minarets, just discernible above the deep woods with which they were surrounded, gave an air of novelty to the scene. The port is extensive, but has neither deep water nor good shelter, being formed by a low mole, and a rock, on which are two lights.

The population of Greeks is computed at above 150,000, while that of the Turks does not complete a fortieth part. Yet such is their want of vigour and unanimity, and their habitual terror of the Turkish name, that they patiently bear their burdens, while the Greeks of the other islands evince so strong a desire to avenge their wrongs on their oppressors. It is true that the vicinity of Scio to the Turkish territory, and the presence of a Turkish garrison, may make it prudent to conceal desires which, for want of a leader, they cannot safely accomplish. This numerous population is maintained by the produce of the soil, and by the manufacture of silk and cotton stuffs.

Almost the whole of those parts of the island in which cultivation is at all practicable is said to be like a garden. Among the chief of their productions are those of corn, wine and fruits, gum-mastic, silk, and honey, which last is found in great quantities in the rocks on the south side of the island, and may vie with that of Hybla or Hymettus.

In recounting those bounties of nature, the singular beauty of the female inhabitants must not be omitted. "As we walked through the town," says Dallaway, "on a Sunday evening, the streets were filled with women, dancing, or sitting at their doors in groupes, dressed in the fashion of the island, which is scrupulously confined to the natives. The girls have most brilliant complexions, with features regular and delicate, but one style of countenance prevails. When without a veil, the head is covered with a close coif, confining the hair, excepting a few locks round their face, which are curled, and bathed in perfumed oil. The ringlets, which are so elegantly disposed round the sweet countenances of these fair Chiotas, are such as Milton describes by "hyacinthine locks," crisped and curled like the blossoms of that flower; and although no dress more unbecoming than that which envelopes their shapes could have been imagined, yet their faces make ample amends, with eyes varying with infinite expression from softness to vivacity. All the arts of ancient Greece have declined in an extreme proportion, nor should we wonder that if the superiority of beauty be unimpaired, the art of adorning the person be almost lost. Yet the air of the veil, the ceinture, and the sandals, afford us occasionally some slight glimpse of that exquisite grace which pervades the drapery of ancient sculpture."

About a mile from the town is a cave denominated "Homer's School," conjectured by some to have been a fane of Cybele, and, by others, the oracular theatre of the Erythrean Sibyl.

As a proof of the salubrity of the climate, longevity is common. Among other instances, Dallaway mentions his being accosted at a fountain, by a venerable old man, who said that he was 120 years old, and that he had a son now living who was eighty, at which age he again became a father. He acknowledged that there were many older men in Scio; but none like himself who had been preferred, as he could boast to have lately been, by a girl of twenty to a rival of her own age!

At noon, we were opposite to Chesme, the ancient site of Cyssus, in which port the fleet of Antiochus was defeated by the Romans. The town covers a shelving ridge to the sea, with the fortress in the centre, of an oblong shape, consisting of double walls and a deep fosse, and enclosing several houses and a mosque. Its apparent antiquity is not higher than when the port was in possession of the Genoese. Since 1770, memorable for the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians, the greater part of the town has been rebuilt, having at that time suffered from the conflagration occasioned by the burning of the Turkish ships of war.

Erythræ, famous for a sybil, and Mount Mimas, on the summit of which Anaxagoras built an observatory, were a few miles to the north. The Erythræan sybil, and the sybil of Cumæ in Italy, were the same. Her oracular communications were placed by Tarquin in the capitol, and burnt by accident, during the war of Marius and Sylla; and it is said that the Emperor Augustus deputed three ambassadors to Erythræ, to procure a genuine transcription, but they collected only mysterious verses, known universally by oral tradition.

Towards evening the wind increased considerably, and during the night it blew in heavy squalls, obliging us to close reef the topsails, notwithstanding which we sprung our foretopmast, split several sails, and carried away some of our rigging. The whole night was indeed a scene of great bustle and anxiety, the narrowness of the passage obliging all hands to be on deck, to work the vessel through its difficulties.

The morning of the 14th was boisterous, but the weather moderated, and the wind became more favourable towards noon, enabling us to clear the Straits of Scio and approach the island of Mytelene, which lies opposite to the western entrance of the great Bay of Smyrna, into which we were bound. The appearance of the mountains in the distance was imposing, and the varied scenery of the coast, as we approached nearer to the shore, full of interest and beauty.

It is uncertain when the name of this island was changed from Lesbos to Mytelene. Eustathius mentions that there were five cities existing in his time, and that the island had been lately called Mytelene, as it had anciently been Lesbos.

The climate of this island has obtained from the ancients no common degree of praise. Its effects on the productions of nature are peculiarly genial. Hippocrates, the great father of physic, commends it as very superior, and Gillies, in his 'History of Greece,' ob-

serves, that Demetrius of Phalera accounts for the singular degree of poetic fame that Mytelene has enjoyed, from its invigorating influence on the imagination.

Terpander, Alcæus, and Sappho, the former by his mechanical improvement of the Grecian lyre, by the addition of three strings to four, and the others by inventing new rhymes and improving the melody of former versifications, have immortalized their names. The spirited rhapsodies of Alcæus are lost to us. The exquisite poems of Sappho, her 'Hymn to Venus,' and that of 'Sixteen Lines to Erinna,' were rescued from oblivion by Longinus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Terpander flourished about a century after Homer, and Sappho lived about 610 years before Christ.

Pinkerton mentions that the Lesbians excelled in female portraits on their coins, especially of Sappho.

Dallaway observes, that Horace was the first who adapted the measures they had invented to the Roman muse. It is a matter of curiosity, not easy to be ascertained, how far Horace translated, paraphrased, or only imitated, the works of Alcæus and Sappho, certainly existing at Rome in his time. It is to be wished he had given us either a paraphrase or translation of the celebrated *morçeau* of Sappho—Catullus has failed—Philips has been more happy—and perhaps has since been equalled by the poet Mason.

The soil of Mytelene is extremely congenial to the cultivation of the vine. That which was so much esteemed by the Romans would preserve its quality, if the inhabitants were more industrious in cultivation, and more careful in making and keeping it. The defect was owing to the residence of the Turks, who were scandalized by the quantity taken to excess by the Greeks; for, in this island, there were more resident Turks than in any other island of the Archipelago, (Candia excepted,) and their manners have long since pervaded the whole of the inhabitants.

Several travellers have dwelt with much pleasure on the luxuriant scenery and delightful views of the island; and Polwhele, in allusion to it, says:—

Rich in the brilliance of the balmiest light,
These scenes repose. I saw the myrtle glow,
The arbutus in bloom and fruitage bright,
The glittering bay, the mulberry's silken flow!
I felt but erst-delicious from below

The sea breeze, as it curl'd the crystal springs;
But shrubs may blush, and noon-tide zephyrs blow,
In vain voluptuous, while no Sappho sings,
Nor, by the landscape moved, Alcæus fires the strings!—

a description that appears warranted by the testimonies of all who have visited this delightful island.

Lesbos has been the asylum of the unfortunate. The wife of Pompey, flying from Cæsar, was, according to Lucian, there hospita-

bly received and protected. Irene, the Empress of Leo IV., in 802, banished by the ungrateful Nicephorus, who supplanted her, and denied her a suitable maintenance, fled to this island, and for some years earned the support of the day by the labours of her distaff.

In 1452, the Greeks, thinking the loss of the city of Constantinople inevitable, escaped, with more prudence than bravery, in great numbers to Mytelene, and afterwards dispersed themselves in the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago. When all was lost, Leonardus Chiensis, the familiar priest of the ill-fated but valiant Constantine Paleologus, availed himself of this place of general refuge, and was made Bishop of the See. Gibbon, in his 'Roman History,' alludes to a curious account of the siege, given as a journal, and written on the occurrences of each day, by this Bishop. It was first printed at Nuremburg in 1544, in twenty quarto leaves, (though composed August 15, 1453,) under the title '*Leonardi Chiensis Historia Constantinopoleos expugnata a Turco*,' and is said to be an interesting work.

Very anciently the Lesbian women had a singular contest, that for beauty, which was publicly adjudged, and the prize given in the Temple of Juno. Young men of the island were chosen to decide.

Pittacus, who was one of the seven whom Greece acknowledged as sages, and humanity as benefactors, was the legislator of Lesbos, and the founder of its republic, which soon yielded to more powerful States.

According to Thucydides, in the fourth year of the Peloponnesian war, Lesbos revolted from the alliance of the Athenians, but it was completely reduced in 427 B.C. or the following year. Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, both mention that in the 26th year of that war, Callicratides, the Spartan, besieged Mytelene, but was totally defeated in a naval engagement near the islands Arginusæ, where he lost his life; and we have the authority of Gibbon that for some time it continued tributary to the Athenians, but afterwards, by choice, to the Lacedemonians.

When it became subject to Rome, history is silent as to any memorable transaction. As a part of the empire divided between the French and Venetians, it was taken from the latter by John Ducas Vataces in 1230, and in 1332 by Andronicus Paleologus, after a second conquest by them. Having been ceded by the Emperor Kalo Johannes to Domenico Catalusi, a Genoese, for services against his father-in-law, John Catacuzene, the Turks, under Solymán I. took it from Francis Catalusi, his descendant. Mytelene, the metropolis, was besieged by Ursato, a Venetian general, who was forced to raise the siege with the loss of 5,000 men; and the French and Venetians in 1502 invested it without effect. It was the first island of the Archipelago of which the Turks had gained the certain and secure possession.

Beside being celebrated as the birth-place of Terpander, Alcæus, and Sappho, Mytelene produced also, in more modern times, the ce-

lebrated Khair'-ed-Deen, or Barbarossa, the notorious corsair, afterwards Capudan Pasha of Solyman I, in the sixteenth century. He took the city of Tunis, and expelled the Venetians from the Morea. His great antagonist, Andrea Doria, the Genoese Admiral, after various success, was at length totally defeated by him. He died in the city of Constantinople in 1544, and was buried in the village of Beshù-tash, on the Bosphorus, where his turbèh, or sepulchral chapel, is still shown with great veneration by the Turks. The British drama founded on his history is well known.

It is almost impossible to describe correctly the pleasing sensations excited by a view of classic ground, when every circumstance of time and place is favourable to contemplation, and a recurrence to the scenes and events which have rendered it renowned in history. Yet, in sailing through the Archipelago, one's heart almost bleeds to witness the contrasted state of poverty, oppression, and wretchedness, which now reign where liberty and plenty once flourished. The maritime poet, Falconer, with all that warmth of feeling which pervades his poem, could not avoid a digression to lament the wretched change :

What pale distress afflicts those wretched isles !
 There Hope ne'er dawns, and Pleasure never smiles;
 The vassal wretch obsequious drags his chain,
 And hears his famish'd babes lament in vain—
 These eyes have seen the dull reluctant soil
 A seventh year scorn the weary labourer's toil.
 No blooming Venus, on the desert shore,
 Now views with triumph captive gods adore ;
 No lovely Helens now, with fatal charms,
 Call forth th' avenging chiefs of Greece to arms ;
 No fair Penelopes enchant the eye,
 For whom contending kings are proud to die.
 Here sullen Beauty sheds a twilight ray,
 While Sorrow bids her vernal bloom decay !
 Those charms, so long renowned in classic strains,
 Had dimly shone on Albion's happier plains !

I ardently wished, however, to turn from this sombre view of the picture, and to indulge the train of pleasing ideas which its classic recollections had excited : deeming it unwise to dwell on painful emotions, unless their indulgence could be considered conducive to some evidently beneficial purpose. On the present occasion, however, the calm that prevailed, and the brilliancy of the Grecian heavens, were favourable to the highest degree of imaginative enjoyment :—

My heart was full of Fancy's dream,
 And, as I watch'd the playful stream,
 Entangling in its net of smiles
 So fair a group of elfin isles,
 I thought the midnight scenery there
 Was lighted by a *Lesbian* sky
 And that I breathed the balmy air
 Yet warm with Sappho's amorous sigh,

Until the downy hand of rest
 Her signet on my eyes imprest,
 Yet even then the blissful spell,
 Like star-dew, o'er my fancy fell!

At noon of the 15th we were becalmed off Cape Carabourna, which forms the southern entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna, when a light breeze springing up in the afternoon, we crowded all sail, and saw Long Island at sun-set. Our pilot, however, steering too far southerly, entangled himself between Long Island and the south-western main, where we beat about the whole of the night, in a passage not more than a mile in width, and that obstructed by many dangerous rocks.

Successive intervals of calms and squalls, and those too from an unfavourable quarter, prevented our making any progress throughout the whole of the 16th, though all hands were employed tacking every hour, and attending the sails.

At day-light on the 17th, we embraced the favourable breeze that blew, and weathering the south-point of Long Island, bore away for Smyrna, where we anchored about noon in nine fathoms water, close to this magnificent and imposing maritime city of Turkey, surrounded by ships of every flag and nation in Europe, Africa, and America.

THE USE OF ORNAMENT FOR PHILOSOPHICAL COMPOSITION.

THE studying of words, and not matter, is so justly contemptible, that, as Hercules, when he saw the image of Adonis, Venus's minion, in a temple, said, in disdain, *nil sacri es*; so there are none of Hercules's followers in learning, that is the more severe and laborious toil of enquirers into truth, but will despise those delicacies and affectations as capable of no divineness. Indeed, it seems to me, that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity; for words are but the images of matter, and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them, is all one, as to fall in love with a picture. But yet, notwithstanding, it is not hastily to be condemned to clothe and adorn the obscurity even of philosophy itself with sensible and plausible elocution.—*Bacon*.

BOND OF HONOUR.

THE knot that binds me by the law of courtesie, pinches me more than that of legal constraint; and I am much more at ease when bound by a scrivener than by myself. Is it not reason that my conscience should be much more engaged when men simply rely upon it? In a bond my faith owes nothing, because it has nothing lent it. Let them trust to the security they have taken without me; I had much rather break the walls of a prison, and the laws themselves, than my own word.—*Montaigne*.

RICH AND POOR.

NOTHING is so hard for those who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.— ANDREW MARVELL'S WEEKLY DIGEST.

SIR,

North Wales, May, 1833.

It is now, that the certainty of experience has arrived—when acts supersede professions—and principles are being explained by votes—that it behoves every man who has bestirred himself for Reform (that is, an immense majority of the nation) and who has the welfare of his country at heart, to take care that he is not misled or deceived; so that as the confidence he has placed in his representative is being put to the test, the hopes he has formed from the working of a Reformed Parliament, may not be disappointed with impunity. By the great mass of the people this must be learned through the medium of the public press; which, though as a *whole* it has done its duty nobly, and is healthy and hearty as a *body*, has yet its diseased members, so that imposition will be *attempted*, if not *practised*.

It is of the utmost importance, then, in particular, that the medium be sound, through which reports of the speeches of members are transmitted throughout the country. Considering the manner in which reports of the proceedings of the two branches of the Legislature are obtained, the description of persons engaged in this undertaking, and the piecemeal haste in which the reports are transmitted, and committed to the press, the accuracy with which they appear in the public papers, is surprising. But the editors of newspapers, themselves, sometimes find it necessary to correct, alter and explain, their printed reports; and besides that, it would be better that the necessity for this should be avoided; they want an authority and dignity which they can never acquire, and which can only be supplied by an undertaking on the part of the individual who indites, and who has himself personal knowledge, and opportunities for actual observation, of the proceedings he undertakes to report and review. It is desirable, also, in many cases, that within such a period of time as will not tantalize expectation, days should elapse between the delivery of speeches on important subjects and the publication of their review, so that haste may not prejudice industry, or the want of time for cool deliberation impair the soundness of judgment.

In these points of view, the weekly publication of THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW is calculated to effect great good in its various connection with the politics of the day, which however desirable it may be that they should not be so all-absorbing as at present, will continue to be so, whilst in spite of ourselves, politics force themselves into every man's pleasures and business; deeply, perhaps *vitaly*, affect every man's interests, and the ease, comforts, and very existence of the middle and industrious classes. So novel an attempt to raise Journalism in this country to a level with the dignity and importance it for some years has assumed in France, has naturally enough, under the present circumstances of the country, been hailed with delight by those who expect national benefit from Reform, through the medium of Parliament and the Press.

It has long been tacitly admitted, that there are few things more important than correct reports of the debates in Parliament, even when the utmost extent of rational hope from that source was, too often, only as to the knowledge of the minimum of injury inflicted on the ease, comforts, and properties of individuals, and the best interests of the nation. That Members themselves may be anxious on this behalf is proved by some of the most eminent of them, (the late Mr. WYNDHAM, for instance) occasionally correcting their own speeches for publication. In France, many Members of the Chamber of Deputies are editors or constant contributors to the public journals. It is considered a matter of great moment that they *should* be, and quite essential to any high degree of reputation as a statesman or orator, that a man should possess, and have well exercised, his literary talents. In any walk of life in France, scientific acquirements, the possession of useful knowledge, or acquaintance with the arts, prove a sufficient introduction into society, (the essentials of character and good-breeding not being wanting) whilst in England the requisites have too generally been, aristocratic connexion, large estates, or "*lots of money.*"

So, also, in this country, the connexion of politics and journalism in public characters, has been sneered at by mere lords and lordlings, by wealthy blockheads, and statesmen *by profession*; whilst, in France, nothing is more common, more honourable, or more influential. The fact is, this portion of the press, and its contributors, however respectable in themselves, have been undervalued; and it has been the prevailing practice of the aristocracy in one house, and of its spawn in the other, to affect to despise persons they were afraid of, and talents which they envied, whilst they endeavoured to depreciate. What made ANDREW MARVELL, who wrote and sent to his constituents a Weekly Digest of the proceedings in Parliament, so feared, and at once so persecuted and courted in the subservient Parliaments of that prince of corruption, moral and political, Charles II.? Not his wealth, nor his distinguished birth, nor his high connexions, for he had neither;—but for what was infinitely more creditable to himself, and more advantageous to his country—*his talents, his incorruptible integrity, and uncompromising opposition to those who were robbing, plundering, degrading his country, and spoiling it at once of its liberty and its wealth.* ANDREW MARVELL, refusing a thousand pounds from the King's treasurer, at the time that he was dining for the second time on the remains of a shoulder of mutton, for want of money to buy another joint, will live for ages in the grateful and admiring recollection of posterity; whilst Charles, his mistresses, minions, and corrupt parliaments, will either have been forgotten, or be remembered only to be execrated.

It must, however, be admitted that a certain portion of the periodical press in Great Britain, has not only done little to attain that high situation, and the command of that unqualified respect to which, in a sound state, it would be entitled, but has brought on itself *disgrace*. Periodicals, like persons, may, will, and ought, perhaps, to take different sides on political questions; but let this be done in all cases fairly, if not with candour; and, above all, let not veracity, without which no publication can be either estimable or useful, be sacrificed at the shrine of faction or folly. It is worse than absurd, in these days, for any description of public writers, as Locke says, to 'attempt to persuade men to put out their eyes, that they may the better receive the remote light of a star through a telescope.' Disappointment in adventure, the failure of receiving expected attentions from the more respectable classes in a foreign country, or the bigotry of inveterate prejudice *drawing conclusions opposed to its own recorded facts*, may perhaps plead some excuse for the caricatures, embellishments, and forced conclu-

sions of needy way-wanderers, or persons accustomed from earliest youth to the implicit, unreflecting subjection of reason and right to the cat-o'-nine-tail discipline of a British man of war. But it is most lamentable that any who assume the name of Critics, and who profess to form and control public opinion on the most important subjects of human welfare, should subject themselves to the charge of mendacity, and, apparently, on purpose (for there is too much of talent in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, for instance, to admit of its being imputed to stupidity) flagrantly misrepresent facts, the true knowledge of which is intimately connected with the best interests and happiness of nations.* It is such shuffling as the *EDINBURGH REVIEWER*, who wrote the late article on the Ballot, condescends to; and the palpable misrepresentations of the *QUARTERLY*, which degrade the periodical press in this country; and which the interests of that press, and of the great body of the people, as well as the great cause of Truth, imperiously require should be exposed to the just indignation of those whom such pernicious acts are intended to mislead. In discharge of this duty, the mendacious article in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW* for March last, on the Literature and public and private Libraries of the United States of America, will form the earliest subject of comment.

M.

OPINIONS OF RESPECTABLE VINTNERS ON THE DESECRATION OF THE SABBATH.

SIR,

Dublin, May, 1833.

Circumstances, which lately threw me into the company of some respectable members of the Society of Vintners, led me to form a very different judgment of the views and characters of this profession of men from that which I had previously entertained, and produced reflections on the very great ignorance or prejudice under which the estimate of our neighbours may be formed.

If there were one class of my fellow-citizens more than another which I should have charged with the desecration of the Sabbath, that of vintners, tavern-keepers, and publicans, was the one. It was, therefore, with very great surprise, as well as pleasure, I heard one of that Society complain that the Sabbath, which was a day of rest or of recreation to others, was not suffered to be such to them; so that each of them might truly exclaim—

“Even Sunday chimes no Sabbath day to me.”

I begged an explanation of this—to me—seeming paradox; as I considered it was their own interest and inclination which led to their keeping open houses during a portion of the Sabbath. “No,” said the speaker, “the respectable portion of the trade feel it a degradation to be obliged to open our houses *at all* on a Sunday; but the case is this, while the permission exists to keep any open on that day, all must adopt the practice, or the Monday business departs likewise from us, and draws that of the week after it. At present, the sale of spirits is altogether abolished on a Sunday; but the shops are allowed to be opened for the sale of malt liquors at specified hours: and the latter permission merely serves as a trap to seduce into a transgression of the prohibition of the former.” “But what,” I asked, “could be the object of laying a trap for such transgressions?” “The fines, Sir,” he replied. “The fines!” said I; “why, you cannot suppose the magistrates appropriate to themselves the fines which they levy for these

breaches of the Sabbath?" "Certainly, Sir," said he; "such at least is the *impression* of the trade." "What reason," I asked, "have you for thinking so?" "This simple one," he replied—"the Act says, the first offence shall be punished by fine, the second by a higher fine, the third offence by *withdrawing the licence*; but the magistrates *fine for all*." "And what remedy would you propose for these abuses?" I enquired. "An effectual one," he answered, "namely, the *total prohibition of opening any house on a Sunday for the sale of any liquors whatever*." "Would you," said I, "have any objection to petition Parliament on the subject?" "No," said he, "but that we fear it would make us obnoxious to the magistrates, and they have the power, whenever they have the will, to withhold our licences, *without even assigning a reason for so doing*. However, if any reasonable prospect existed of our wishes being acceded to, we would most humbly beseech the legislature to prohibit the opening of any public house on a Sunday on any pretence whatever."

"Pray," said I, "may I ask what you conceive the benefits to be derived from the adoption of this principle to the extent you propose, and what would be its effects on the lower classes?" "It would add," he replied, "to our own respectability; it would add to the respectability of those who frequent our houses. We should enjoy our own domestic circle on that day as well as others; and the dissipated, from having no alternative, would be obliged to spend their Sunday evenings at home. From necessity at first they would spend one day sober, and it would soon become a habit; especially if the practice was adopted of paying a labourer and tradesmen on Thursdays or Fridays, instead of Saturdays. At present they are paid on Saturday night, too late to market for their families; the money is in their pockets on Sunday; they go out in the morning—they meet an acquaintance—the public-house is near—they enter; Monday morning they rise in a stupor—they are unfit for work—they turn in again to the whiskey-shop, and the debauch of Sunday prolongs its effects to the end of the week. Nor is this all; the wretched children are sent after the father, and the wife comes after the children—or the wife comes after the husband, and the children come crying after the mother, till it often happens that husband, wife, and children, are plunged in irretrievable ruin. If the legislature really wish to improve the moral and civil character of our countrymen, let it abolish at once and for ever the license to keep open house for sale of either malt liquors or spirits on a Sunday."

These views, confirmed by others in the trade, impressed me deeply at the time; and reflection since has led me to adopt the opinion, that compelling the strict observance of the Sabbath, *in these particulars*, would do more towards altering the habits of my countrymen than any system of education which has ever been adopted.

R. T. H.

Note.—We concur entirely in the views of the writer of this interesting Letter, and hope its insertion here will attract attention in the proper quarter.

THE SLAVE OF AMBITION.

A PURCHASED slave has but one master; an ambitious man must be a slave to all who may conduce to his aggrandisement.—*La Bruyère*.

CORONATION OF HENRY IV. OF FRANCE—HOLY OIL OF MARMOUTIER.

THE difficulties of Henry IV. of France, did not end with his profession of conformity to the rites and doctrines of the Catholic Church. The more zealous among the Protestants resented a desertion of their faith, which excepting as an example never to be justified, did them more good than harm; and to the Catholics, as was too clearly proved by his tragical end, he always continued to be an object of suspicion—though whatever remains of heresy lurked within him—he uniformly, after his conversion, acted the part of a true son of the Church. One of Henry's earliest difficulties and most anxious subjects of consideration, after he became a Catholic, was his Coronation. His enemies of the league, as inveterate as ever, still held possession of the City of Rheims, and of the holy oil, considered indispensibly necessary for the legitimate performance of that ceremony; and he was naturally enough impatient to add its sanction to the right of inheritance and possession. It was therefore that he received with satisfaction the information that the celebrated monastery of Marmoutier boasted the possession of a St. Ampoule, of equal sanctity, containing oil of even superior efficacy with that of Rheims. With whatever of incredulity Henry heard the barefaced stories of the miraculous effects of this holy oil, he was far too politic and interested to express the least doubt of their veracity; on the contrary, he anxiously desired that no one else should question their truth, or hesitate to believe in the sanctity of so precious a relic of his adopted church.† This wonderful phial was immediately put in requisition by the king, who commanded that it should be deposited in the Cathedral of Chartres, by the 27th of February, 1594, and to the Marquis de Souvré, Governor of Touraine, the execution of this order was committed. But though accompanied by the Mayor of Tours, the three Sheriffs, the Counsellor of the Court, and a train of other gentlemen of note, on presenting himself at Marmoutier, to require compliance with the will of the king, the Marquis was met by a refusal on the part of the monks; who apprehensive that force might be used, even set themselves to procure aid in case of necessary, determined to substitute a false oil for the real. It required all the resolution and discretion of the king's deputation to defeat the enmity and counteract the cunning of these holy men; but their peremptory demands at length prevailed, though not till after the wily monks affected to enter their solemn protest against its removal, and had stipulated that their holy relic should not be desecrated by passing into the hands of laymen. Thus compelled to yield, after having arrayed themselves in the habit of their order, the Monks of Marmoutier, accompanied by the king's deputation, carried their precious *tromperie* in solemn procession to the Cathedral Church of Tours, and there watching over its safety, (of which they affected to have some doubts) until the next morning,

* See the Lauread; the notice of it in TAIT'S MAGAZINE; the monstrous statements of THE QUARTERLY on the comparative taxation of Great Britain and America; and its notoriously false assertions on the subject of the Libraries and Literature of America, in its number for March 1832, &c.

† According to the ancient legend, which for centuries no one dared to doubt, an angel descended from heaven with this celebrated phial, containing a holy oil for the miraculous cure of St. Martius' wounds, occasioned by his falling down the steps of his cell.

it was then as solemnly transferred to the vast Church of St. Martin, the chapter of St. Gatien taking the right hand in the procession, and the religious of Marmoutier the left, preceded by the Curés of the City, and followed by the Members of the Parliament in their red robes, the Members of the Chambers of Accounts, and the President and Magistrates of the City. On the 15th February, the holy oil was conducted to the church of St. Symphorien, in the faubourg of that name, the nearest part of the City to Marmoutier, and thence carried to Chartres, by four of the Monks, escorted by a detachment of cavalry. But before its departure the jealousy of the clergy extorted twelve different engagements before a notary, on the part of as many distinguished personages, in their proper names and on their personal responsibilities, for the safe return of the holy oil. These persons were the Governor of the Province, the Mayor, the Sheriffs of the City, &c.; and on the 19th of February, the Monks arrived with their charge at the faubourg de Chartres, where all the clergy of that city were assembled to meet them at the Porte des Espars, and afterwards accompanied them to the Abbey of St. Père en Vallée, where the relic was deposited with much pomp till wanted for the Coronation. On the 27th of the same month the king sent four young barons to the Abbey of St. Père to invite the Monks of Marmoutier to bring the holy oil to the Church of Notre Dame. These four lords were, the son of the Comte de Lauzien, the Comte de Dinau, second son of the Duc de Piennes, le Comte de Chevernay, eldest son of the Chancellor of France, and the Baron de Termes, brother to the Duc de Bellegarde, grand master of the horse.

After having individually pledged themselves before two royal notaries, to see the holy oil restored to the Abbey of St. Père, they departed, preceded by their esquires, carrying before them their banners and coats of arms, duly emblazoned. The holy oil was carried by father Mathieu Giron, secretary to the Abbey of Marmoutier. This celebrated priest was clothed in a white robe, and mounted on a white horse, rode under a canopy also of white, embroidered with fleurs-de-lis of gold, which was borne by four monks, in white habits. The ceremony of consecration was performed by the Archbishop of Chartres, in the same manner and with similar pomp as had always been used in the church of Rheims; the only difference in the service being that the inconvenient words, "*De terrâ meâ, ac jurisdictione mihi subditâ, universos hæreticos ab ecclesia dinotatos, pro viribus bonâ fide exterminare studebo,*" were omitted out of the oath. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the king presented a very fine emerald, set in a chased ring of gold, to the monks of Marmoutier, which remained in their possession, annexed to the holy oil, till the year 1791; when the deputies for the department separated it, to present to Louis XVI. The return from Chartres was marked by the observance of the same ceremonies which were used in its journey thither, and the monks safely replaced their relic in its accustomed place in the Abbey of Marmoutier; whence, notwithstanding its divine origin and extraordinary powers, the imposture was, in the early part of the Revolution, dragged forth and dashed to pieces amidst the scorn and derision of the beholders, never more to be made subservient to the impious purposes of either clerical or kingly fraud; or to be again made instrumental in deluding the weak, the ignorant, and the superstitious.*

M.

* Hist. de Touraine, tom. ii.

TRANSLATION FROM THE GULL LANGUAGE.

BY DR. BOWRING.

'Twas grav'd on the Stone of Destiny,*
In letters four, and letters three ;
And ne'er did the King of the Gulls go by
But those awful letters scared his eye ;
For he knew a Prophet Voice had said,
As long as those words by man were read,
The ancient race of the Gulls should ne'er
One hour of peace or plenty share.
But years on years successive flew,
And the letters still more legible grew,—
At top, a T, an H, an E,
And underneath, D. E. B. T.

Some thought them Hebrew,—such as Jews,
Who deal more in Scrip than Scripture, use ;
While some surmised 'twas an ancient way
Of keeping accounts (well known in the day
Of the famed Didlerius Jeremias,
Who had thereto a wonderful bias),
And proved, in books most learn'dly boring,
'Twas call'd the Pontick way of scoring.

Howe'er this be, there never were yet
Seven letters of the alphabet,
That, 'twixt them, formed so grim a spell,
Or scared a Land of Gulls so well,
As did this awful riddle-me-ree
Of T. H. E. D. E. B. T.

Hark ! it is struggling Freedom's cry ;
“ Help, help, ye nations, or I die ;
“ 'Tis Freedom's fight, and, on the field
“ Where I expire *your* doom is seal'd.”
The Gull-King hears the awakening call,
He hath summon'd his Peers and Patriots all,
And he asks, “ Ye noble Gulls, shall we
“ Stand basely by at the fall of the Free,
Nor utter a curse, nor deal a blow ?”
And they answer, with a voice of thunder, “ No.”

Out fly their flashing swords in the air !—
But,—why do they rest suspended there ?
What sudden blight, what baleful charm,
Hath chill'd each eye, and check'd each arm,
Alas, some withering hand hath thrown
The veil from off that fatal stone,
And pointing now, with sapless finger,
Showeth where dark those letters linger,—
Letters four, and letters three,
T. H. E. D. E. B. T !

At sight thereof, each lifted brand
Powerless falls from every hand ;
In vain the Patriot knits his brow,—
Even talk, his staple, fails him now.
In vain the King like a hero treads,
His Lords of the Treasury shake their heads ;
And to all his talk of “ brave and free,”
No answer getteth His Majesty
But, “ T. H. E. D. E. B. T.”

In short, the whole Gull nation feels
They're fairly spell-bound, neck and heels ;
And so, in face of the laughing world,
Must e'en sit down, with banners furl'd,
Adjourning all their dreams sublime
Of glory and war to—some other time.

The Times.

* Liafail, or the Stone of Destiny,—for which see Westminster Abbey.

THE
PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW
And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 15.

THE morning sitting was, as usual, occupied with the presentation of Petitions, chiefly for the *Immediate Abolition of Slavery*. The thinness of the House, and the absence of all the Ministers, were topics of general complaint; and, on the latter subject, Mr. HARVEY made the following observations:—

‘Mr. D. W. HARVEY said that this meeting, for the purpose of presenting the petitions of the people, was worth nothing if a responsible Minister was not present to hear the complaints of the country. He very much regretted the absence of every Minister on the present occasion. It was disgraceful to any Ministry that the petitions should thus, day after day, be ludicrously consigned to the bag. (Hear, hear.) He very much approved of conversational debates of this description. It gave every individual an opportunity of expressing an opinion, and asking any question he might think necessary, and which he must be prevented from doing on the occasion of a debate, when the whole time was consumed with a few solitary speeches of three or four hours’ long. The question he was anxious to put to the Government was, whether the scheme of emancipation was to go hand in hand with compensation; or, whether emancipation was to be carried without compensation; and, if it was not, he wished to know from what quarter compensation was to come. He understood from the speech of a noble lord, who had filled the office of under-secretary until within a very short period, that he had spent two years in maturing a plan for the emancipation of the Slaves, which differed in many very important particulars from the scheme produced by the right. hon. secretary in a very short space of time; and he wished to know why the plans of that noble lord were not submitted to the House, as well as the resolutions of the right hon. secretary? (Hear, hear.) He contended that conversations of this description tended to elucidate facts much better than luminous and elaborate speeches, and regretted that no Minister was present to answer the inquiries of hon. members; it was certainly a part of the original agreement between Ministers and the House.’

In truth, the presentation of Petitions is now felt by almost every Member to be a complete farce. It is not possible, according to the present arrangements, and the number to be presented, to do more than barely state the object of the Petition, and name the place from whence it comes, without exciting the angry impatience of those who

are waiting for their turn, and who regard every word said by those who go before them, as an infringement upon their time. It frequently happens, indeed, that Members come down to the House with forty or fifty Petitions to present; and if their name falls low in the List of that day's ballot, their turn does not, perhaps, come on for the day, when they are obliged to attend again on the next, and so on for several days in succession; their stock of Petitions accumulating in their hands all the while, by the arrival of two or three on each day; until a feeling of despair at "getting rid of them," which is the term used, makes them indifferent to the matter; and when they are presented, and laid on the table, the joy felt is that of a person relieved from the weight of a heavy burthen. It is in vain to propose a remedy for this during the present Session; but, before its close, it is our intention, if we can command sufficient time for the purpose, to prepare an Outline of a Code of Regulations for the better execution of the Business of the House of Commons, by which we conceive the public service may be materially advanced, and the convenience of Members greatly promoted: so that if well considered and well digested in the recess, it may be fit to present to the House for its approbation and adoption in the next Session, before which no material changes will be entered on.

In the commencement of the evening sitting, the numbers were very few; and from the continued absence of the Ministers and their adherents, it was believed that this was also designed on their parts, in order to avoid the discussion on Sir Samuel Whalley's motion for the repeal of the Taxes on Houses and Windows, which stood second on the List for the evening. Accordingly, after Mr. HUME had briefly called the attention of the House to the late Meeting in Cold Bath Fields, and the improper conduct of the Police on that occasion, and Mr. HILL had presented a Petition from the Baron de Bode, for a Committee to enquire into his Claims on the funds received by the British Government, under the convention with France, for indemnifying British subjects from certain losses, stated in detail, Sir JOHN TYRRELL moved that the House should be counted, when it was found that there were only 39 persons present, and the House was accordingly adjourned until the next day; and consequently all the motions fixed for that evening, and of which there were no less than thirteen on the List, besides the Orders of the Day, were what is called 'dropped,' that is, obliged to be fixed by the parties proposing them, for such other day as they could find vacant.

It would surely have been more rational to have adjourned the House for half an hour, by which time forty or fifty Members might have arrived; and the business might then have proceeded. Owing to the exceedingly inconvenient hour of meeting—five o'clock—some dine before they go, and these are always late, seldom arriving till six o'clock; while others dine afterwards, and meet at five and leave at seven; returning again, perhaps, at ten; so that no punctuality can be ensured daily at the same hour, for all parties: and the consequence is, that many hear the first half of the debate, and not the second;

and others hear the second half of the debate, and not the first; yet both come down at the division to give their votes as if each had heard the whole. Whereas, if the attendance were from ten in the forenoon to six in the evening, which are the usual hours of business for all other public offices or affairs, the punctual and continuous attendance of all the Members might be enforced, or a fine for non-attendance levied, unless illness, or previous leave of absence on sufficient grounds, could be urged as an excuse.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 16.

The principal business of the evening, was the discussion on Mr. COBBETT'S resolutions for presenting an Address to the King, praying him to dismiss Sir ROBERT PEEL from his councils, as a punishment for the calamities produced by his Bill for resuming cash payments in 1819.

Mr. COBBETT began by reading a string of resolutions, which, when printed in the newspapers, occupies nearly a column of the smallest print: and, at the close of it, the SPEAKER asked, whether the document just read was a speech or a motion? If a speech, it could not be received, being written; and it could hardly be considered a motion, since it was an elaborate series of arguments—in short, a sort of pamphlet, expressive of Mr. Cobbett's peculiar views, which he could hardly suppose the House would sanction the insertion of, as a motion, on their Journals.

Mr. COBBETT replied, that the House might do as it liked in that particular; and he should proceed with his speech. He accordingly went into a long detail to prove that the alteration in the currency, occasioned by Mr. Peel's Bill, had produced great misery; on which subject he said nothing new, but recapitulated the arguments used over and over again, in all the discussions on the Currency Question. He did not attribute to Sir Robert Peel any corrupt motive, or any wilful design, to produce the mischief that had really occurred. He accused him only of ignorance, and of acting in defiance of the warnings which he (Mr. Cobbett) had given him: but as he thought it was necessary to make an example of some one, he had selected Sir Robert Peel; and he accordingly moved the Resolutions adverted to.

Mr. FIELDEN, the colleague of Mr. Cobbett in the representation of Oldham, rose to second the motion; and was received in a manner which, though intended to inflict pain upon the member speaking, was productive of great discredit to those who indulged in the groaning, and hooting, and yelling, with which they assailed the speaker. However erroneous Mr. Fielden, or any other member, might be in his views, this mode of opposition is suited rather to savages than to civilized beings; and is utterly disgraceful to a British legislative assembly. The noise and clamour was indeed so great, that scarcely a word could be distinctly heard; and all that could be gathered from

the speech was, that Mr. Fielden agreed entirely with Mr. Cobbett, and gave the Resolutions his cordial support.

Sir ROBERT PEEL rose about 10 o'clock to reply; and was received with loud cheering from all parts of the House. The general feeling seemed to be, that it would be quite sufficient for him to put it to the House,—supposing all the evils attributed to his Bill to have arisen, yet, as no corrupt motive, or wilful intention to produce such evils was even alleged—whether it was in accordance with justice that so severe a punishment as expulsion from His Majesty's councils should be inflicted on the proposer of a measure, in which so many other persons concurred at the time that it passed through both Houses of Parliament, with scarcely a dozen dissentient voices. To such a proposition every just mind would have responded “No!” and the triumph would have been complete. Sir Robert took, however, a different course. He argued the question of his Bill and its effects from beginning to end; he quoted from various parts of Mr. Cobbett's *Register* passages in refutation of that writer's present views; he cited passages of threats and vituperations applied to his father as well as to himself, and made out a case of such inconsistency and injustice against his accuser, as was calculated to overwhelm any other man with shame.

Mr. COBBETT then rose in reply, but he was received with such a volley of groans, hootings, yells, and clamour, as prevented a single word from being heard in any part of the House at a distance from the speaker. Finding, at length, that he could only be heard in broken sentences, he desisted; and the clamour subsiding after he resumed his seat, Sir Robert Peel quitted the House, amidst loud cheers: and a division followed, in which the numbers were—For Mr. Cobbett's motion, 4, (namely, Mr. T. Attwood, Mr. James Roe, Mr. Patrick Lalor, and Mr. John O'Connell); and against it, 298!

After the division was announced, Lord ALTHORP said that he considered this personal attack of Mr. Cobbett, and the groundless nature of the charges on which the motion was based, a matter of sufficient importance to deserve the marked censure of the House; and he should therefore move that the resolutions of Mr. Cobbett, which had just been rejected, should *not* be entered on the minutes of their proceedings.

After a conversation, in which Mr. Cobbett, the Speaker, Mr. Lalor, and Mr. Fielden, took a part, the House divided on this resolution of Lord Althorp's, and with the same result, there being only the same four persons who formed the former minority, against its adoption. The result of this division was received with great cheering.

Notwithstanding the many instances in which the public time has been grossly wasted during the present Session, there has been none so entirely misapplied or thrown away as on this unworthy discussion; and we think Mr. Cobbett fully entitled to all the odium which this expunging of his Resolutions from the Journals of the House has

brought upon him. Supposing all the miseries which he alleges, to have really arisen from Mr. Peel's Bill, could any thing be so unjust, as to visit, with the severest punishment that any public man could receive, what, after all, is only alleged to be an error of judgment, arising from ignorance; in which error, and in which ignorance, however, both Houses of Parliament, and a large mass of the country, equally participated? If this were to be a legislative ground of punishment, what public man would escape?—and how often would Mr. Cobbett himself have to undergo its infliction? But the worst part of the transaction is, that Mr. Cobbett himself admits, in his *Register* of the following day, that he did not expect any person whatever to join in supporting his Resolutions, except Mr. Fielden and himself; and that this would have been quite sufficient to satisfy him! This admission is of itself the severest censure that any man could pass upon the injustice of his own proposition; for, had it been just in his own estimation, how could he suppose it possible that he should be unable to make its justice apparent to any one but his colleague and himself?

Though we conceive Mr. Cobbett's conduct in this affair highly reprehensible, yet we cannot acquit the House of gross injustice, both towards him and towards the public, in drowning opposition to their views by hootings, yellings, clamour, and vociferation. However unjust, extravagant, or even absurd, a man's opinions may appear in their eyes, if he has been sent into the House as the representative of any section of the British people, he has a right to be heard; and they ought to be bound to hear him for a reasonable time, and expose and refute him if they could. But if the noise of groaning and hooting is to be taken as an overwhelming refutation of assertions or reasonings, then a Covent Garden mob may silence King, Lords, and Commons, and the loudest brawlers set the wisest statesmen at defiance. These disgraceful scenes, which are intended to inflict censure on the parties hooted, reflect far deeper disgrace on those who are the actors in them; and the House of Commons is daily losing its character in the eyes of the country, by their daily and nightly repetition.

The next subject that followed, was the motion for the second reading of Sir ANDREW AGNEW'S Bill for the better observance of the Sabbath. Sir Andrew wished it to be postponed for a fortnight, as it was then half-past 11 o'clock, and too late to begin a discussion on such a topic. This was, however, resisted, on the ground that if such requests for time were complied with, merely because of the lateness of the hour, no member would bring on his motion after 11 o'clock; and the business of the Session would never be got through. The discussion was, therefore, forced on, very much against the wish of Sir Andrew Agnew and his supporters.

The motion for its second reading was supported by Mr. Lefroy; and the following members spoke in favour of it:—Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Plumptre, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. R. Grant, Lord Dalmeny, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Rotch, Mr. A. Johnston, and Sir Robert Bateson.

The speakers in opposition to the Bill were—Mr. Warburton, Mr. Poulton, Mr. Roebuck, Sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Petre, and Mr. Hill; and on the division which ensued, the numbers were—For the second reading, 73; against it, 79. The Bill was therefore lost, by a majority of 6. But Sir Andrew Agnew has intimated his intention of introducing another, founded on the same principle, early in the next Session.

The House did not adjourn till 3 o'clock; and day-light again saw many of those members, who live at a distance from the House, entering their homes.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 17.

The morning sitting was occupied with the presentation of petitions; but no Minister or Ministerial officer was present. The following is an extract from a report of its proceedings:—

‘Mr. F. O’CONNOR gave three notices for the 22d of May, the last of which was to the following effect:—“To move that the absence of Ministers from the House during the presentation of petitions is an insult to the Commons, and an injustice to the people of England.” The Hon. Member was proceeding to address the House, when

‘The SPEAKER told him such a course was irregular.

‘Upon the presentation of the following petition by Mr. M. A. TAYLOR, from Suffolk, for the abolition of slavery, Mr. F. O’CONNOR moved that the House be counted over. There were more than forty members present, and the business proceeded.’

In the evening sitting, the question of the Corn Laws was brought forward by Mr. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, who moved the two following resolutions:—

‘1st,—That the present system of Corn Laws, founded on a high and ever-varying scale of duties, while it fails of conferring permanent benefit on the agricultural interest, tends to cramp the trade and impair the general prosperity of the country.

‘2d,—That an alteration of these laws, substituting in their stead a moderate duty, fixed at all periods except those of extreme dearth, while it indemnified the agriculturists for the peculiar burdens which press upon them, would, by restoring the commercial relations between this kingdom and foreign countries, increase the manufactures and render the price of the produce of the country more equal.’

After the great length to which we reported the speech of Earl Fitzwilliam in the House of Lords, on the same subject, in our last, we feel it unnecessary to give the details of Mr. Whitmore’s speech in the Commons; as the subject is now familiar to most of our readers, and need not be again gone into at any length. We can only say that the Hon. Member supported his views by such an array of facts and arguments, as would have satisfied any impartial and disinterested assembly, of the justice of giving his Resolutions their assent. But the House of Commons, having among its members so large a num-

ber of persons whose private fortunes and yearly incomes are greatly dependant on the maintenance of the existing system, is *not* an impartial and disinterested tribunal for the decision of such a question; and, while it is constituted as it is at present, there is but little hope of any alteration being made in those laws, or indeed in any, other, where the interests of the rich are to be made to yield to the interests of the poor.

Mr. HUME spoke in favour of a relaxation of the Corn Laws; and, as he elicited some new views in the effects produced by the present system, and the benefits that would arise from its revision, we give some portions of his address:—

‘What he (Mr. Hume) looked for was a steady, not a fluctuating price of corn. In the year 1827, he had proposed that all foreign corn should be admissible at a fixed duty, which he had made high in the first instance, beginning with 15s., and coming down a shilling every year till it reached 10s. At 10s. he proposed that it should rest until a Committee of that House should have ascertained the exclusive burdens pressing on the land. The division upon that proposition gave him better encouragement to proceed. He had, however, proposed in 1828, when the present Corn Laws were passed, that instead of the varying scale of duties adopted in them, there should be a fixed duty of 10s. a-quarter on the importation of foreign corn. Now, let the House mark the different results which would have taken place had this proposition, instead of that of the Government, been adopted. Since that time 4,000,000 of quarters had been imported, and the duty realized upon them was only 6s. 8d.; consequently, if his proposition for a fixed duty of 10s. had been made low, the agricultural interest would have had a better protection than it had at present, and those gluts of the market which had produced such irregularity of price would have been prevented. He had likewise proposed at that time that there should be upon foreign barley a fixed duty of 8s. The present law had realized a duty of only 4s. 8d. On foreign oats he proposed a fixed duty of 6s. The present law had only realized a duty of 5s. 11d. The total amount of revenue raised under the existing law upon the importation of foreign corn was 2,840,000l., whereas it would have been 3,600,000l. had his rate been adopted. Thus the Exchequer would have received a million more, and the community at large would have received a great advantage from the improvement which it would have created in the prospects of our manufacturing interests.

‘He would undertake to prove that the present Corn Laws had been detrimental to the public, without being beneficial to the agricultural interest. He did not expect to hear it denied that every import must be paid for by an export. If so, every quarter of wheat imported put into employment some manufacture to pay for that import. He wished the House to answer this question—“could the employment of hands in agriculture be now increased in agriculture?” He should say “very little,” for there was a limit to the cultivation of land; but there was no limit to the increased employment of hands in manufactures, save a want of demand. Now, what produced a want of demand? A refusal to take from other countries the commodities which they produced. Fortunately for England, all her imports were raw materials. The cost of the raw material, generally speaking, was not more than nine, ten, or at the outside twenty per cent. of the finished article; all the rest was the profits of capital and wages laid out in this country. Every device, therefore, ought to be used to increase the manufactures of the country,

which would thus relieve the agricultural parishes of the loads of unemployed poor with which they were at present filled. Whenever a stagnation took place in manufactures, the manufacturing labourers were flung back upon their parishes, and thus increased the amount of the poor-rates. And thus it happened that the agriculturists were directly interested in the success of the manufacturer, and that any check to the prosperity of the latter proved more injurious to the former than any monopoly of the Corn Laws was ever found to be beneficial.

He did not expect to hear it disputed that when wages were high, and the price of food dear, industry was proportionably checked. Therefore, if in England you had wages higher, and corn 30 per cent dearer, than on the Continent, it followed that you were checking the activity and paralyzing the energy of our manufactures. The manufacturers of Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the United States, were all actively employed in manufacturing articles of every description, which came in competition with the same articles of our manufacture. Now, if he took the continent of South America as a common market, into which they all entered, it was clear that the buyer would not consider so much the cost at which the manufacture had been produced, as the quality of what he was going to buy. If we were obliged to feed our population 30 per cent. dearer than the population of our rivals was fed, by paying 50s. a-quarter for corn which in Europe and America could be purchased for 30s. a-quarter, the consequence was clear, that the manufacturers of England were placed in a situation worse by 30 per cent. in the expense of manufacturing than their continental and transatlantic brethren. Consequently the rate of profit which they would otherwise derive from their superior machinery, and their more easy supply of coal, was ground down by their meeting, in the foreign market, the manufactures of cheaper corn countries.

‘What, then, did he ask the house to do?—to place the workmen of England on the same footing as the workmen of other countries, and then he had no doubt that we should extend our commerce in every market in the world, and should supply them with better goods at as cheap, if not a cheaper rate, than any of our rivals. We should thus be able to employ a greater number of workmen in proportion to the greater consumption of the goods we manufactured. Would this hurt the agricultural interest? Quite the reverse. At the present moment the people of England were only three-quarters fed, and the result of this improvement in our manufacturers would be, that they would be entirely fed. Thus, not only would all the corn now consumed be still consumed at a price equal to that now paid for it, but there would also be a demand for an additional supply, which could not fail to prove advantageous to the agricultural interest.

‘It was, therefore, his opinion that we ought to throw open our ports to the whole world, to receive any articles which other countries might choose to send us. He was satisfied that no means of relief would be effectual till we had freed our industry from the shackles by which it was now oppressed. He concluded by moving as an amendment “That all the words after the word ‘that’ in Mr. Whitmore’s motion be struck out, for the purpose of inserting the following:—‘That it is the opinion of this house that any sort of corn, grain, meal, and flour, which is now imported into the United Kingdom, shall be admissible at all times on payment of a fixed duty.’” He had not named the amount of duty, as he was more anxious upon this occasion, to establish the principle of his resolution, than to fix the rate of duty which would be fair to all parties.’

The original resolution and the amendment, were equally opposed

by Lord Newark, Mr. Fergus O'Connor, and Mr. Gilbert Heathcote; but the opposition of Lord Althorp was so peculiar in its grounds, and so remarkable for the entire absence of anything like a *reason* for his opposition, except that this was not the *proper time* for bringing forward the question, that we give his Lordship's speech entire :

' LORD ALTHORP said that every man must admit the great importance of this question, and that it was one on which the feelings of the country would be excited whenever it should be brought under consideration with the view to its final settlement; but he would put it to the house to consider what would be the situation of the country if either of those resolutions should be adopted. If they looked to the many great and important questions which yet remained to be brought under the consideration of Parliament, they would, he thought, admit that if there was a time less suited than another for the discussion of this question it was the present. (Hear.) Looking at the mere question of the time which remained for the public business yet to be done, he thought it would be found short enough without the addition of this question, which, under any circumstances, would make so large a demand on the attention of Parliament. Under these circumstances, he would ask, ought such a period to be chosen for reopening a subject of such magnitude, and which must greatly excite the country from one end to the other? Besides, the price of corn was not now pressing. It was low, and the manufacturers were, on the whole, in a state of employment. When he objected to making any change in our system at this time, he must add, speaking his own private opinion, that he did not see any such great advantage which those laws produced to the landed interest. He hoped that at any time he should not allow considerations of individual interest to sway in giving his opinion, even as a private person, on a subject of such magnitude, and still less should he do so in his character as a Minister of the Crown, whose duty it was to take those measures which might best promote the interest of all classes; but he might remark, that he did not see the Corn Laws had been of such advantage to the landed interest that he, as a landed proprietor, would be greatly benefited by keeping them as they were. His great objection to any change now was the *unfitness of the time*, and the pressure of so many other and more urgent subjects on the attention of Parliament. On these grounds it was his intention to have moved the "previous question" to the resolution of the Hon. Member for Wolverhampton; but he was now precluded by the forms of the house from doing so, as an amendment was already moved. He would, therefore, oppose the amendment, with a view of meeting the original question afterwards with a negative. With these feelings of the *unfitness of the time* for the consideration of this great question, the house would see the propriety of his not following either of the Hon. Members into the details into which they had gone. He might remark, however, with respect to fluctuations of prices, to which the Hon. Member had referred, that it was impossible to prevent such fluctuations where the price of corn in this country was raised by factitious means above that of the Continent. He would also observe on what appeared to him to be a very general and a very erroneous opinion on the subject of prices as affected by the Corn Laws. It was believed by many that the loss to the consumer in this country was equal to the whole amount of difference between the price which corn bore here and that at which it was sold in the foreign market. Now this was not the case, for it was always remarked that the opening of our ports to the admission of foreign corn was immediately followed by a rise of prices in the foreign market, so as often to come very near to our

own price. He would add that he did not see that any *practical inconvenience* had been shown to result to any party from the operation of this system.

There is really no reasoning with a Minister who takes such grounds of opposition as these.

The first objection is—that it will lead to excitement. But surely the refusal to accede to the proposition made, is calculated to create ten times the excitement that would be occasioned by acquiescence. The second is,—that there would not be time to get through the other business of the Session. Why, the passing the resolution would take no more time than the rejecting it; and as to the acting upon it, the time of Parliament need not be consumed in that, for it would be an affair of the Custom House and its officers only. A third reason is,—that there are also other important questions to decide. This will be the case in every session: and if the Corn Laws be put off until there is nothing else demanding attention, they will never be settled at all. In short, the *unfitness of the time* is a pure Parliamentary excuse, which is urged when there is no better to be given. If a question to which Ministers are opposed, is brought forward in the beginning of the session, then it is too early—if in the latter end of the session, then it is too late: and if anywhere between the early and the latter part, then it is not the proper time. But the shallowest person must see through so flimsy a veil as this. The *real* reason of a refusal to admit cheap corn, is, that it would lessen the rents, and, consequently, diminish the incomes of the great landholders among the peers and commoners, whose united force is too great for any Minister to overcome. The *pretended* reason will be, anything that can be urged most plausibly, and with the greatest chance of being believed. The reputation for candour and honesty on which Lord Althorp's fame has hitherto chiefly rested, would be less injured, however, by his boldly avowing his inability to cope with the landed influence, than by such speeches and such excuses about the unfitness of the time, as this.

Mr. A. BARING made a long, and as usual, a very inconsequential speech: he opposed any alteration in the existing laws; and contended that the manufacturers suffered nothing from their operation. It should be observed, in excuse for Mr. Baring, that the sphere of his own observations is confined to the space between his splendid mansion in Piccadilly, the hall of the Bank of England, and his seat and park in Hampshire; and that he may, therefore, really believe the manufacturers do not suffer from dear bread: according to the maxim given among our extracts from old writers, in our last;—that to those who are rich, and surrounded with abundance, nothing is so difficult as to imagine that any other persons can be in want.

At twelve o'clock, as usual, the House began to grow hot, angry, and impatient; and every one who rose was considered a needless protractor of the debate—in other words, a nuisance and a bore, and assailed with cries of “question, question,”—“divide, divide,” to force him to desist. Among others, Mr. R. C. Fergusson, Mr. Cayley, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Benett, Col. Conolly, Mr. Grantley Berkeley,

and Sir F. Burdett, were clamoured against almost as loudly as Mr. Cobbett was on the preceding night, though not by such yelling and groaning. It was not that any hostility was felt to the speakers, or even to their views, for they embraced both sides of the question: but the feeling might be thus expressed,—“A plague on all these debaters—we have had enough of speeches—we are tired—we are hot—we are thirsty—we are sleepy—we are peevish and ill-humoured,—and want to get away; therefore we will force on the division, and cry ‘question! question! question!’” This we believe to be an accurate and faithful picture of the case; but surely it would be far better to put a limit to each man’s oration—to fix a certain hour at which the debate should close—and subject all these matters to fixed rules and regulations, rather than endure a repetition of these nightly brawls on the gravest and most important questions, for the decision of which the calmest temper and the most unbiassed judgment is necessary.

The following scene occurred towards the close of the debate. While Mr. O’CONNELL was contending that tho’ landlords demanded the exclusion of foreign corn on the plea that their lands were burthened with heavy imposts, yet they refused to join with him in sweeping away these imposts, one of the heaviest of which was Tithes, and that, therefore, their only object was to keep up their own incomes—there were loud cries of “Hear, hear,” from the manufacturing Members, and equally loud cries of “No, no,” from the agricultural Members: and amidst these cries a faint sound was heard from the Strangers’ Gallery. This was the signal for universal curiosity; and on Mr. Dundas stating, from the side gallery, that some stranger had committed a breach of privilege, by expressing his feelings on the debate, Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS moved that the gallery should be cleared. This was accordingly done; as it appears, that by parliamentary usage, any single Member may, at any time, move this to be done, and the Speaker must, in such case, comply, whether the whole House beside should oppose it or not.

The Gallery being cleared, there was observed to be one solitary person sitting in the midst of it, who, as soon as the doors were closed, rose and said, that it was from him the sound had proceeded; that as a Member of the House he felt at liberty to sit where he pleased, and had accordingly taken up his seat beside a friend in the Stranger’s Gallery; that, as a Member, he considered himself also at liberty to cheer, or otherwise, wherever he happened to be seated; and if he had erred against the forms of the House, he had not done so knowingly.

The Member so explaining himself was Mr. PATRICK LALOR; and the explanation being deemed sufficient, Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS rose to withdraw his motion for clearing the Gallery, and to move the re-admission of the strangers who had been just expelled. While on his legs, however, he said, that he wished to justify himself for the step he had taken; and he accordingly launched into a eulogy on the important privilege of freedom of debate; declaring that whenever any

attempt was made to overawe a Member by expression of applause or censure from the Gallery, the freedom of debate would be at end, the privileges of the Commons of England be destroyed, and public liberty, and every other good, annihilated for ever ! It was, in short, a rhodomontade, such as might suit the mock-monarchy of a burlesque tragedy on the stage, but was perfectly ludicrous, considering the object, time, and place. Why, during the course of this very evening, and of almost every other that had passed during the session, Mr. Frankland Lewis must have seen attempts made to interrupt or overawe the freedom of debate, by coughing, clamouring, hooting, yelling, &c. directed against Members on all sides, with no other view than to force them to desist from speaking at all, or to drown what they said in noise, if they persisted in proceeding. Is not this interrupting the freedom of debate, whether it proceeds from the body of the House, or the Gallery ? and are not many persons, every night, prevented from expressing their views and feelings, by the actual operation or anticipation of this ? What a mockery, then, to pass all this by without a murmur, and to see the House turned nightly into a bear garden from the misconduct of its own Members, without complaint : and yet to be ready to burst with indignation at a mere whisper of applause (for it was nothing more) proceeding from the Gallery, lest it should overawe and interrupt the freedom of debate !

Let us not be misunderstood. We would not permit, in a legislative assembly, any more than in a Court of Justice, any expression of approbation or censure, from auditors or strangers. But, in the legislative assembly, as in the Court of Justice, we would not confine this prohibition to strangers merely, but extend it to members of the assembly itself. In Courts of Justice, neither the plaintiff nor defendant, the solicitor or the barrister, the witness or the judge, are allowed to utter any sounds indicative of censure or applause, beyond the free expression of opinions, in language understood by all. It should be so in the legislative assembly, where even more of calmness and earnest dignity is required than in Courts of Justice—inasmuch, as greater and more important interests are involved in the decisions of those who *make* the laws than of those who *execute* them : and we shall never have the business of Parliament done as it ought to be until these abuses and absurdities are removed.

After the re-admission of strangers into the gallery, very little was said : and, at one o'clock, the House divided on the question, when the gallery was cleared again—according to the usual but most unnecessary custom—since no inconvenience whatever could arise from the strangers being permitted to remain in their places during the division as well as during the debate : and the result of the division was—For admitting cheap corn from foreign countries on a fixed duty of 10s. a-quarter, 106 ; for the exclusion of cheap corn, by the maintenance of the present Corn Laws, 305.

No revision of the Corn Laws, which have now been upheld by the decision of both Houses, can take place during the present Session. It appears to us, from our general recollection, that a much greater

number than 106 pledged themselves, at the election, to have voted for the abolition of the present Corn Laws. It will behove the constituencies, therefore, to look well to the votes of their members on this and other vital questions; and to call their representatives to give an account of their stewardship, if their conduct has been contrary to their promises, which we fear will be found, in very many instances, be the case.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 20.

The morning sitting was devoted to the presentation of petitions; and the principal business of the evening was the discussion, in Committee, of the clauses of the Irish Church Bill.

Previous to this, however, two announcements were made—one, that the office of Secretary for Ireland had been accepted by Mr. LITTLETON, the member for Staffordshire, and late candidate for the Speaker's chair; and the other, that there was no truth in the rumour that the Slave Question was to be put off for another Session, as Ministers intended to persevere in the plan of emancipation, announced by Mr. Stanley, with as little delay as possible.

In the debate on the Irish Church Bill, very little that is worthy of record was elicited. Mr. GILLON moved, as an amendment on one of the clauses, that on the death of the present incumbents, the revenues of the Irish church should be applied to purposes of *general* utility, and not to ecclesiastical uses. The amendment was seconded by Mr. CUTHBERT RIPPON, who denounced the Church Establishment altogether, as unwarranted by Scripture, and contrary to good policy. The House ultimately divided on the question; when the numbers were—For Mr. Gillon's amendment, 16; for the original clause of the Bill, 125: so that the House of Commons are, by a very large majority, still disposed to uphold the "integrity," as it is called, of the ecclesiastical revenues, and to resist their application to any other than ecclesiastical purposes; while the House of Lords would be probably without a dissentient voice on this subject.

The discussion upon the various other clauses lasted till two o'clock in the morning—by which time the House had got as far as clause 19—when the Chairman reported progress; and obtained leave to sit again, on the following day, to go through the remainder of the Bill.

In the Metropolitan Police Bill, which was read a third time, Mr. PEASE, who had before moved the insertion of a clause for prohibiting cock-fighting, bear-baiting, &c. within five miles of London, and which clause was then lost, now moved the same clause, which was carried; the numbers being—For the clause, 24; against it, 16: there being exactly 40 members in the House. It was then, however, nearly three o'clock in the morning; and it was at a late hour when Mr. Pease's clause was before rejected. In addition, therefore, to the

other frequently enumerated evils of nocturnal legislation, may be added this—that it makes the issue of motions as uncertain as the issue of the drawing of a lottery; and far more dependant on the hour of the night on which they are brought on, than on their merits.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 21:

The House met at four, to ballot for Election Committees; after the conclusion of which some petitions were presented; one of which, by Mr. Tennyson, was obliged to be withdrawn in consequence of its severe language. Mr. Young postponed his intended motion on the Shipping Interest, on a promise from Mr. Poulett Thomson, that the subject should be taken up by the Committee on Trade and Manufactures at an early period; and Lord Althorp gave notice that he would bring the subject of the Bank Charter before the House on Friday, the 31st of May.

Mr. HARVEY then rose to submit his motion for a return of the list of pensioners paid out of the Civil List, with the names and ages of each, and a statement of the services by which they had earned or become entitled to such pensions from the country. We select a few of the more striking passages of it:—

‘He held in his hand a statement of the annual expenditure of the United Kingdom, in salaries, pensions, sinecures, half-pay, superannuations, compensations, and allowances; and he believed that the only reason why it had been allowed to go on was, that the country was totally ignorant of its amount. The annual sum paid under those various and confused heads, exceeded 9,000,000*l.* sterling; and the following was a detailed account of the expenditure:—

Salaries of 22,912 persons employed in the public offices	... £2,788,907
Retired full-pay, half-pay, superannuations, pensions, and allowances, in the army	... 2,939,652
Retired full-pay, half-pay, superannuations, pensions, and allowances, in the navy	... 1,513,797
Retired full-pay, half-pay, superannuations, pensions, and allowances, in the ordnance	... 374,987
Superannuated allowance in the civil departments of Government	... 478,967
Pensions	... 777,556
Pensions in the nature of compensations for the loss of offices in England	... 12,020
Pensions in Ireland, chiefly in consequence of the Union	... 89,245
Annual value of sinecure offices	... 356,555
Commissioners of inquiry	... 56,299
	£9,457,985

He was ready to admit that Government had gone to a considerable extent in reducing the amount of the above expenditure; but allowing for all they had done in that way, he might with safety state that the payments exceeded upwards of 8,000,000*l.* Besides this, he held in his hand a

*Classification of 1656 Placemen and Pensioners whose Salaries, Profits, Pay, Fees, and Emoluments, exceeded, Jan. 5, 1830, 1,000*l.* per annum, which was as follows :—*

No. of Officers.	Description.	Total Emoluments.	Average Income.
		£.	£.
350....	Civil Officers.....	698,805	1,997
50....	Court of Chancery	137,216	2,744
112....	King's Bench and other Judicial Officers	338,651	3,023
100....	Ambassadors and Consuls	256,780	2,567
134....	Military Officers	240,847	1,794
36....	Ordnance and Artillery	50,155	1,390
19....	Naval Officers	39,835	2,076
147....	Colonial Officers	378,996	2,578
8....	Officers of the House of Commons	20,642	2,567
956		2,161,927	

Here, then, was an ample field for the operations of a judicious economy.

After some observations on the conduct of the Ministers when they sat on the Opposition benches, in denouncing these undeserved pensions, and calling for their revision, Mr. Harvey continued—

‘He held in his hand a return of persons receiving pensions on the civil list of England, Scotland, and Ireland, including the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Duties, which last only amounted to 21,000*l.*, and it was singular enough to observe the great disproportion which the female world had in the share of the money. (Laughter.) The number of pensioners amounted to 1,303, 1,022 of whom belonged to the fair sex. (“Hear,” and laughter.) There were 208 persons with titles of distinction on the list, of whom 124 were ladies. He had made out a classification of these persons, which he would take the liberty of communicating to the House. The hon. gentleman then read the following table :—

Return of Pensions on the Civil List of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Duties.

	Gross Number.	Males.	Females.
England	417	95	322
Scotland	364	47	317
Ireland	477	123	354
$4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Duties	45	16	29
	1,303	281	1,022

Persons with Titles of Distinction.

	Gross Number.	Males.	Females.
England	73	29	44
Scotland	56	19	37
Ireland	59	30	29
$4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Duties	20	6	14
	208	84	124

The object of the motion with which he intended to conclude was to obtain a return of the considerations for which these various grants were made, and when he observed the number of ladies on the list, and recollected the many scandalous cheap publications which had lately been circulated in the metropolis, insinuating that these "considerations" were of a nameless description, he could not but think that it would be an insult to those fair recipients to suppose that they could have any objection to a motion which gave them the opportunity of showing the substantial nature and character of the services they had rendered. (Hear, hear.) He preferred obtaining the information he desired by means of a return, rather than through a committee of enquiry, from a feeling of delicacy which he thought the House would at once recognize. To say nothing of the inconveniences attending a committee of inquiry, he could not help thinking that there would be great indelicacy in calling before it no less than 1,022 ladies at this season of the year. (Laughter.) He therefore preferred conveying the wishes of the House to them through that courteous medium of communication by which the orders of the House were usually transmitted.

There was another branch of expenditure, which showed how the people of this country were oppressed. In looking over the civil list, he was surprised to find that pensions were given to the servants of his late Majesty, consisting, of course, of the domestics of the household. The number of these servants was 198, and the amount of money they received 14,446*l*. It was in such things as these that was to be traced the origin of that growing feeling of hostility to the Government which we found every where spreading about. (Hear, hear.) The Government was strong in that House,—strong, not in the support, but in the fears, of that House,—yet a sentiment was spreading throughout the country which no lover of it could contemplate without apprehension (Hear, hear); and if the Government continued to pursue the course they had hitherto followed with regard to the finances of the country, the reform of that House, from which they all expected so much benefit, would turn out to be one of the greatest evils that could befall the country. As long as that House was constituted as it had heretofore been, the people always looked to reform as the means of securing good government; but if that expectation should now be disappointed, to what must they look? They must look to themselves, and the events that had taken place in that great metropolis within the last week, plainly demonstrated that they were determined to look to themselves. (Hear.) If the people found that reform disappointed them, they must look to that for which those who disappointed their just expectations would be responsible,—a revolution in the institutions of the country. (Hear.) He did not hesitate to say that no one measure had been brought forward by the Government since the opening of the present Parliament, which in any way corresponded with the expectations, not of giddy and extravagant bodies of men, but of the sober and rational reformers of the country—he meant the middle classes. Ministers had forfeited the confidence of the rational reformers of England, by turning their backs on all those professions which, when out of office, had earned them the support and applause of the public. They had made the term Whig a by-word, and had shown that the worst species of Tory was a Whig in place. Had a motion like the present been brought forward when the Whigs were in their old Opposition places, what declamation they would hear about the crying injustice of taxing the people for the support of state paupers and unmerited pensionaries. As it was, he trusted the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer would give some intelligible reason for continuing a system of paying some of the offshoots of the aristocracy, who had never rendered the public any service in return. (Hear.)

Lord ALTHORP had no objection to that part of the motion which referred to the pensions on the consolidated fund, but objected to its being extended to the pensions on the civil list; because these last were in the gift of the monarch, and could only be revised at the beginning of a new reign. Some of the pensions also had been granted many years ago, and it would be difficult to ascertain, at present, the grounds on which they were granted. The motion, after some verbal amendments, was ultimately agreed to; and the returns will be a very curious as well as valuable document for the country.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY next brought forward his resolution respecting the House and Window Taxes, which he proposed should altogether cease on the 5th of October next. The arguments by which this motion was supported need not be repeated, as the ground has been so recently gone over before.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Alderman WOOD, who stated that since the last debate on this subject, only a few weeks ago, he had, in his official capacity, signed 500 summonses for poor-rates, due by occupiers of houses, rated at from 40*l.* to 45*l.* per annum; and he asked, if these occupiers could not pay the poor-rates, how was it possible for them to pay the Assessed Taxes? He recommended the total abolition of these burthens, and the substitution in their stead, of an extra duty of one shilling a gallon only on ardent spirits, which would raise the amount thus reduced, and be a public good instead of an evil.

Mr. SPRING RICE undertook to defend the House and Window Taxes, from much of the odium attempted to be cast on them: but though he excited the merriment of the House, by some witty sallies against Mr. Alderman Wood's "absolute wisdom," and the patronage of the Temperance Societies to water drinking, as hostile to the proposed new duties on spirits,—he failed to show any good reason why these imposts should not be at once removed, except that the Government *must* have a certain revenue, and were unwilling to resort to a property-tax to raise it.

Colonel EVANS would support the motion for the repeal: and mentioned the following striking facts:—

‘He believed that distress prevailed to a serious extent; and, indeed, more than was assumed by the hon. gentleman. He had been informed, upon very good authority, that within the last two months, no less than sixteen shops in Leicester-square and Cranbourn-alley, held under the Marquis of Salisbury, had been thrown up, and the tenants had gone away in a state of bankruptcy. It could not be denied that the situation to which he had alluded was a favourable one for business, yet such were the results of the distress now prevailing. That distress had, he believed; (and he spoke now also upon authority) been during the last seven years progressive in the metropolis. He held in his hand a document containing information worthy of full consideration. From that it appeared that an extensive hardware shop in the Strand, which had been established upwards of fifty years, had in former years been in the weekly receipt of 30*l.* 40*l.* and 50*l.*, and the receipts of that same shop had been during the last eight months 4*l.* 2*s.*, 2*l.* 16*s.*, 3*l.* 10*s.*, 5*l.* 11*s.*, 2*l.* 11*s.*, 1*l.* 18*s.*, 2*l.* 9*s.*, and 2*l.* 11*s.* per week. (Hear.)

These were facts which were both capable of proof, and could be established. It had already been communicated to the noble lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that one-half of Regent-street was in a state of insolvency, and he (Colonel Evans) could add, that one-half of the Strand was in the same condition. Almost all the houses in those streets were let to lodgers, with the exception of the shop and one or two rooms, by the shopkeeper, from absolute necessity. He, at the same time thought, that if any danger to the peace and tranquillity of the country now existed, it was to be attributed to these and other taxes, and the tardiness of the Government in reducing the expenditure of the country. The House had almost refused to listen the other evening to the important debate upon the Corn Laws, and though many Members of the present Government had formerly been favourable to a reduction in that and other imposts, yet he (Colonel Evans) did not expect to see any material reduction in the expenditure of the country, unless some commotion, which God avert, should press upon the Ministers the necessity of complying with the wants and wishes of the people.

It was now about ten o'clock; and the division being expected to take place about this time, the House began to fill by Members who had not been present during the early part of the evening, and who had heard none of the debate, but who were now coming down, after dinner, to give their vote. As their only object was to be present at the division, and to get this over as soon as possible, that they might go home again, symptoms of impatience began to manifest themselves on every rising of a new speaker. Mr. Brotherton was overwhelmed with noise and clamour, while he attempted to show that our taxation might be safely and honestly reduced, by diminishing the interest of the fundholder. Mr. Serjeant Spankie met no better reception, while he depicted the distress in Finsbury. Sir William Ingilby was coughed at, and interrupted, until he became jocose, and then he was partially listened to, as subjects for laughter always command attention. Mr. Roebuck was groaned at; and but for the interposition of Lord Althorp, would not have obtained an hearing at all. Mr. Tooke, by the aid of excellent lungs, made his voice rise above the storm that assailed him on rising. Mr. Ward, who is a sort of actor as well as speaker, and who delivers himself with a most oracular manner and theatrical air, which shews the orator to be on excellent terms with himself, was listened to, because the whole effect was amusing. Mr. Hume was received with a volley; but after persevering, it subsided. Lord Althorp, from his official station, and Mr. Spring Rice, from the same consideration, were each listened to attentively. Mr. Hawes was received with impatience, though he was not three minutes on his legs: and Mr. Tennyson, who did not occupy more than five minutes of time, spoke throughout amidst such continuous groaning, coughing, and interruptions, that it was only at intervals that portions of his broken sentences could be heard. There was no other reason for all this than the lateness of the hour, and the desire of Members to get over the division as soon as possible: for, with the exception of the Ministers themselves, no one escaped a portion of the vociferation.

The House divided on the question about twelve o'clock, when the numbers were—For the repeal of the House and Window Taxes on

the 5th of October next, 124; Against any repeal of these taxes, either then, or now, 273. There is no hope, therefore, of any relief from this burthen, for the present Session, at least: and it is very doubtful whether anything but the non-payment of them by the people will effect their repeal. After the division, the following conversation took place:—

‘Mr. F. O’CONNOR complained of the non-attendance of Ministers during the presentation of petitions at the morning sittings of the House. The other day a petition was presented, urging the House to impeach Ministers, which he was anxious to have supported; but he did not think it would be manly to do so, when none of the Ministers were present. The noble Chancellor of the Exchequer had violated the pledge which he gave to be present at the morning sittings every day. He moved, “That it is the opinion of this House that the absence of Ministers during the time allotted for the presentation of petitions is an insult to the Commons, and an injustice to the people of England.”

‘Lord ALTHORP said that, in conformity with the promise which he made at the commencement of the session, he had attended the morning sitting up to Easter, when he found himself unable to attend any longer, on account of his health. (Hear.) He suggested that if any hon. member had a petition to present, which required the attendance of any particular Minister, he would give such Minister notice, and he would attend in his place on the presentation of the petition. (Hear.)

‘Mr. F. O’CONNOR said that the noble lord failed in his attendance at the early sittings immediately after the Coercive Bill was passed. (“Oh!”)

‘Mr. TENNYSON was of opinion that some person connected with the Government, if not a Cabinet Minister, ought to be present during the presentation of petitions.

‘Colonel DAVIES thought the present system unsatisfactory. The labour imposed upon the Speaker was too great; the House should rise at 12 o’clock.

‘Mr. O’CONNELL said that, under the new arrangement, petitions did not receive sufficient attention from the House.

‘After a few words from Lord Althorp, the motion was withdrawn.’

Notwithstanding this, the House continued to sit, till *half-past three in the morning*, by which time the Members were reduced from 407, which was the number present at the division on the House and Window Taxes, down to 50, which was the number present at the division on the question for printing the evidence on the Bristol Election. If they had sat two hours longer, the 50 would have been reduced to 25: but the irrationality of the system lies in having any night sittings at all. The business of the Senate should all be transacted during day-light, when men have clear heads and calm tempers; and not in the intemperate and feverish excitement of late hours and angry passions; amidst every combination of peevishness, humour, and fatigue.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 22.

The House met at four, to ballot for Election Committees;—and an order having been made on the preceding evening that the names

of the absent Members should be reported to the Speaker, for the purpose of ordering those who could not sufficiently justify their absence, to be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms, the House was unusually full, there being upwards of 500 Members present at prayers. When the balloting was completed, however, and the committee formed, at least 400 left the House; so that when the first division of the evening on the Gravesend Pier Bill took place, which was about six o'clock, the numbers were—for the Bill, 68; against it, 37:—the whole number of Members present being 105. The retiring 400 had gone to dinner; and the House continued thus thinly attended, until about nine, when they began to return; and at ten, the numbers had got up to about 200: so that 300 of the Members, whom the fear of the serjeant-at-arms had drawn down to the House at four, and the attractions of dinner had drawn away from the House at six—did not return again for the same evening, though two very important subjects were to be discussed, and decided by vote:—one, the referring the Reform Bill to a Committee, to examine and report upon its defects: and the other, the removing the last stain of intolerance from the statute-book, by admitting the Jews to an equal participation of civil rights with ourselves.

The first of these subjects was introduced by Mr. TOOKE, who, after a speech pointing out the anomalies and ambiguities in the present Reform Bill, moved the appointment of a Select Committee, to consider the amendments that might be made in it to facilitate its working cheaply, expeditiously, and with certainty, in all its details.

The motion was opposed by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. SPRING RICE, and the SOLICITOR GENERAL, on the part of the Government, chiefly on the ground that it was *not the proper time* to propose any amendments, and that a Committee would not be likely to effect the object so well as if it were left to the Government itself.

Mr. WARBURTON moved an amendment, confining the object of the Committee to reporting the contradictory decisions that had taken place by revising barristers, returning officers, and parliamentary committees, with a view to settle disputed points: but though this was supported by a greater number of speakers than the original motion, it was still opposed by the Government, who promised to take the matter into their own hands next session, if the House would only allow them time. The following short speech of Mr. C. BULLER was the best of the evening, and contains the completest answer to the claims for delay.

Mr. C. BULLER hoped that this motion would be pressed to a division. They had, it was true, heard from the Solicitor-General that government would, in the next session of Parliament, take up the subject. Now, he objected to this delay for four reasons,—first, because His Majesty's ministers might not perhaps be His Majesty's ministers next session, (hear, hear), and therefore they might not have it in their power to redeem the pledge which they had hastened to give; second, because they had quite enough to do without adding this task to their burdens; third, because they had managed so badly almost every thing which they had taken in hand, that he was not inclined to give them much credit for their future efforts

(hear, hear); and, fourth, because he conceived that any alteration in the measure should rather proceed from that house, than from His Majesty's ministers. (Hear, hear.) He was of opinion that the defects pointed out, called for immediate revision; and he therefore was not willing to allow the present session to pass over without amending the bill, merely because the Solicitor-General had stated that something would be done in the course of the ensuing session.

The House divided on the question, when the numbers were—For referring the defects of the Reform Bill to a Committee in the terms of Mr. Warburton's amendment, 68; against it, 94: so that this matter also must stand over till another Session.

The second reading of the Bill for removing the existing civil disabilities from the Jews was moved, without a speech, by Mr. Robert Grant, who had before delivered his sentiments fully on this subject.

Sir R. INGLIS rose to state the reasons which compelled him to oppose in every stage a Bill pregnant with mischief in its principle, and in its effects certain to be attended by disastrous consequences. The question was, whether the legislature was to continue Christian, at least in name and form, or to consist, in part, of individuals who regarded the most sacred characters of our religion as blasphemers and idolaters, hateful to God and accursed amongst men. The present was not a light or trivial question, and he regretted that none of his Majesty's Ministers were present, with the exception of the Right Hon. President of the Board of Control, who probably attended because the subject had been brought forward by his Right Hon. relative; the members of the Government should have attended, and if they were not prepared to take a decided course in relation to a bill so important, they ought, at least, to condescend to listen to what could be urged on the question. He was sorry that the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. R. Grant) had not proposed the second reading in a speech to which he might have replied, and that it only remained for him to answer some of the observations made on a former evening. After noticing some of the topics in Mr. Grant's former speech, the Hon. Baronet said that the Bill was so sweeping in its principle, that after admitting the Jews to a seat in the Legislature, he saw no reason why Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees, might not be equally admitted, and Christianity thus swept away from the legislative assembly of the land. The Jews were an exclusive people, and would prefer a Jew at Warsaw or in Poland, to a Christian in the land in which they lived—and therefore they ought not to be entrusted with legislative power: as this would ultimately tend to unchristianize the country. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that the Bill should be read on that day six months.

Mr. SINCLAIR seconded the amendment; and said that by admitting the Jews to the privileges of this assembly, the House would be virtually confessing that Christ was an impostor. If there were no other reason against their admission, he thought this a most conclusive one—that we began our proceedings with Christian prayers, at which no Jew could be present; and that, therefore, they ought not to be admitted as members of this assembly.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said, that when he entered the House, he had no intention to take part in the debate, though he should on this, as on a former occasion, give the measure the support of his vote. Some of the observations, however, that had fallen from the Hon. mover and seconder of the amendment, appeared to him so extraordinary, that he felt it his duty to oppose them. The Hon. Baronet, the member for the University of Ox-

ford, had objected to the principle of the Bill, because it would admit Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Parsees, equally with Jews, to a seat in the British Legislature. In *practice*, he did not conceive there would be anything to apprehend on that score—as it was exceedingly improbable that such persons would become candidates for that honor. But in *principle*, he saw no objection whatever to the admission of any British subject, who should be freely chosen, by a legally qualified constituency, to a seat in that House, whatever might be his peculiar views on religious subjects. The qualities required for a good legislator, were, intelligence, experience, and integrity; and these were possessed by Jews, in as large a degree as by Christians. Of their intelligence few would doubt; indeed, the general impression was, that in matters of business they were so much more clever and penetrating than ourselves, that it required no ordinary care to match them in skillful negotiation. In experience they were quite our equals, as their range of observation and their sphere of transactions was generally more enlarged than our own. And in integrity, they stood as high in all pecuniary and mercantile obligations, as any sect, or class of people that could be named. In all political and moral qualities, they were, therefore, fit to be representatives; and whatever might be their religious opinions, they were answerable for these, not to any human tribunal, but to the great Judge of all. The same arguments which had so triumphantly carried the Catholic Relief Bill, applied equally to this measure of Emancipation for the Jews: as they were founded on one grand principle of Toleration—that no peculiarity of opinion on religious matters, no singularity of speculative but conscientious belief, ought to deprive any British subject of an equal participation with all other British subjects, of any civil right and privilege of the State. (Hear, hear.)

‘It had been contended that the Jews were so exclusive a people, that they were not to be trusted on that account. He confessed that his acquaintance with the Jewish nation in various countries of the earth, induced him to believe that they were no more exclusive than the people of any other sect. Like all other men they were the creatures of circumstances, and of the legislation under which they lived. In countries where they were most severely persecuted, there they associated more closely together for consolation. In countries where they were most liberally treated there their affections became more and more expanded beyond their narrow circle. Throughout the Eastern world their degradation was extreme, because the treatment they received was cruelly unjust. In Europe they were a more enlightened and a more elevated race, because their persecutions were less severe; and whatever of inferiority or disqualification remained to adhere to them, it was in our power to remove: as, by placing them on a level with ourselves in the enjoyment of every civil and political right, they would soon become our equals in every moral and intellectual virtue. (Hear, hear.) This principle was to him so clear,—that man was the creature of circumstance and legislation, that good men were made bad by coercion and oppression, and bad men converted into good by conciliation and by freedom—that he should deem it unnecessary to enlarge upon it, by way of argument or proof: but, with the permission of the House, he would mention one striking historical fact, connected with the History of the Parsees in India, in illustration of the truth of the sentiment here professed. It was this:—

‘At the period of the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, the inhabitants of that country were chiefly fire-worshippers, or followers of Zoroaster. The proselytizing spirit of Mohammedanism made the great bulk of the people converts to that religion. A small remnant remained, however, faithful to the doctrines of their fathers, and immovable in their attachment to their opinions. These became the objects of especial persecution; and, by a long series of op-

pressions, they ultimately became so poor, so vicious, and so degraded, that the earth perhaps hardly contained upon its surface a more truly contemptible class of men. A portion of them were led by circumstances to emigrate to Guzerat, one of the provinces of India, where, meeting with somewhat better treatment, they greatly improved. Soon after, they proceeded further south, and settled in the Island of Bombay, then under the government of the Portuguese, where they were admitted to the equal enjoyment of all the civil privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese themselves. From that period they began to improve in every respect; and, at the present moment, while the Guebrs, or fire worshippers of the original race, now remaining in Persia, are still among the most ignorant and depraved of the inhabitants of that country, the Parsees in India, a part of the self-same stock, have advanced so rapidly in improvement, that they are among the most intelligent and virtuous of all the Indian tribes;—well acquainted with the English language—versed in European sciences—forming partners in some of the first English houses of business; (a distinguished Parsee, at Bombay, having been a partner in the firm of Sir Charles Forbes, lately a Member of this House) and though originally the inhabitants of an inland country, Persia, without any maritime fleet, and where a ship is scarcely ever seen, they have now become the finest ship-builders in the world; constructing, in the arsenals of Bombay, ships of war of the largest class, for the British navy, which are drafted, moulded, built, and launched entirely by Parsees; and, on their arrival in this country, are the envy of the British builder in the dock-yards of Plymouth, Portsmouth, Deptford, and Sheerness; and the admiration of British seamen, wherever they are seen. (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘One word more, and he would conclude the few observations which he had felt it his duty to offer to the House. The hon. Member who had seconded the amendment, had said that the very circumstance of our commencing the proceedings of each day with Christian prayer offered up in the name of the Saviour, was with him a sufficient reason for the exclusion of the Jews. Now, he begged to say, that though this might be a reason that might operate upon the Jews themselves, so as to prevent their attending the House while such prayers were offering up, it could be no possible reason why we should not admit them if they chose to attend. The public worship in every Christian church commenced with prayers, and the name of the Saviour was invoked throughout. But would any one contend that this was a reason why we should by law exclude all Jews from entering such churches? That was surely their affair and not ours. Nay, so contrary was our conduct to the principles thus avowed, that we had Religious Societies expressly formed to promote the conversion of the Jews, and we did all in our power to persuade them to attend places of Christian worship, and become believers in the faith that we ourselves professed. (hear, hear.)

‘After all, however, the question, whether Jews should find admission into the British Senate, was one which depended rather upon the electors of England than upon the Jews themselves. In an un-reformed Parliament, when seats for boroughs were bought and sold openly in the market, there might be great facility in a wealthy Jew becoming a Member of the House of Commons, by the purchase of a seat from a patron or a peer. But under the present constitution of Parliament, he would have to present himself to some independent constituency, and must obtain the preference of the majority of the electors before he could be returned, as duly chosen. There was no one who knew the prejudices still lingering among the uneducated classes against the Jews, that could conceive this an easy task, or a very probable event. But if it *should* be so, if a free constituency should choose for their representative an able

an intelligent, a liberal, and an upright man, without considering his religious opinions to be a disqualification, why should the law interpose to prevent their choice being carried into effect, as freely as the choice of any other body of electors in the kingdom? The portals of the Senate should be thrown open to talent and to integrity, in whatever class it might be found. Religious belief should be held too sacred to be violated or disturbed by man, except in the way of persuasion and of prayer. Christianity was of too noble, too exalted, and too divine a character, to require such unworthy aids as persecution and oppression; and they who dreaded lest the admission of a single Jew into the Senate of the land, should unchristianize the country, and destroy the religion of the gospel, passed, themselves, the severest censure of condemnation on that very faith, in which they professed to believe, but the foundations of which they thought so unstable as to be thus easily overthrown!

For these, and for other reasons, which, had time permitted, he would have stated more in detail, but from which, at the present late hour, he would abstain, he should give this liberal measure of his Majesty's Government his very humble but sincere and cordial support. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. FINCH and Sir OSWALD MOSELEY opposed the Bill, and expressed their astonishment at the ultra-liberal doctrines avowed by the Member for Sheffield; which, if acted upon, would open the flood-gates of ultra-toleration, and ultimately destroy the religion of the land. They were followed by Dr. Lushington and Lord John Russell, whose speeches we give entire.

Dr. LUSHINGTON could not but think that the opponents of the bill, though professing Christianity, were forgetful of one of its first principles—that of doing by others as they would be done by; inasmuch as they seemed determined to continue a system of privation and exclusion from just rights towards a particular class of men, though, if they suffered in their own proper persons one-twentieth part of that exclusion, they would be the first to cry out that the system was intolerant and malignant. (Hear.) He was of opinion that those who would deny to a number of His Majesty's subjects the possession of the capability of being elected to seats in that House, were bound to show that the exclusion was justified by some misconduct on the part of the Jews, or that mischiefs would arise from their admission to those rights and privileges which were conceded by the constitution to other members of the same nation; no such allegations had been made, but it had been urged that the legislature ought to be wholly Christian. He denied this necessity, and maintained that such a doctrine had never yet been laid down by any constitutional authority or writer. If such, then, was not the case, where, he would ask, could be the evil of the present bill? True, it had been said that it would open the doors of Parliament to Mahometans and the followers of Zoroaster; but he, for one, would erase from the statute-book all disqualifications with regard to oaths, except in cases of individuals holding offices in another country, and would leave it to the discrimination of the electors of this country, whose interests were at stake, to select those for their representatives whom they might consider most competent to protect and defend their rights and interests. It was impolitic to narrow and limit the market for talent, for no country was so superabundant of talent and industry as to be able to afford to narrow its market for either, by a system of exclusion; that exclusion was iniquitous, because it would neither benefit the country nor gratify that honourable ambition which was more or less the

characteristic of every man: (Hear.) He must again deny that the passing of this bill would place the Christian religion in danger, and he would entreat the House to complete the great work commenced by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and by the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, by removing the Jewish disabilities; and that they would not be led aside by those who had before denominated one sect idolators, and now proclaimed another sect blasphemers. (Hear, hear.) He trusted the House would no longer allow the degradation to which the existing iniquitous laws had reduced the Jewish subjects of His Majesty; and if so, he was satisfied (if there was truth in human nature) that body would justify the concession, by raising themselves in the scale of society, both to their own honour and to the benefit of the country. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. RUSSELL was unwilling to lose the opportunity of declaring his approbation of the principle of this bill. As a question of practice, he could not understand how the constitution could be exposed to danger by the bill. The number of Jews in England was 27,000; three or four might be called to the bar; four or five might be admitted to offices; and one or two might gain seats in that house; and if so, he could hardly suppose they would discover their peculiar religious belief there. As a question of principle, he had always maintained that religious opinions ought not to be the subject of civil disability: if it was to be made the subject of penalty, it was not by excluding persons from seats in Parliament that he should enforce the disability, but he would go the whole length, and say that the penalty should be enforced by banishment or death: he knew no medium between enforcing it with severity or not at all. Never having heard of any reason why a Jew should not be able to perform his duty as honestly and as bravely in defending the crown and the constitution of England as any other subject, he should give his hearty vote in support of the bill. (Hear, hear.)

The House then divided, when the numbers were—For the second reading of the Jewish Emancipation Bill, 189; Against it, 52.—After this the House became deserted, till it dwindled down to 28 Members, and was counted out at half-past two o'clock in the morning.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Notices of Motion.

Mr. Barron.—Resolutions—1. That the Tithe system in Ireland has been the fruitful source of misery and crime, and ought to be totally extinguished.

2. That a Land Tax ought to be substituted for payment of the present Incumbents, and such other purposes of general utility, as the Legislature may deem necessary.—[Tuesday, 28th May.]

Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.—On going into the Committee of Supply, to move, That the House go into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of the Expenditure of the Country, with a view very considerably to reduce the same.—[Deferred from Monday, 20th May, till Friday, 31st May.]

Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to disfranchise the County of the Town of Carrickfergus.—[Thursday, 6th June.]

Mr. Buckingham.—To move, as an Amendment to the Resolutions of the Government, on the subject of Colonial Slavery, the following Resolutions.—

1. That every Slave in His Majesty's Dominions has an indefeasible right to Emancipation, without delay, and without price.
2. That, from and after the 21st of August, 1834, the anniversary of His present Majesty's birth-day, Slavery shall cease to exist in every part of the British Empire.
3. That immediate measures be taken to ascertain the actual amount of pecuniary loss that may be sustained by the owners of Colonial estates, from the substitution of free labour for slave labour in their several plantations; and to determine to what extent the national funds should be appropriated to compensate all those by whom such pecuniary loss may be actually sustained.
4. That an adequate supply of a preventive Police, an independent and impartial Magistracy, and a body of Teachers for infant and adult schools, be sent out from the Mother Country, to all the Colonies in which Slavery is to be abolished; the expense to be borne out of the funds hitherto appropriated to the support of our military establishments in those parts, which, on the entire abolition of Slavery, may be extensively and safely reduced.—[Thursday, 30th May.]

Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to improve the Navigation of the Rivers, Lakes, and Estuaries of Ireland.—[Thursday, 6th June.]

Mr. Lyall.—To alter and amend an act passed in the reign of His Majesty Geo. 2, intituled, "An Act for the relief and support of maimed and disabled Seamen, and the Widows and Children of such as shall be killed, slain, or drowned in the Merchants' service."—[Thursday, 27th June.]

Mr. Barron.—In Committee on Irish Grand Jury Bill, to move, That so much of the 39th of Geo. 3, cap. 17, should be repealed, as compels the Grand Jury of the County of Waterford to build any County Infirmary they may erect in the Town of Kilmac-Thomas.—Also, to insert a clause in said Grand Jury Bill, to empower the grand Jury of the County of Waterford to build one or more Infirmaries in any part of said County that they may think proper.

Mr. Cayley.—On the first convenient opportunity on the discussion of the Bank Charter, to move, that it having been resolved, "That it is the opinion of this House, that any alteration in the Monetary system of the Country which would have the effect of lowering the standard of value would be highly inexpedient and dangerous," a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a conjoint Standard of Gold and of Silver; or, in consideration of its more adequate and more steady supply, if a Silver Standard be preferred, of Silver alone.

Sir Andrew Agnew.—Bill to promote the better observance of the Lord's Day.—[Next Session.]

Mr. Hume.—To move for a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances attending a Petition from Stroud in favour of the Factory Regulation Bill.—[Thursday, 30th May.]

Colonel Davies.—On reading Order for going into Committee of Supply, to move, That a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the Military and Colonial Expenditure of the Country.—[Deferred till Monday, 3rd June.]

Mr. Lambert.—To move, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, praying that no directions be hereafter issued to His Majesty's Attorney General in Ireland, for any further proceedings whatever under the provisions of the Act of last Session, for the recovery of the arrears of Tithes for the year 1831; and that such proceedings as have been already commenced for such purpose, and are now pending, shall cease, and be no further prosecuted.—[Wednesday, 5th June.]

Mr. Lloyd Watkins.—Resolution for the repeal of the whole Duty on Malt, and for the imposition of such a Duty on Beer and Spirits, as may cover the deficiency.—[Deferred till Thursday, 6th June.]

Mr. Charles Buller.—On going into Committee of Supply, to move Resolutions declaring the necessity of continued and extensive reductions in all the public establishments.—[Deferred till Friday, 7th June.]

Petitions presented.

- Poor Laws.**—Petition of Occupiers and Inhabitants of Countesthorpe, for simplifying the present Law of Settlement.
- Lords' Day Observance Bill.**—Petition of Inhabitant Householders of All Saints, Wandsworth, against any Legislative Enactments.
- Criminal Laws.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Bath, for the repeal of the punishment of Death for offences against property.
- Vote by Ballot, &c.**—Petition of Householders, Electors, and Inhabitants of Bath, for the adoption of Vote by Ballot, and the repeal of the Septennial Act.
- Septennial Act.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Ludlow, for the repeal thereof.
- Vote by Ballot.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Ludlow, for the adoption of Vote by Ballot.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Merthyr Tydvil, for an inquiry before any alteration of the Act.
- Sale of Beer Act.**—Petitions for amendment of the Act;—of Magistrates, Clergy, Gentry, and Inhabitants of Burnley;—of Inhabitant Householders of Padiham;—of Walton-le-dale;—of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Glamorgan;—of the Minister, Magistrates, Churchwardens, Overseers, and Inhabitants of Aberdare;—of Magistrates and Inhabitants of Bridport;—and, Inhabitants of Yatton.
- Lancashire Assizes.**—Petition of Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and others, of Salford, in favour of their adjournment to Manchester and Liverpool.
- Malt.**—Petitions for the repeal of the Duty thereon;—of Farmers and Occupiers of land of the County of Cambridge, and Isle of Ely;—of Landholders, Commissioners of Supply, Justices of Peace, and others, of the County of Elgin;—and, of William Clarence, of the Foreign of Reigate.
- Taxation.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Ludlow, for the reduction thereof.
- Cornwall Assizes.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Truro, that that Town may be made an Assize town in place of Launceston.
- Church in Ireland Bill.**—Petition of the Archdeacon and Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sarum, against.
- Protestant Dissenters.**—Petition of the Minister, Deacons, and Members of the Congregation of Independents worshipping at Bethel Chapel, Darlington, for redress of grievances in relation to Marriages, Parochial Rates, and Registration.
- Municipal Corporations.**—Petitions for granting to the Inhabitants of Corporate Towns the privilege of electing their Municipal and local authorities;—of Inhabitants of Armagh;—and, of Ludlow; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.
- Malt Tax.**—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Landowners, Occupiers, and Inhabitants of the hundred of Blything (Suffolk);—of Inhabitants of the hundred of Carlford (Suffolk);—of Owners and Occupiers of Land, and Inhabitants of the County of Rutland;—of Agriculturists and Inhabitants of Newbury;—of Hungerford;—of Freeholders, Copyholders, and Farmers of Lanbilleth;—and, of Commissioners of Supply, Justices of the Peace, Landholders, and others, of the County of Banff.
- Lords' Day Observance Bill.**—Petition of John Paterson, farmer, and Justice of the Peace, of Sutherland, for the amendment thereof.
- Church Establishment (Wales.)**—Petitions complaining of the state of the Established Church in Wales, and praying for a reform therein;—of Inhabitants of Llanegryn and Llangelynin;—and, of Newtown.
- Debtor and Creditor.**—Petition of Merchants, Tradesmen, and Inhabitants of Lowestoft, and its neighbourhood, for the amendment of the Law in relation to Debtor and Creditor, and for a Law whereby debts under £20 may be recovered by a more summary and less expensive process.
- Lancashire Assizes.**—Petition of Magistrates, Clergy, Merchants, Tradesmen, and Inhabitants of Leigh, in favour of their adjournment to Liverpool and Manchester.

Municipal Corporations.—Petition of Citizens of Worcester, for liberty to elect their Magisterial and local authorities; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.

Chester Corporation.—Petition of Freemen and Citizens of Chester [presented 14th February]; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.

House and Window Tax.—Petition of Inhabitants of Stoke Damerel, for the repeal thereof.

Jews.—Petitions for the removal of the civil disabilities affecting them;—of Residents of Devonport and Stonehouse;—and, of Emanuel Franklin, Phineas Franklin, and James H. Lyon.

Ejectment.—Petition of Freeholders and Copyholders resident in Bilston, for amending the Law in relation thereto.

Receipt Stamps.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Merchants, Traders, and Inhabitants of the Burgh of Burntisland;—and, of Edinburgh.

Apothecaries Act.—Petition of Students of Medicine in the University and Private Medical School of Edinburgh, for the amendment thereof.

Church in Ireland Bill.—Petition of Inhabitants of Penzance, in favour.

Nocturnal Legislation.—Petition of Inhabitants of Stockton-upon-Tees, for the discontinuance of that practice.

Septennial Act.—Petition of Inhabitants of Hull, and its neighbourhood, for the repeal of the Septennial Act, the adoption of Vote by Ballot, the repeal of the Assessed Taxes, &c.

Hand-loom Weaving.—Petitions of Hand-loom Weavers of Darvel, for the establishment of a Board of Trade for the regulation of that department of Manufacture.

Laws of Entail and Primogeniture.—Petition of Members of the Political Union, and other Inhabitants of Kilmarnock, for the abolition thereof.

Poor Laws (Ireland.)—Petition of Inhabitants of Belfast, for the introduction of a modified system of Poor Laws into Ireland.

Protestant Dissenters.—Petitions for redress of grievances in relation of Marriages, Parochial Rates, and Registration;—of Persons assembling at the Meeting House, Nuneaton;—and, of Wesleyans of Grantham.

Municipal Corporations.—Petitions for granting, to the Inhabitants of Corporate Towns the privilege of electing their Municipal and local authorities;—of Inhabitants of Exeter;—of Leicester;—and, of Electors and Ratepayers of Brecknock; referred to the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations.

Assessed Taxes.—Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, Common Councilmen, Citizens, and Inhabitants of Canterbury, for the repeal thereof.

Lord's Day Observance.—Petition of Samuel Dobell, of Cranbrooke, against Legislative Enactments.

House and Window Taxes.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Rated Inhabitants of St. Clement Norwich;—of Inhabitants of St. Giles Camberwell;—of New Sarum;—of Vestrymen and Inhabitant Householders of St. Giles in the Fields and St. George's Bloomsbury;—of Inhabitants of Baintree and Bocking;—and, of the Vestry of St. Mary-le-bone.

Taxation.—Petitions for relief therefrom;—of Inhabitants of Wakefield;—and, of the Isle of Wight.

Oaths.—Petition for the substitution of an Affirmation for an Oath;—of Christian people resident in Limerick;—and, in Ennis.

Tithes.—Petitions for the abolition thereof;—of Land-owners and Occupiers of Land in Llandrinio;—and, of Land-owners and Occupiers; Members of the North Devon Agricultural Association, and others, Inhabitants of the Northern Division of the County of Devon.

Lord's Day Observance.—Petition of Inhabitants of London and Westminster, for giving facility for instructive and scientific lectures on Sundays, and that means may be taken for diverting the working population, and affording them rational amusement.

Unstamped Publications.—Petitions complaining of imprisonment for vending Unstamped Publications;—of George Barber;—and, of Richard Carlile.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

As the discussion of this subject will come on in Parliament during the ensuing week, we are sure that our readers will forgive us for reverting to the subject, as the one of the greatest importance that now occupies the public mind. Our objections to the Government plan are already before them; and we are happy to find that, throughout the country generally, the feeling of disappointment and indignation against that plan is rapidly spreading and gaining ground. We will not repeat those objections here; but devote a few pages to the consideration—1st, Of the general character and consequences of Slavery; 2d, Of the pecuniary sacrifices which it imposes on the British nation; 3d, Of the effect which its abolition would have on the improvement of Ireland and of India, as well as of the great continent of Africa, and of the Eastern world. 4th and lastly, of the superiority of *immediate* over *gradual* emancipation, as applied to the slaves themselves—as well as to all other parties.

First, then, as to the nature and character of Slavery in general; especially, its injustice, its illegality, its incompatibility with the Christian religion, and its debasing effects both on the master and on the slave.

Its injustice (and in that term its illegality and hostility to religion may be considered to be included) must be manifest from this, that it originated in the actual stealing away of men from their country and their homes, without the shadow of a right to their possession; by which means the double crime was committed of fomenting the most unjustifiable wars in Africa, for the sake of the captives thus to be carried away into bondage, and of laying the foundation of all the horrors that afterwards resulted from the Slave Trade, and the system of Slavery so long continued. Now, as no length of time could make wrong right, it therefore follows, that if the antiquity of the practice or the length of its duration is an argument for any thing, it will be to shew the greater necessity for immediate measures to prevent its further continuance. The longer a wrong has been endured, the more prompt and more efficacious should be the remedy applied; and as the captivity was not gradual, but sudden and immediate, in spite of all the dangers of resistance, rebellion, and vengeance, with which such a violation of rights must have been surrounded;—so the return to freedom, with all the chances of compliance, of submission, and of gratitude, by which such a restoration of rights would be accompanied, might be quite as immediate, too, without the least danger to any party, and with benefit to all.

Of the tendency of Slavery to debase those subject to its influence, no greater proof need be cited than the fact, that by it all motive to moral and intellectual cultivation is removed: that the master has, or believes he has, an interest in the repression of every rising effort to obtain instruction or to embrace Christianity: and that the slave, never tasting the first drop of the fountain of knowledge, has no thirst for its waters, and remains buried in an ignorance as dark and hopeless as can be well imagined. In confirmation of these views, the following considerations may be submitted:—

‘The incapacity of slaves for all kinds of work is easily accounted for. The hand never executes well what the mind has not well conceived. Our physical organs are only the instruments of our intelligence; and when the intelligence has received no development, it can but ill direct the organs which are at its disposition. In those countries where slavery is established, not only the masters are incapable of improving the intellectual faculties of the slaves, but they universally seek to debase them: the feeling of security, stronger than the passion of avarice, induces them to reduce their slaves as nearly as possible to the state of brutes. Robin relates, that a French colonist of Louisiana frequently declared he feared nothing so much as a clever negro; that he employed all his attention to render his slaves stupid. He succeeded but too well. These colonists do not judge differently from the ancient Romans. Cato, the censor, saw nothing more dangerous than intellectual slaves; when his slaves did not labour he condemned them to sleep, so much did he fear giving them any time to think. The Anglo-Americans of the southern states, who are at present the least ignorant and least brutal of slave-owners, reject, nevertheless, with horror the idea of teaching their slaves to read: the colonies subject to England see with not less terror the efforts of many of the inhabitants of Great Britain to spread instruction and the Christian religion among the negroes.’

Of the demoralizing effects of Slavery on those who exercise the power over the slaves, abundant proofs might be given, in the generally depraved state of morals among the resident superintendants, overseers, &c., and the indifference manifested by them at vices of the grossest description, as well as the resistance which these masters continually and almost uniformly make to every improvement in the condition or culture of the slaves, suggested or commanded by the Government authorities at home. But on this subject we present some observations from the same source as quoted before, exhibiting a degree of depravity scarcely credible, as the result of the demoralizing influence of Slavery on the manners of domestic life:—

‘A colonist never grants freedom to children born from him and his female slaves: he exacts from them the same submission and labour he exacts from all his other slaves: he sells, exchanges, or transmits them to his heirs, according as he judges convenient. If one of his legitimate children succeeds to the possession of them, he too makes not the least distinction between them and his other slaves: a brother thus becomes proprietor of his brothers and sisters; he exercises the same tyranny over them, he exacts from them the same labour, he mangles their bodies with the same whip; he, in like manner, subjects the females to his brutal desires: this multitude of white slaves are then almost always the fruits of adultery and incest. A traveller observes, that there exists so little affection between relations in this colony, that one scarcely sees two brothers converse together. How is it possible any brotherly tenderness could sub-

sist in a man who has ten or twelve brothers and sisters, whom he considers as the vilest of his property, and on whom he exercises his most brutal passions?

Female slaves, who are unfortunately distinguished by personal beauty, have to fear not only the unlawful desires of the master and overseers on whom they depend, but also atrocious chastisements, in order to subdue their resistance, or to punish them; and lastly, the jealousy of the white women. A woman, when she chastises one of her slaves, seeks always to disfigure her: the blows of the whip, sometimes even the stabs of a dagger, are directed on the bosom. Stedman relates an anecdote of a Creole lady, who observing in her plantation a young and beautiful slave, ordered a hot iron to be applied to her forehead, cheeks, and lips, and the tendon Achilles to be cut: she was thus instantly changed from beauty to deformity.

Two very striking cases may be here named, on the authority of the late President of the King's Council at St. Lucia, Mr. Jeremie, who cites from the official records of the Court a case of a disputed account brought for the adjustment before the judges on the bench, where, among the items of charge, were certain sums entered as the value of a male and female slave, whose names were given, and who were each admitted to have been flogged to death by the overseer, and then privately buried in the cane grounds, without any further cognizance whatever being taken of the murder; and another case of a young boy, who, escaping from his master, was afterwards caught and tried for stealing himself away, and thus depriving his master of so much as he was worth in money; for which crime he was sentenced to be hung, while his fond mother was also tried for harbouring and sheltering her own child, and for this crime she was sentenced by the same court,—first, to witness the execution of her own child, whom she had thus criminally sheltered, but in vain; and then to be herself confined in a prison for a long period of time!

We may sum up the general character of the state of Slavery, then, under the following brief heads. The slaves in the West Indies are degradingly driven like cattle by the whip at their labour, which, for nearly half the year, lasts for one half the night, as well as the whole day. They are held as property, and often branded as such with a hot iron. They are sold at the will of their master, and the nearest ties in life are thus rent asunder. They are liable, whether male or female, to be exposed and degradingly punished by the meanest driver. They are compelled to work on the Sabbath for their own subsistence. They are denied the advantages of religious instruction, or the marriage tie. The most unrestrained licentiousness prevails amongst them, and is exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and depopulating promiscuous intercourse, encouraged by the debaucheries of the whites. They can hold no property; their evidence is not received, and hence laws for their protection are but a mockery.

The reader will be ready to exclaim, surely there must be some great and palpable gain arising from the system, to induce its maintenance for a single hour! But what will be his astonishment to find, that instead of gain, it is attended with great and enormous loss; that

such is its inherent impolicy, that if it had not been supported and protected by bounties and prohibitions, it would long since have been ameliorated, and finally have fallen. We proceed, therefore, to develop the costliness of the system, and to show the amount of pecuniary sacrifices entailed by it on the British nation, as well as of the impediments it offers to the improvement of Ireland, of India, and of Africa.

The protecting bounties and prohibitions, by which Slavery is upheld and maintained, mostly applies to sugar, which is the chief production of our West India colonies. They are—1. A bounty which is paid on the exportation of refined sugar, and which raises the price of all sugar in the home market above its natural price. 2. A high duty above what is paid from the West Indies, imposed on sugar the produce of the British dominions in India. 3. Prohibitory duties on sugar grown in all other parts of the world.

Thus we see the cruel system pursued in the British West Indies requires to be supported by a bounty, paid by the people of England, and to be protected, not only from the competition of the produce of free labour, but also from that of milder systems of slave labour. The evils of these prohibiting systems, imposed for the protection of the slave cultivation of the West Indies, do not end there; they cramp the commerce and bind down the energies of this country; to the general prosperity of which there are *two* exceptions—the West Indies and Ireland. In its general high character there are two dark stains—the slavery of the West Indies, and the condition of the population of Ireland. The same chains which were forged to secure the bondage of the slaves, also bind down the energies and prevent the prosperity of Ireland. The same remedy will relieve them both. They need no other cure than the general remonstrance of the people of England against the sacrifices they are compelled to make to keep both these evils in existence.

The unrestricted commerce of the world, and the competition of free labour, would introduce improved systems into our West India colonies; would gradually improve the treatment of the slaves, and finally extinguish Slavery itself; when these colonies, enjoying their natural advantages, need not fear the competition of any other country.

The unrestricted commerce of the world would give employment to Ireland; her population would then exchange idleness and rags for industry and comfort; her fine streams, now wasting their powers, would give motion to numerous manufactories; her grain and provisions, now compelled to seek a market in other countries, would then find ample demand amongst her own improved population.

Injustice and cruelty may, in some cases, flourish for a time; but the present state of Slavery is a clear illustration of the position, that an all-wise Creator has made it the interest of every man to do right; that whatever is contrary to justice and humanity, must be equally contrary to sound policy; that interest and duty are indissolubly bound together. But admitting these positions in the abstract, there

are many well-meaning, though mistaken advocates of the oppressed sons of Africa, who, in practice, attempt to separate them. They are so desirous that their motives for the removal of enormous evils should be pure, and unmixed with every other consideration, that they continue, without remonstrance, to contribute, by means of the bounty on sugar cultivated by slaves, towards the expense of maintaining and supporting those enormities which they condemn and deplore.

It is of great importance that this part of the question should be rightly understood, before any facts illustrative of the impolicy of Slavery, or any arguments drawn from them can be availing; for so long as the advocates of justice and humanity make a voluntary sacrifice of their own interest, and thereby enable others to do wrong, whose interest God has made it to do right; so long as they make sacrifices which tend to obstruct the progress of improvement, and to counteract the decrees of heaven; it is to be feared that their conduct will have a more powerful effect than their words. Whilst benevolent men are the advocates of such a course, how can we wonder that the short-sighted policy of individuals, or of nations, should reject, in the pursuit of their interest, all considerations of benevolence and humanity? What infatuation could have introduced into the minds of the Europeans, the destruction of the native inhabitants of the West Indies, in order to re-people those islands, at an enormous expense, from the coast of Africa? And what infatuation must it have been that would reject sugar, if produced by the labour of the African on his native soil; and at the same time give a bounty on the produce of his labour, when converted into a slave, and forced to cultivate the exhausted soils of our West India Islands! Such is truly the state of things; for, after condemning and abolishing the African slave trade, we are still supporting, with enormous pecuniary sacrifices, the remnant of our wickedness and folly!

Had commerce been carried on with enlarged and enlightened views of self-interest, and especially if united with motives of benevolence and humanity, how would knowledge and civilization have marked the steps of Europeans, and have been extended from the coasts to the interior of Africa! Instead of which, we have spread barbarism and desolation on her coasts, and thereby formed an impenetrable barrier to our intercourse with the more civilized interior. Had these views and these motives characterized our intercourse with India, how would darkness, ignorance, and idolatry, have been disappearing amongst her vast population! Had we promoted an intercourse by the exchange of those things which would have spread mutual benefit and comfort: with Africa, instead of exchanging 'powder, ball, and brandy,' (instruments of destruction,) on the one hand, for 'men, women, and children,' and by them introducing a deadly, poisonous, cramping, and enervating system on the other: with India, instead of extracting an enormous revenue by means of oppressive taxation; then might we, at this day, have been exchanging the produce of a vastly extended manufacturing industry, for the cheap productions of voluntary labour on the fertile soils of Africa and India.

Let us look at the map of the world. We know that sugar can be produced, at least, thirty degrees on each side the equator; we know also, that an acre of good land, in those climates, will produce as many pounds of sugar as our land does of wheat; and that, if it were not for the duty, sugar might be nearly as cheap and as plentiful as wheat. Who, then, can sufficiently condemn a policy which, holding in chains of bondage 800,000 of our fellow-beings, and which, for the sake of upholding this oppressive and wicked system, confines us to a few little islands for our supply of one of the most valuable and important of all foreign productions? Who can sufficiently condemn a policy which, for the sake of furnishing to these poor miserable beings the few things with which their masters may choose to supply them, restricts and sacrifices a natural commerce, with tens, nay hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa, and America, whose unrestrained choice would range through the almost indefinitely varied field of our manufacturing inventions!

The rapid extension of our commerce, since its opening with South America and India, cramped and restricted as it still is, is abundantly sufficient to show what that extension might have been, under a conduct governed by liberal and enlightened views. We have seen the cotton trade not only giving full employment to the population of the districts in England where it is now carried on; but, since the removal of some absurd regulations in the last session of Parliament, some branches of this trade are extending to Ireland, and presenting the best means of improving and raising her depressed population. Had we employed the means within our own power of diffusing employment, civilization, and comfort, over the regions of Asia, Africa, and America, we should long since have received, in return, employment and comfort for the suffering and depressed, though generous-minded population of Ireland.

Slavery being a forced and unnatural state of society, can only exist with high prices of produce, and becomes gradually extinguished in a competition with free labour. Thus we see it gradually diminishing in the northern parts of the United States, where there is the greatest competition of free labour, and where slave labour is of least value; and, on the contrary, in those States, as we proceed southward, where there is less competition of free labour, and its profits increase, there we see it in its worst form; for, in proportion to the prices of produce, or the profits of the system, are its oppressions. The colonies of Spain and Portugal have been compelled to support themselves; they have neither had bounties on their produce, nor the expenses of a standing army paid by the mother country. Their system of treatment is more mild; they encourage emancipation, and have vast numbers of free labourers; and these are the countries which are underselling the British sugar planters in all the markets of Europe.

With prices of produce sometimes so low as not to pay for the importation of slaves, the slave population of the United States is augmented, by natural increase, about 125 per cent. in thirty years; whilst, with prices comparatively high, and with additions by impor-

tation, during the same period, of 188,785 slaves, the slave population of the island of Jamaica has only increased from 250,000 to 345,252 ; showing, when compared with the United States, a destruction or waste of human life, or a counteraction of its tendency to increase, of 400,000 in the short period of thirty years. And this is the country which, thirty years ago, only produced one-tenth part of the cotton which was then produced in the island of Jamaica, and which now produces nearly one thousand times the quantity it then did ; whilst its culture in Jamaica has been nearly abandoned !

That a system which destroys the lives of 400,000 human beings in one island in thirty years, is desperately wicked, whether it yields profit or loss, there can be no question ; but if these lives would have been worth 50*l.* each, and nearly half of them have actually been replaced by purchase, the pecuniary sacrifice to the country is no less than twenty millions in this one island, and that being only one-half of the West India colonies, would make the whole forty millions, which, at six per cent. interest, would make 2,400,000*l.* per annum, or 15*s.* per cwt. on 160,000 tons of sugar!! No wonder that the West Indians should feel the enormous expenses of these cruelties press too heavily upon them. No wonder that the share the country has borne of the expenses of these cruelties is felt to be insufficient ; and that they have lately sought for further protection, declaring, that without it they should be ruined. And so they will, by the operation of the general laws, ordained by a just and wise Providence, if they continue to adhere to a system which is ruinous, and which must fall.

If the disadvantages of one system of slavery, as compared with another system of slavery, are so obvious, how much more striking must be the comparative advantages of free labour ! We have seen that the cultivation of indigo by free labour in the East Indies, has almost wholly superseded its cultivation by slaves in the Western world ; and this was the only article which could bear the high charges of conveyances to Europe during the monopoly of the East India Company. If the obstructions to our commerce with India were removed, similar success would, doubtless, attend the culture of sugar and cotton. It is useless, however, to pursue a subject which has been so completely established, that all controversy upon it must now be for ever at rest ; we shall only just state, that the experiment of gradually raising slaves to the rank of free men, has been most successfully tried in the British West Indies, by Joshua Steel. By the substitution of hope of reward for force or fear, by treating his slaves as human beings, this benevolent individual stopped the gradual decrease in numbers ; and, after following this system for the short period of only four years and three months, he had tripled the annual net produce of his estate.

Amongst all the obvious disadvantages of slave labour, there is none more extraordinary than its tendency to deteriorate the soil. To those who are at all acquainted with the slave cultivation, either of the United States or of the West Indies, the fact is so well known, and so universally admitted, as to make any proofs unnecessary. Wherever slaves

are used, the master never thinks of sparing them; he has recourse to their sinews for every thing; cattle are seldom introduced, and hence slave countries are behind all others in agricultural improvements. Our own soils would wear out if constantly cultivated, even with wheat, with barley, or with oats. But happily the people of England are not slaves!—they eat beef and mutton, they wear woollen cloth, and leather shoes. A demand for these articles promotes the introduction of cattle, and of green crops, which manure and preserve the fertility of the soil.

The inadequate feeding and clothing of the slaves, which, as stated above, is intimately connected with the deterioration of the soil, has also other disadvantages. By the amelioration law of Antigua, the planters are only compelled to give to their slaves nine pints each of Indian corn weekly; they are allowed about five herrings per week, and many of them, no doubt, a greater quantity of corn; but why was such a law passed, if some did not give them less? And what must we say of a community which would pass an amelioration law, and leave the allowance so lamentably deficient,—not half of many of our prison allowances, nor half as much as the slaves are allowed in some parts of the United States! At what price can we expect to obtain our sugar, when we attempt to extract labour by the lash from such half-fed beings? What sort of customers to us can these poor wretches be, whose clothing only costs 15s. 6d. annually; whose allowance of fish is only about five herrings per week, and of beef 6lb. annually.

Low prices of produce compel the adoption of the best and most economical systems; and improved treatment of slaves will stand foremost amongst them; low prices of produce have generally been beneficial to the slaves, whilst high prices have as generally been injurious to them. High prices alone have supported the destructive system which has kept slavery in existence, for slavery can only exist where the population is in a ratio greatly below the demand for labour. In Jamaica, we have seen that the population has been kept down, and slavery has been kept up, by the destructive system which has prevailed there; were the population as great in proportion as that of England, there could exist no temptation to maintain it. Who, indeed, in this country, would ever think of holding men in slavery with a hope of profit? And what but the waste of human life which has taken place in the West Indies, has prevented a gradual approach to such a state of things there? How could such a change occasion any loss to the planters? Wherever slavery exists, land is of little value. We seldom hear a planter speak of the number of his acres, but of the number of his slaves. In the United States, land of a worse quality, and more unfavourably situated, if cultivated by free men, is worth more than double the price of better land, in a better situation, in the same district, when the land is cultivated by slaves.

An increase in the supply of men, as of any article, makes them bear a less price, until at length they become worth nothing as sale-

able property; but this is no loss to their master, for, by industry and good management, he will have a great increase of produce, and probably of income; but even if his income remains the same, it will have the stability of landed income, instead of the unjust and uncertain tenure of property in the persons and lives of his fellow men. The continuance of such a system of oppression, of wickedness, of impolicy, and of folly, is almost incredible in this enlightened age of the world; surely it will be said, such a system must fall by its own weight; and so indeed it would, if it were left to itself. But we have not left it to itself; we are already paying, in bounty to keep up the prices of sugar, and in establishments and armies to keep the slaves in subjection, no less a sum than two millions annually!

Great as this pecuniary sacrifice is, it is not all that we are called upon to make; we are called upon to support a system, the effects of which have ever been to hinder the progress of improvement, and to spread barbarism in its stead; a system everywhere marked by the destruction of the very soil, and of every virtuous and moral feeling, no less in the master than in the slave. We are called upon to bind down the energies of the country, and to exclude that competition which would certainly destroy this wretched system; to reject, when within our power, the means of giving employment, knowledge, and civilization, to our numerous fellow-subjects in India, and of receiving, in return, employment for the people of Ireland.

If this great and glorious change from slavery to freedom was attended both with danger and with loss, who would even then be found to advocate the continuance of slavery? But when it has been proved to be safe, easy, and profitable, let us all unite to destroy the monster; and if, contrary to all reason and probability, any human being can show that he has been injured, let his claim be fairly and justly, nay, liberally considered; through all let us remember to act on the immutable principles of justice. We see the deplorable effects of attempting to separate what God has indissolubly joined; the rejection of all motives of humanity and benevolence from commercial transactions, rends the poor African from his native soil: the rejection of all commercial considerations or motives of policy, from acts of benevolence and humanity, leads his well-meaning, though mistaken advocates, to pay without remonstrance the bounty which enables his oppressor still to hold him in bondage! Do not these things call for immediate abolition; and can any individual, who feels an interest in the prosperity of his country, or in the happiness of his fellow-creatures, refuse to examine whether they are true? When the facts of the case are thus fairly before the country, it will remain for it to choose its course.

We had intended to pursue this subject further.—But the length to which this article has already extended, obliges us to defer the conclusion of our remarks on the safety and practicability of Immediate Emancipation till our next.

ON GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE.—WHIGS AND TORIES. PROMOTIONS OF THE MINISTRY.

WHIG Union is a rope of sand. As a party, the Whigs have been notorious for forgetting their friends and promoting their enemies. The organ of coherence is not in them. In this respect they differ from the Tories. The Tories when in office were infrangible,—they decided by a common counsel and opposed by a united strength,—they acted with concert, order, discipline, communication. Joint effort, personal confidence, warm friendships, common interests, bound them together. To promote an enemy, was by them considered a kind of political turpitude. They supported each other and were supported in turn. What was the result? A long and secure enjoyment of office. The Tories were in truth practical politicians so far as regarded the distribution of Patronage. They followed the wise maxims of Burke. "It is the business of the politician (says Burke) who is the philosopher in action, to find out proper means towards those ends and to employ them with effect. Therefore every honorable connexion will avow it is their first purpose to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the state. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for these situations. *Without a proscription of others they are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things.*" These are golden maxims. Have they been followed by the Whigs? We regret to say they have not.

What was their first appointment in the first profession, namely the Law? Their first appointment was that of Lord Lyndhurst to the office of Chief Baron. Now Lord Lyndhurst has never been of their party. He had ridiculed them in public and private. He had spurned them with his known power. He had opposed their measures and mocked at their men. He had attacked them in open vigorous fight and had waylaid them in the bye paths. He had got their heads into *Chancery* and beaten them into a bestowal of patronage.—For putting them into Chancery, they lift him into the Exchequer. Do we say a word against the abilities of the learned Lord? Not one. He is one of the clearest-headed men in all England. He is most "cunning of fence," an expert logician, an admirable stater of facts, a fair average lawyer, but has he not been at once Jacobin and Tory, Leveller and Conservative?

'Stiff in opinions—ever in the wrong,
Every thing by fits—but nothing long.'

Has he not been variable as the weathercock and factious as the hottest partisan? Into his private house we will not enter; but nevertheless staid and sober men should have choice of the Judgment Seat. This was almost the first promotion of the Whigs. One is tempted to ask, what have they gained? Possibly Lord Lyndhurst's

support and gratitude.—Oh no! He will be the very first to fight them in the Lords, as he was the very first to shew himself in the memorable three days of the last year, when the Unions were evoked by Ministers, from the “vasty deeps” of Birmingham. They have not gained Lord Lyndhurst’s gratitude, and have made hundreds lukewarm in the profession to which he belongs, and hundreds of thousands out of it.

To their second promotion in the profession we are willing to give the meed of our feeble praise. Sir Thomas Denman is the very soul of honor and high feeling. Long may he dispense impartial justice!

The next appointment in the Law was that of Sir John Campbell, to the office of Solicitor-General. In the technicalities of his profession, Sir John is unrivalled, unless by his father-in-law, Sir James Scarlett: but here our praise must end. Sir John never was and never will be a martyr to any political principle; he is of a cautious and timid nature, very proper in quiet times to serve a state, but totally unfitted for the emergencies of a great occasion. Besides, he is “*Leguleius quidem cautus et acutus*,” who knows law only, and nothing else. To oratory he has no pretension; and we doubt if he ever even attempted, in Parliament, the enunciation of a general truth. Then again, look to his connexion with Sir James Scarlett. We believe it is a piece of private political history, little known, that Sir John Campbell was like the familiar animal between the two bundles of hay, on the memorable night of Sir Henry Parnell’s motion in November, 1830. Fortunately for himself, he did not vote; but they who were at this juncture, cognisant of the private opinions of the Member for Stafford, were not slow to say that he would vote with the Duke of Wellington. The next day, the Tories were out, and Sir John made his appearance at Brookes’s, after a long absence. This was wise and prudent; but commend us to partisans, who show themselves when the clouds lower, and the thunder howls, not to those summer birds, who display their plumage in the day of success and sunshine.

Mr. John Williams had been all his life a Whig: he had written some biting articles in the Edinburgh Review—he had resigned the office of Queen’s Attorney-General in the memorable three days; yet Mr. John Williams was overlooked on this occasion.

The next appointment was that of Lord Minto, to the Embassy at Berlin. What claim had Lord Minto on the Whigs? He had never gone with them fully, and had exhibited all the prudence of his countryman, Sir John Campbell. It was his habitude, like the lawyer, “*d’être toujours à côté du plus fort*.” Hence we suppose his appointment; hence the neglect of the philosophic Mackintosh, whose greatest desire was to be employed in this line, whose dying days it might have cheered, and for whose habits and tone of thought the Berlin Embassy was suited. But Mackintosh’s support was assured, that of Lord Minto was uncertain. Strange and unaccountable ground of preference!

Then there was a Poor Law Commission. Who were the men chosen? The Bishop of London! the Bishop of Chester! Mr. Sturges Bourne!! Mr. Senior, a very fitting man, we believe, but one of those neutrals of whom parties should be aware; Mr. Henry Bishop, and Mr. Henry Gawler, both unknown to fame; and last, though not least, Mr. Walter Coulson, an able industrious man, but of no decided character; one of those safe and respectable men, who never commit themselves with any sect or party. Here then were three open enemies at the head of the Commission, two neutrals, and two of the unknown; we cannot say the "great unknown." Now were these exactly the men to choose? Were these men openly pledged to the Ministry, and committed with them? Were there no principled partisans? Were there none who had made sacrifices for them? None who had spoken or written in their favour? Aye, were there hundreds, but of the support of these men, Ministers were *sure*, and that was enough.

Then come the Elections. Do they stir themselves for their partisans all through the country? Not they. Nay, in some instances do they throw their force into the hands of open enemies—in others into the hands of false friends, and again into the power of those neutrals who will ruin them at last. In justice to one man, not now in power, we believe, there were reclamations against this. We believe that Lord Durham adopted a bold and a manly tone. We dare say Lord Althorp may have gone with him, a certain length, but how did the majority act? They showed neither sympathy with or for their supporters.

Let us look to the latest Elections. What effort did the Government make in London? None. Hence Mr. Lyall's return. What at Dover? None. Hence the return of Mr. Halcomb. What at Marylebone? None of sufficient magnitude. Hence the triumph of Sir Samuel Whalley. What at Sunderland? None. Hence the return of Mr. Alderman Thompson!

And lately have they aided Mr. Thomas Duncombe in the Hertford Petition! Not in the least degree, that we have heard. Then as relates to the late Secretary for Ireland. Did any of the influential people in the Cabinet or connected with it, attend him to the Hustings at Westminster? Not one. How have they treated Colonel Jones? We are no admirers of the gallant officer, but to speak the truth, he has written and spoken in their cause to his own manifest unpopularity. What is his reward? To have a youth (a clever youth we have heard) put forth in his place at Marylebone without asking him a question. Such are the services of Whigs to their friends and partisans.

In that hour of need which must at length come, will these partisans put themselves again in the "imminent deadly breach?" Will the man whom Cabinet Ministers a year ago delighted to honour, but who is now in derision called the "Brummagen Hampden," will he be duped a second time, and put his faith in these echos and shadows, who are complimented by their followers in being called

men? No, we should think, the Brummagen Hampden has been surfeited with Whig gratitude.

The two last exercises of patronage by the Whigs were on the Local Court Bill, and the Infant Labour Commission. We shall watch the workings of these Commissions narrowly, and if open enemies, false friends, or those wily neutrals, more dangerous than either usurp the places, which in Tory hands would go to Tory partisans, then will the Whigs have done more to ruin themselves, than all the writings and speechings of their bitterest enemies.

‘He that’s ungrateful has no fault but one,
All other faults may pass for virtues in him.’

We fear, however, it is not only of ingratitude to their consistent and honourable supporters, the Whigs may be accused, but that they stand accountable for the greater sin of appointing unfit persons, in some instances, on one of these Commissions. Again, persons otherwise occupied. And, thirdly, persons who are their rank enemies.

No man may be fitter for the office of Commissioner than Mr. Stuart, the American traveller; but Mr. Stuart has already had an appointment in the department of Stamps—and it is impossible one man, however able, can serve two masters; he cannot do his duty at the Stamp Office and on the Factory Commission at the same time. We thought the age of pluralities had been at an end; but here is an individual obtaining two situations at nearly one and the same time, a year after the Reform Bill has passed into a law! It may be said that both are inconsiderable posts, and that Mr. Stuart deserves something at the hands of the Ministry. We admit that the places are inconsiderable, and that Mr. Stuart may deserve some more substantial proof of gratitude at the hands of Lord Brougham, whose patron and benefactor Mr. Stuart was, when the now potent Baron Brougham and Vaux was a much less personage. But this, though a good reason for promoting an able man to one situation commensurate with his deserts, is no reason at all for naming him to two offices whose duties are quite incompatible. He cannot be in London when he is required at the Stamp Office; nor in Scotland when he is required at the Factory Commission. This, therefore, is a bad arrangement, in point of principle, and an extremely inconvenient one as regards the public service.

There is Mr. Drinkwater, too, who has the reputation of being an able man; but does he hold the opinions professed by the present Government? We are given to understand he does not. But, after the evidence already published, was there a necessity at all for this Commission? Is it not, in fact, either a mere pretext for delay, or a field for patronage? If the duties were really severe or onerous, could Mr. Tooke, the great Russian merchant, spare time from his mercantile concerns to execute them? These are questions which the public ask, and we fear the answer is not much in favour of the public virtue of the times.

As regards the Commission on the Irish Poor Laws, it has already

been denounced in *tranchant* terms by Mr. James Grattan. He has plainly stated his belief that this Commission is a *ruse* of the Government, to postpone the introduction of the Poor Laws; and that no men will be appointed thereon who are not pledged opponents of the measure. Now we warn the Ministers to beware. We tell them that the eyes of all England are upon them; and if improper men are nominated, there will be a cry against them such as their ears have been little accustomed to. We know that several applications have been made by men, who have long studied the question of Irish Poor Laws, to be named on this Commission; but we have not heard that a single one of them has had a favourable answer. We shall soon see, however, whether the Gazette bears out these sinister omens.

It has long been apparent to us that the Ministry have been daily losing ground. We held our peace on the subject, for a time, hoping that calm reflection and returning sense, and honest principle, would have had their sway; but in vain. Things have been suffered to go on, from bad to worse, for some months, till the climax of ill has been capped in the vote on the Malt Tax. Granted that the repeal of this tax would have been a mere boon to the landlords, still the honor of the House being pledged, and its decision spoken, what must we think of that morality which compels them to eat up on the Tuesday the words which they uttered so pronouncedly on the Friday? What confidence could the people have in a House composed of willing materials enough to swear that black was white, or that white was black, just as the Minister pleased? Herein was a great error, which, in a critical time, gave a shock to that public confidence, by which the elected and the elector are knit together. Hence the defeat of Sir John Hobhouse—hence the call to resign their seats made on Dr. Lushington, Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. William Brougham, &c. In all these points of contest, between power and the people, we think the latter have the best of the argument, as well as the best of the fight. Let them go on steadily, and they will move surely. Let them remember that they but advocate in 1833 the principles which Lord Grey and his Cabinet found it convenient to advocate in 1832. Thanking his Lordship and the other Ministers for the principle, it becomes the people to put it into practice; and we say to them, with all our hearts, God speed the work.

In the foregoing observations we have said not a word on Army and Navy patronage. Yet it has been a wonder to every one, that Sir Pulteney Malcolm, a high Tory, has been afloat, while Sir Edward Codrington has been allowed to repose on his laurels. The same remark applies to the Army. What services have Lord Hill or Lord Edward Somerset rendered to the cause of Whiggism, or of the people? Are they not among its and their bitterest foes? Yet they are both safely installed at the Horse Guards, while Lord Lyndoch, Sir Ronald Ferguson, Lord Hutchinson, and other supporters of the Government, are left to enjoy the barren credit of a fidelity without reward.

THE COMMERCIAL ENQUIRER.

ON THE EAST INDIA MONOPOLY—ADVANTAGES OF THE CIRCUITOUS TRADE FROM INDIA TO CHINA.

ALL who have devoted much time to the consideration of our relations with Asia, and who have attempted to arrange, under appropriate heads, the matters which have crowded on their attention, must be struck with the extreme difficulty of confining their view to one distinct object of contemplation, and of repressing a restless curiosity to roam over a field of undefined, if not boundless, inquiry. To control this importunate disposition to diverge, the indulgence of which would bewilder the inexperienced reader in a maze of inextricable confusion, in the short account which we have presented of our Trade to India, we have endeavoured to consider our commercial polity apart from the higher considerations of social order, of civil rights, of empire and legislation, with which it is intimately connected; we have avoided, as much as possible, the debated ground of free settlement and colonization; to which, however, we shall advert by and bye: and in the same spirit we now proceed to give an account of what is called the Circuitous Trade from India to other parts of the Eastern Seas.

The Trade to China, and the Eastern Archipelago, though not entangled, like that to India, with the question of Government, or embarrassed by the supposed collision between the interests of a superior and dependent state, is yet extended into such numberless ramifications, and embraces, in its serpentine and devious course, such a vast variety of considerations, that to notice them all seems impossible, without an utter disregard of order. In estimating the loss sustained by the industry of this country, and the injury inflicted on the Natives of India, by the impolitic restrictions which have been placed on our commerce with that country, the mere statement of the amount of exports and imports at various periods, and a simple recital of the disabilities under which the productions of the East are placed in their disproportioned competition with those of the Western Hemisphere, have sufficed to direct the mind of a candid inquirer to the sacrifices to which the people of England submit, and the reckless spirit of legislative prodigality in which they have been enacted. The course of our trade to the territories of the Company is neither intricate nor circuitous; the impediments by which the full development of the resources of India is retarded, tend, as we have shown, to such manifest deterioration of its produce, that, with the exception of indigo, it is comparatively little sought in the markets of Europe; and

our own transactions approach nearer to the simplicity of barter, than any commerce now subsisting in the world. Not so, however, with the trade to China and the Eastern islands. To engage in this, with any prospect of advantage, it is necessary to be free from all descriptions of restraint,—that every sea should be open to our merchants,—every port be familiarized with our flag,—that, as far at least as our own laws can ensure it, we should have unqualified access to every nation of the earth,—be confined to no prescribed routes,—detained at no ancient stations,—but be at liberty to sail where we will, to return which way we please, and to stay as long as our exigencies may require. Be it remembered, that we have not here to compete with the old, worn-out nations of the Continent. A new people, thirty years ago in infancy, but now ripened into manhood, are our bold and adventurous rivals. Distinguished by an energy of character, an indomitable spirit of perseverance, to be dismayed by no difficulties, discouraged by no delay, free as the winds of the immense oceans which bound their coasts, the merchant-mariners of America seem insensible to fatigue, seek no repose, but are engaged in one uninterrupted circumnavigation of commercial enterprise. “Whilst we follow them,” says Burke, “among the trembling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Straits,—whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold,—that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know, that, whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries,—no climate that is not witness to their toils.”

Such was the portrait of America in her infancy, while yet in the nursery of Great Britain. Since that time, whatever may look like poetry in the description, has been more than realised. “Not squeezed,” as we have been, “by the restraints of a watchful and suspicious Government,” but suffered to take their own way to perfection, the Americans, under cover of our own mischievous restrictions, by the excellence and variety of their assortments, have obtained a preference over us in all the ports of continental Europe, engrossed the better portion of the trade with the immense regions which lie beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, and, pushing their successes to the Thames, selected from the warchouses, in which our manufactures mouldered, the materials which invigorate their competition, and extend and animate their foreign and domestic commerce.

‘*Uno quodam vinculo conjungunter*,’ is not so true of the arts and sciences, as it is of the various branches of trade; and it would

not be difficult to prove to the most sincere and incredulous monopolists, that the restraints imposed on our intercourse with the East are felt in every link of the commercial chain, and frustrate and defeat our ventures in all the markets of the world.

Before, however, we proceed to the illustration of this great truth, which a partial comparison of the systems of England and America will afford, it may be well to fix our attention on the history and present state of the laws, by which we are excluded from the advantages which our commercial power, if free and unfettered, could not fail to command, on their variance with the principles on which the general scheme of our colonial policy is formed, the efforts which have been recently made by the King's Government to evade their provisions, and the resistance which they have met from the Directors to the East India Company.

The truth is, that though the East India Company be justly chargeable with a multitude of high crimes and misdemeanours against the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain,—until lately, it was only accessory to those ill-advised impediments which the Americans have lately turned to such wonderful account. If the Company had kept pace with the growth of intelligence among the commercial classes of the community, and of liberality in the King's Government, had they consented to those reasonable concessions which were, eight years ago, demanded by the new circumstances of the world, there would be comparatively little cause of complaint against privileges which were not originally very violent deviations from the general colonial system of the country, and which good sense and good feeling might have modified to its altered condition. The bill against them is, that long after these exclusive privileges had been rendered valueless by the invasion of foreigners,—knowing that their modification formed an essential feature of the commercial policy which Ministers felt it their duty to recommend to Parliament, preferring the competition of the Dutch and the Americans to that of their own countrymen,—they did, in the selfish avarice of monopoly, refuse to others what they could not enjoy themselves, return an ungrateful negative to the application of Government, and insist upon the letter of their bond. Of this we will prove them guilty to the last syllable of the charge.

By the 18th section of the 12 Car. II. cap. 18, (the Navigation Act,) considered, until very lately, as the great stay and bulwark of British commerce, it was enacted, that 'no sugars, tobacco, rice, molasses, copper ore, cotton wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying wood, of the growth or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, should be carried from any of these places to any place whatsoever, except to other English plantations, or to Great Britain, under forfeiture of ship and goods.'

And by the 19th, 'that for every ship which should set out from England, Ireland, &c., for any English plantation, sufficient bond should be given to the chief officers of the customs of the port from

whence she sailed, that, in case the ship should load any of the said commodities at any of the English plantations, they should be brought by the said ship to some part of Great Britain, to be there unloaded, the dangers of the seas only excepted.' 'And the governor of such plantation shall, before the ship be permitted to load, take bond, in the manner and value aforesaid, that such ship shall carry the goods to some other English plantation, or to Great Britain: and every ship which shall load any of the aforesaid goods until such bond shall be given to the governor, or certificate produced from the officers of any custom-house in England, &c., that such bonds have been there duly given, shall be forfeited; and the said governor shall, twice in every year, return true copies of all such bonds to the chief officer of the customs in London.'

By the 37 Geo. III. cap. 17, the British possessions in the East were excepted from the operation of the laws by which our colonies in America and the West Indies were restrained from direct traffic with foreign nations; and that Act empowered the Directors, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, 'to frame such regulations for carrying on the trade to and from the British possessions in the East Indies, and the countries and states in amity with his Majesty, as shall seem to them most conducive to the interest and prosperity of the said British possessions in India, and of the British empire.'

In the 20th section of the last Charter Act, 53 Geo. III., a distinct reservation of this power was contained, to the effect of leaving Parliament at liberty to make further regulations for enabling his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade directly or circuitously with the places within the limits of the Charter.

The power so reserved was first exercised in the Act 54 Geo. III., cap. 34, commonly called 'Circuitous Trade Act.'

This Act contains two principal provisions. 1. That by which the Company and private traders are permitted to touch and trade, on their outward or homeward voyage, at foreign ports in America, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, the island of St. Helena; and on the outward voyage at the Canaries, Cape de Verde Islands, and the Island of Madeira. 2. A permission to the private traders to carry on trade, circuitously, between all ports and places whatsoever, lying within the limits of the Charter, that is, from the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

By the 54 Geo. IV., the exclusive privilege of the Company in the China trade, and the monopoly of the traffic in tea, remained unimpaired; and, although the only reservation in the 20th section of the Charter Act related 'to the resort and residence of any persons in the East Indies,' vessels proceeding to or from India were still debarred from all traffic with ports in Europe, other than those of the United Kingdom.

The first departure from this system will be found in the 57 Geo. III. cap. 36, (the Malta Trade Act) by which vessels trading between the

United Kingdom and India, whether belonging to the Company or to individuals, were permitted to touch at Malta and Gibraltar; and vessels were allowed to trade between those places, and the limits of the Charter, without coming to a British port.

It appears, by a communication made in July, 1814, by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the India Board, to Mr. Caning, as member for Liverpool, and others, that a direct trade between India and foreign ports had been in contemplation of His Majesty's Government; but Lord Buckinghamshire expressly says, that it was then the opinion of His Majesty's Ministers, that 'the effects of a general pacification, connected with the new system which Parliament had provided for carrying on the trade with India, could alone enable them to form a correct judgment whether the general interests of the British empire would be best promoted by provisions calculated to render the United Kingdom the emporium of commerce with our settlements in India, or by regulations which should open a direct trade between those settlements and foreign Europe.*

The exclusive policy of our navigation laws, to which our commerce with the New World was subject, and to which the East India Company voluntarily conformed, had been adopted, either on independent policy, or in self-defence, by almost all the maritime nations of Europe. Those which possessed establishments within the tropics, secured to those establishments the monopoly of their markets, employing the excess of imports over their own consumption, as instruments of exchange and barter with other countries: but the merchants of those States which possessed no colonies themselves, prohibited from direct intercourse with those of other nations, were compelled to purchase their productions from their importers into Europe. Until the commencement of the French Revolutionary war, France, England, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, were competitors for the supply of the States of the Baltic, Germany, Italy and the Mediterranean, with the products of the Western World, but with some trifling abatement in favour of Portugal, Sweden, and France, as Lisbon and Venice had been before, Amsterdam and London were the great emporia of the merchandise of the East. During the twenty-three years of almost unremitted war, waged by this country, in the first instance against France, and ultimately against all the great continental States which its Ruler compelled to submit to his authority, our maritime superiority enabled us to extirpate the shipping of foreign nations. By the reduction of the French and Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies, the revolt of St. Domingo, and the seizure of the principal points in the Mediterranean, England became the great magazine in Europe, from which the products of every quarter of the globe were dispersed through such channels as the continental system had not closed. But though they were thus without a rival in Europe, a formidable competition was soon raised by the Americans. That enterprising people, by the concessions stipulated in the treaty

* Appendix (D) to a Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Trade, 1821.

of 1794, having completely disentangled their intercourse with India from the trammels to which our own remained subject until 1813, free from the embarrassment of exclusive charters and navigation laws, by the wise policy of neutrality, maintained a friendly intercourse with those ports of the continent to which our own shipping had only clandestine access; and by these means though their want of colonies and their geographical position prevented them from establishing emporia in Europe, they became the carriers of the world.

At the conclusion of the war, the trade thus carried on by the Americans, exhibited, as compared with that of which, at its commencement, they were possessed, a prodigious increase; and, indeed, as long as our navigation laws prohibited the exportation of the produce of our colonies to the ports of Europe, except by the circuitous and expensive route of England, it is obvious that the Americans could afford to undersell our merchants in all those commodities which they were enabled to procure as cheaply as ourselves.

Very soon after the final overthrow of Napoleon, and the general pacification which ensued, had permitted commerce to revert to a settled and equable flow, it was discovered that, had the war continued, the Americans, in their capacity of carriers, would, by means of their neutrality, have speedily become most efficient accomplices in his favourite scheme for the destruction of our trade. By importing, in their own vessels, the produce of both the Indies, they rendered the continental blockade less onerous to the States of Europe, and very sensibly diminished the inducement to prefer our alliance to that of France, which our maritime supremacy and commercial opportunities presented. Indeed, as far as the insignificance of their manufactures and capital, and the inferiority of their shipping permitted, though they did not attack our commerce by direct aggression, they virtually undermined it, and, except for those articles which the skill and industry of our people secured from competition, the principal markets of Europe were, to the great disappointment of our merchants, found to have few demands, the supply of which was not preoccupied by the Americans. Had an immediate adaptation of the navigation laws and of our fiscal system to these commercial novelties been deemed expedient when peace was restored, the relaxations in favour of foreign shipping, which have since taken place, might have been stipulated in exchange for similar facilities of access to foreign ports, by which means, without entirely abandoning the system of emporium, we should have been enabled to contest with the Americans the carrying trade, and, at the same time attracted the merchandise of Europe to the markets of England. But a period of great disappointment and distress was not favourable to the abrogation of laws originally enacted for the purpose of protection, and which had long been considered as the most efficient preservatives of our mercantile superiority. It was not until an apparently confirmed stagnation of business compelled an enquiry into its cause, that the necessity of the changes which have since taken place, was perceived and acknowledged. In the mean time, the Americans continued to prosper on our prejudices and procrastination; and the ignorant pertinacity with which we adhered to

our antiquated code, had, in 1820-21, embarrassed more effectually our intercourse with the continent, than all the restraints of *Buonaparte* in the zenith of his power.

There is reason to believe that those of the Castlereagh Cabinet, who have since so triumphantly vindicated their superiority,—men who, versed in the sound theoretical principles of trade, were likewise familiar with their application,—whose minds were too clear to be confused by the multiplicity and variety of practical detail, and of sufficient discrimination to reconcile the principles of science with the lessons of experience,—had early perceived the impolicy of regulations, which the altered circumstances of the world had turned against ourselves, and according to the measure of their influence and power, struggled hard to abridge their duration. Thus, at the renewal of the charter in 1813, when Lord Castlereagh proposed that the exclusive privileges of the Company, in the China trade, should continue until 1834, Mr. Canning (evidently contemplating the necessity of a more early revision of our commercial system) contended that it was unwise to fetter for so long a time the discretion of Parliament, and divided the House on an amendment, limiting their duration to ten years. But the rhetoric of Lord Castlereagh, and the influence of the Company, combined to smother the glimmering of reason, of which this was one among many indications.

The amendment, lost by a ministerial majority in the House, received such support out of doors, that the justice of the views from which it proceeded, recommended by the concurrent assent of all parties conversant with the subject, became at length apparent to Government; and, accordingly, in a letter bearing date 17th of May, 1820, Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, thus addressed the Court of Directors.

‘Various and urgent representations, relative to the trade with India and the Eastern Seas, and particularly setting forth the advantages supposed to be derivable to the mercantile and manufacturing classes, from some relaxations of the Company’s monopoly of the China trade, having been made, experience can alone lead to a correct judgment, whether the general interests of the British Empire would be best promoted by provisions calculated to render the United Kingdom the emporium of commerce with our settlements in India, or by regulations which should open a direct trade between those settlements and foreign Europe. After the experience of five years of peace, His Majesty’s Ministers are of opinion that, in the present state of commercial concerns in this country, it is advisable to permit British vessels to return from ports and places, within the limits of the Company’s Charter, to any country in foreign Europe, without touching at a British port; and they intend to propose a Bill to Parliament with this object. This permission it is in the discretion of Parliament to grant, without any violation of the compact of the Company; but it is not to be denied that tea would be a most desirable article of traffic to those who are likely to engage in the new trade. I am very desirous, therefore, that the Company should con-

sider whether they may not allow such a modification of their monopoly of the tea trade, as, without endangering their footing in China or their finances at home, may give relief and satisfaction to the merchant, and create a favourable impression of the liberal motives by which the Company are actuated. The principal objects, on the part, as well of the Company as of the public, in the China monopoly, were, that the indiscriminate resort of British subjects to China should be prevented, and that the supply of the United Kingdom with tea, should be preserved to the Company exclusively; but it appears to me, that, consistently with both these objects, the Company may give to the mercantile public what will be considered as a valuable boon. This would be effectual by permission to British subjects to take in tea at any port in the Eastern Archipelago, and to bring it to any foreign port. Whether the tea should be collected through the ordinary channel of the country trade, or whether a depôt should be formed by the Company at Prince of Wales's Island for example, or any other place, may be matter for future consideration. In either case, the resort of British subjects to Canton would continue to be as effectually prevented as at present. Whether this permission would lead to an extensive trade in tea, it is difficult now to calculate; but it would, undoubtedly, be a most acceptable concession to the public: and I flatter myself that any immediate and inconsiderable disadvantage which might accrue from it to any branch of trade by which the Company now profits, would be more than compensated to them, if, (as in the case of the Mediterranean trade) permission were given to the Company to carry on a similar traffic. Whether the Company shall be prevailed upon, or not, to relax in their monopoly of the tea trade, to the degree which I have suggested, it may, perhaps, be desirable that they should allot a portion of their China tonnage to individuals, in the way pointed out in the Act of 1793, as to the trade with India. But I cannot help doubting whether this arrangement would be satisfactory to the parties interested, unless the private merchant shall be allowed to send a supercargo to take charge of its own adventures. The former concession, I am confident, would be considered by the public, as well as by the Government, as a highly favourable indication of the Company's disposition to meet, as far as is in their power, the exigencies of the present times, and to afford to the enterprise and capital of the United Kingdom, in competition with foreign nations, every latitude which is not incompatible with the security of those peculiar interests which Parliament has so solemnly and recently guaranteed to the East Company.'

In reply to this application, on the part of the Board of Control, Messrs. Robinson and Reid, then in occupation of the Chairs, in a letter, dated East India House, 7th of June, 1820, informs Mr. Canning, that,

'The Court have at all times considered the welfare of the East India Company to be inseparable from that of the country;* and when they

* Then this is a wilful self-delusion: because the welfare of a Monopoly must be purchased at the expense of those who are excluded from it. The interests of a privileged few, and the interests of the many, cannot, by any possibility, be one and the same.

have felt themselves called upon to act in opposition to the declared opinion and wishes of any branch of his Majesty's subjects; they have acted from a conscientious belief, founded on long experience, that the measures proposed have been calculated to injure, rather than promote, the interests of the parties themselves, or the prosperity of the country.*

'The present period of distress may be said to demand every exertion' on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, to open new sources of commerce for the employment of the commercial capital of the country; and we desire to assure you, Sir, in the name of the Court, that, if they could persuade themselves that the relief sought for is to be found in the adoption of the measures proposed by you for the extension of the India trade, and for a participation in the tea trade, they would, in the spirit above-mentioned, lend their aid in supporting the views of his Majesty's Ministers.† The Court, however, are decidedly of opinion, not only that a considerable part of the embarrassments under which the parties now petitioning labour, has been produced by speculations in the India trade, but that the adoption of the measures detailed in your letter would inevitably tend to aggravate rather than relieve such distress.‡ At the same time, the Court are not surprised that an attack on the remaining privileges of the Company should be attempted; for, in the letter of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman to the President of the Board of Commissioners, on the 13th of January, 1809, when the negociation was carrying on respecting the late Charter Act, it was predicted, "that the disappointment which the private adventurers could not fail to experience, would by them be charged to the influence of the remaining privileges of the Company, and they would not rest until the whole were extinguished."§

'Relief is sought in a departure from the fundamental principle which has been hitherto acted upon, viz., making Great Britain the emporium of Indian commerce; and Foreign Europe is now to be the entrepôt for the produce of our Indian empire. With regard to the Company forming a depôt at Prince of Wales's Island, or at some port in the Eastern Archipelago, for tea to supply the private trader, the Court cannot accede to such a proposal. Not only would the charge necessary to be incurred by the Company, in the transit of that article from China to the depôt, (independently of the expense of an establishment for that purpose,) render the price to the purchaser an objection to such a place, but the character of the Company would be involved, as it would be impossible to guard against the frauds which would be practised, both in respect to the quality and quantity of the article.|| A system of this kind could not fail to produce continued misunderstandings and disputes between the purchasers and the Company.

* This, besides being a deliberate falsehood, is a piece of egregious folly, which no one will believe.

† Another mis-statement, as glaring as the preceding.

‡ The distress arose from want of markets. How could the opening of new ones possibly increase that distress?

§ We hope the prediction will be verified, and that there will be no rest nor respite till the Monopoly is entirely abolished.

|| How exquisitely moral! and how sensitive to reputation! But will any one believe that the Company care a straw about the frauds here spoken of? It is their exclusive privileges only of which they apprehend the curtailment or loss.

‘Upon the proposition of reserving part of the China tonnage for the public, upon the principle acted on in 1793 as to the India tonnage, the Court beg to observe, that, were they disposed to accede to the suggestion, it could not be expected that greater satisfaction would be given to the public than resulted from the experiment at the period above alluded to; but, as this proposition is coupled with a permission to supra-cargoes to proceed in the ships on which their adventure may be embarked, the Court cannot, in any way, lend their countenance to it, as, in their opinion, it would lead to an annihilation of the Company’s China trade,* even if the necessary charges attendant on the prosecution of such an adventure did not render the thing impracticable with any prospect of benefit to the parties who may be engaged in it.

‘As to the China trade being open to private traders, this subject was very thoroughly weighed, previously to the arrangements as to the British relations with India and China, in 1813.

‘The arrangement was fixed upon principles of national policy and expediency; and the China trade, to be conducted upon the mode then agreed upon, became a most important object of inducement to the Company to undertake duties not less material to the public than to the Company,† the performance of which might be endangered by any change of system.

‘By the Act of 1793, the sum of one million sterling was secured to the Company from the Indian territories;—events over which the Company have had no controul, have deprived them of that resource. The India trade has since been taken from them; and if the China trade was now to be infringed, the Company must lose the means of their existence,‡ and they would be rendered incapable of performing the important functions assigned to them by the country.§

‘The reciprocal aids of revenue and commerce are essential to the constitution of the Company; and they have carried on the government intrusted to them in a way which has been acknowledged to be highly beneficial, both to the mother country and to its Indian possessions.||

* Here is the true statement of the evil: private traders would undersell the Company, and their trade would no doubt dwindle to nothing. But is this an evil to the public?

† There are no duties of the Company material to the public also: and the attempt to make the interests of a body of Monopolists, and that of the whole community, the same, is founded on fallacy throughout.

‡ This is what they dread. The China trade is their *only* source of profit. But, if profitable to them, under such expensive and cumbrous management, how much more profitable might it not be made to free traders, and how widely would that profit be participated in by others? Upon what principle of equity or justice should the India Company *alone* absorb all its benefits?

§ When and where did ‘the country’ entrust the India Company with any functions? The country are most adverse to their future existence. It has been the ministry, and their corrupt supporters, who have hitherto bartered away the privileges of the people for parliamentary influence; and, in return for favours received, have kept the Company in possession of its ill-gotten privileges.

|| Acknowledged by whom? By themselves alone: Not by the people of England, and not by the people of India; for the first are never consulted, and the last are not permitted to speak freely;—but by the reciprocal interchange of eulogies between the actors and parties themselves.

‘The Court are not aware that any circumstances have occurred, which were not contemplated when the Act was passed, or which would have led to a view of the public interest different from what was then taken.

‘The Court regret that they should be placed in opposition to the wishes of a considerable portion of the commercial community connected with the India trade; and they likewise lament that they cannot fall in with the views of his Majesty’s Ministers;* but, under all the circumstances which we have had the honour to bring to your attention, the Court feel that, consistently with the interests committed to their charge, they are bound to withhold their consent to any alteration in the China trade, as fixed by the Act of Parliament of the 53d year of his late Majesty.’

It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to go into any lengthened detail of the serious injuries inflicted on the commerce of the country by the refusal of the Court of Directors to accede to those reasonable propositions of his Majesty’s Government. We have undertaken to show that the policy of the Company is in direct opposition to the general policy of the empire. It is out of our province to vindicate the latter; but we may be permitted to express our sorrow as well as our surprise that those who are intrusted with the administration of affairs in so vast an empire, should be obliged to wait the whim, and court the favour, of any portion of the King’s subjects; that there should exist, under the sanction and protection of Parliament, a body not amenable to its jurisdiction; and that the vital interests of the country should thus be sacrificed to mistaken notions of national honour.

We are not anxious to speak in terms of undue asperity of the motives of the individuals who composed the Direction of the East India Company, for the naked negative which they thought right to give to the application of Ministers. They are the organs of a great body, whose affairs they have undertaken to administer, not for the advantage of *England*, not for the happiness of *India*, but solely for the promotion of the views of those *to whom they are indebted for their seats*. They may justify, to their own consciences, the impediments which they are the instruments of opposing to the full development of the resources of the country; and some of them, perhaps, may think that any other course of conduct would amount to a violation of the trust reposed in them by their constituents.

The Parliament and people of England, however, will soon determine that the whole of the Eastern seas shall be thrown open to British enterprise; and English ships and English merchants be allowed free access to all those regions, before the most valuable portion of the Asiatic trade shall have passed into the hands of a rival nation, beyond the chance or possibility of recovery.

* They neither regret the one nor lament the other, but hypocritically pretend to a concern about the public welfare, while they are mindful only of their own. The folly, however, of such pretensions, can deceive but very few.

THE LITERARY EXPOSITOR.

STEAM TRANSPORT AND AGRICULTURE SOCIETY, FOR RELIEVING THE DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

'Journal of Elemental Locomotion for April and May.'

WE do not propose to review the Periodical quoted, the sixth number of which has just issued from the press, but to open up by a cursory outline, the grand project which it has been commenced to advocate: and for the promotion of which the Society, whose title stands at the head of this article, is now in progress of formation. There are some subjects which do not fall under the legitimate province of criticism; and this is one of them. Subjects where the pioneers of thought will better serve the cause of philanthropy and patriotism, by clearing away the obstructions which prevent their general aggression upon the thinking community, than by stopping to examine whether the rank and file in each detachment of argument be wholly equipped in armour that is proof or not.

The country is now sick at heart of the old systems of politics, and ought to be willing and anxious that they should be superseded by something better. To this complexion we must eventually come, if ever we are to return to times of domestic prosperity and peace. The evils which we have to contend with, can no longer be remedied by words; and the sooner that the public will concentrate their energies upon matters of practical utility, the sooner will that end be accomplished, which those men who really desire the good of their kind, have directly in view by every production of their pens.

Whilst the daily press, in its two great divisions, have, during the last twelvemonths, been playing at battledoor and shuttlecock with several of the most important measures of national policy; and all the transactions of the country have stood still, that the people at large might be spectators of the same—some philanthropic individuals have addressed themselves to the task of bringing about, by a new application of elemental power at home, those great purposes which the exigent wants and necessities of the people, hourly increasing under the existing system, now render absolute; but several of which can neither be affected from abroad, or by the methods proposed, without making evils worse than those which they propose to remedy. The measures alluded to are the putting of *Free Trade* upon a basis that will permit of its extension with advantage to our producers, by so equalizing the price of British and Foreign labour, as to make competition no longer unreciprocal; superseding the *Corn Laws*, and that beneficially, to our landed interests, by saving the consumption, and cheapening the mode of raising the food of the country. Adjusting the *Currency*, which the difference between our powers of production, and powers of consumption, has unbalanced; relieving *Emigration* from the afflictions and disadvantages which attend its being

involuntary ; annihilating the Poor Laws, by making them work out their own extinction ; and, in a word, removing all those checks upon population which at the present moment are producing un-employment with its necessary attendants, pauperism, disease, turbulence, and immorality, by the extinction, viz. of that *brute labour* which consumes what will support *sixteen millions of people*—which has sunk in it an *unproductive capital of thirty millions sterling*—and which has vested in it *no one species of human labour whatsoever* ;—three circumstances wholly incompatible with our existence any longer as a nation.

The Journal of Locomotion, now before us, in which these topics are discussed at length, is edited by, and its scientific department under the charge of, Mr. Gordon, Civil Engineer, author of a Historical and Practical Treatise upon Locomotion, and whose exertions in the cause have long been before the public. The political advantages have been advocated in a variety of papers from the pen of Mr. Brown, a gentleman whose name, upon other topics, is not unknown in the literary circles ; and who, in a series of papers addressed to the agricultural and commercial classes, has laid the foundations of a new school of Political Economy which will immediately prostrate those of Malthus and Ricardo, and relieve the science from the charges of inutility hitherto brought against it ; since, instead of expending itself in unproductive theoretical researches as to the causes of national poverty on the one hand, and national wealth upon the other, it at once proposes *practically* to make the wants of the people the fulcrum, and the conversion of steam to economic purposes, the lever by which to raise up our whole prostrate interests ; and achieve the formation of a community at home, who can make cheap bread at home, and be so remunerated at home, as to be able to consume prosperously commodities made at home.

At a moment of so great need and distress, it is gratifying to think that even the partial introduction of this great project will economise a sum extending towards twenty millions annually, for purposes of human labour ; and that the method by which we save food will give an impulse to the coal trade, the iron trade, road-making, &c. which will keep actively employed the whole industrious classes of the community.

We extract from the *Journal of Locomotion*, part of the Report given of [a Meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen, held on the 23d of last month, for the purpose of forming a 'Society for promoting Steam Transport and Agriculture,' the following :—

'H. HANDLEY, Esq. M.P. having been called to the Chair, opened the business by observing that he felt himself incapable of doing justice to the position in which the Meeting had placed him, having no mechanical or engineering knowledge, nor boasting any scientific acquaintance with the subject ; he was, however, strongly impressed with its immense importance ; he felt Steam was the most mighty engine as yet confided to mortal hands, that its powers and resources had been hitherto but partially developed, and that he anticipated, ultimately, the greatest advantages to every class of society from its application to the various purposes of Transport and Agriculture.

‘He took occasion to observe, that he had, four years ago, entertained the project of its application to agriculture, and had for that purpose offered a premium for the invention of a Steam Plough; he had the assurance of many scientific men that it was perfectly practicable, and he attempted to form a Society, with a view to its encouragement, but failed; he still entertained the same opinion as to the advantages to be derived from it, and felt that as he feared the agriculturist would receive no legislative or financial relief, the only mode by which certain inferior natural wheat lands could be retained in cultivation, would be by substituting inanimate for animate power, and thereby diminishing the cost of production; in saying this, he begged to observe that were it probable the application of such a power would tend to diminish the demand for manual labour, he for one would never become its advocate; however, on the contrary, he felt satisfied it would very materially increase it; for by displacing animal power, it would effect an enormous saving in the food of man, and a reduction in the cost of cultivation.

‘In allusion to the practicability of Steam Carriages on common roads, he said, that was no longer matter of experiment, it had undergone the test of experience; and the report of a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1831, had pronounced an unqualified opinion in its favour. Sir Charles Dance, who was now present, had successfully worked his carriage for four months between Gloucester and Cheltenham, and would, he hoped, favour the Meeting with his opinions and the results of his experiments; and Mr. Hancock was, at that very time, running a Steam Omnibus between Paddington and Moorfields. Individual enterprise and exertion could not, however, single-handed achieve the perfection which would be attainable by the co-operation of numbers, and the application of the Funds of a Company. It was with a view to form a Society for the encouragement of individual genius and exertion that the present preliminary Meeting was convened.

Those observations were followed by some interesting remarks by Sir Charles Dance, Sir John Sebright, Bart. M.P., Mr. Hancock, and Mr. Gordon.

‘Colonel TORRENS, M.P., during the preliminary conversation, had stated, that in consequence of the opposition offered to Sir Charles Dance’s Steam Carriages upon the Gloucester Line, and the petition in consequence of Mr. Gurney, he had moved for the Committee which sat upon the subject in 1831. That that Committee had given the project a patient and full investigation, and had taken the evidence of a number of eminent engineers and projectors, practically acquainted with its detail, and that the report embodied a full and explicit sense of the Committee as to its practicability, safety, and utility; in again rising to move the First Resolution, which met with his entire concurrence, the Honourable Member proceeded to observe, that with respect to the economic advantages that would result to society, he believed that they would be very great. That the bringing of agricultural produce more cheaply to market will tend to increase profits, to encourage industry, and enlarge the demand for labour. And that, considering how it would enable us profitably to extend cultivation, and apply with advantage additional portions of labour and capital to the soils already under tillage, he did not consider it unreasonable to conclude that, eventually, it will double the wealth, prosperity, and population of the kingdom. He begged therefore to move—“That the application of Steam to inland transport and agricultural purposes, will, by cheapening the production and saving the consumption of the food of the country, be accompanied by advantages to all classes of the community, of the most exten-

sive and permanent utility; and that, as such, this meeting considers it highly entitled to their support, and that of Society at large." The Resolution was seconded by J. W. CHILDERS, Esq. M.P., and unanimously resolved.

'CHARLES SHAW LEFEVRE, Esq. M.P., in rising to move the Second Resolution, said, that having been one of the Members of the Committee who sat upon the subject of Steam Carriages in 1831, he felt great pleasure in bearing testimony as to the Report having embodied the decided decision of all the Members of the said Committee, a summary of which had very properly been introduced into the Resolution, from the various and lengthened evidence which had been adduced upon the occasion; and that he felt fully satisfied that the latter clause was fully warranted by the many and successful experiments which had since been made. He therefore would move—"That the practicability of applying Steam to general locomotive purposes was satisfactorily proved by evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1831; who reported the same to be 'practical'—'safe'—one 'of the greatest improvements in the mode of internal conveyance ever introduced' and 'entitled to legislative protection;' and that, since, it has been further and fully established by numerous successful experiments." Which being seconded by Mr. KEITH DOUGLAS, was unanimously agreed to.'

To these extracts we have only room to quote from the first article '*Upon the duty which Capitalists owe to the Country, of checking mis-confidence and affording employment*,' the following:—

'Assuredly, that England is daily sinking in the scale of nations, and what is worse, receding from the standard of her own moral and physical excellence, arises not from there being any thing "rotten in the state," politically speaking, for in that respect our griefs are medicable. But, because amongst us there is a vast body of actual WANT, that legislative reform cannot of itself provide for; which has been met by no general energetic measures of relief; no proportionate extension of employment; no corresponding investment of new capital; nothing, in short, of a practical kind adequate to its removal. The children of the soil are clamorous for bread, and the Press has been allowed to cram them, even to repletion, with the "*bellows and poker*,"—those dishes declared "interdicted" by the physician! The latter, however, if indigestible, has not satisfied the appetite; whilst the former has produced that terrific inflation before which the capitalists have retired into the arcana of their counting-houses, where they sit—not like Marius upon the ruins of a hostile state, but—upon those money bags which contain the abstracted sinews of that occupation, which alone, profusely scattered, will restore industry and content, peace and plenty, to our miserably duped and sacrificed working classes.'

'We blame not the capitalists for so acting during the past—for pending the progress of the Reform Bill, there was every reason for caution and circumspection. But what was both wisdom and prudence then, is now nothing short of folly and infatuation. Diversity of opinion should no longer split asunder those, whose well-being and interests are inseparably bound up together. The great body of the people have now separated into *three* distinct divisions. The two extremes of rich and poor, who are at deadly feud; with a third between, which may be called the *victimized* class. The cause of quarrel, is the hatred of the empty purses against the full.'

'Between these parties a war is begun, and now raging, fierce, inexorable,—even to the knife. Intermediate lie those victim classes whom no man can number, of those who would labour, and cannot get employment; of those who have laboured, and can find no remuneration; of those whose

sources of livelihood, agitation has cut off, who cannot starve, and who to beg are ashamed. A number hourly relaxing in principle, under the pressure of that distress which is souring their public loyalty—breaking down their ancient integrity—and forcing them to swell the roll of infidelity and vice!’

‘Is this estimate of the state of society, at present, true or false? We will stand upon our probity, that it is made unbiassed by party considerations, and that we believe no man, who dispassionately considers circumstances, can gainsay its truth. Society, taken aggregately, of late years, has undergone a great and most lamentable change. There are, now, no classes thriving amongst us. Embarrassment is felt from the master manufacturer, in the crowded city, through all the intermediate gradations, down to the lowest retailer of his productions upon the village-green. From the landlord of thousands, to the hedger, and the stone-breaker by the road-side! Steam power, applied alone to *physical* purposes, has, during seventeen years of peace, accumulated that over-production, with all its alarming and disastrous consequences, for which steam power applied to *economic* purposes can alone, and will alone provide CONSUMPTION, with *safety to the State*. Well, then, what is to be done? The institutions of the kingdom are now in jeopardy, the great interests are all at stake, and that distress hourly increasing which is goading the victimized classes to join the destructives *en masse*. What is to be done? Were the foreign foes of Britain landed upon our shores, how should we answer that question? Would the arm of Government intrench itself behind the Treasury benches, and say, there are no funds? Would the blood and sinews of the country stain the nobility of all our antecedent renown in arms, and skulk away from the face of danger? Would trembling come upon our entire people; despair and cowardice, and the extreme of whatever is fatuous and suicidal? Would there not, to meet such a crisis, leap up a hundred thousand hearts, resolved either to do or die? Would not a thousand thousand private purses fill HER exhausted coffers, under whose dominion we have grown rich and great? Would not Valour run up and down our streets; and Patriotism put forth its noblest exhibition; and Mutual Confidence banish despondency; and Hope, subdueless, nerve all with manly resolution to meet and dash down into the earth the rash invaders of our hitherto intact, imperial Isle? And when, instead, the foe is, not alien, but of our *own household*, shall the ennobled and generous purposes which foreign levy would spontaneously and at once have realized, melt away before a miserable band of domestic traitors, whom want has converted into temporary felons—whose arms are poverty—and war—whoop the feeble cry of such whose voice cleaves to their jaws? Does not the same *DUTY*, arising from whatever motives, that would have caused us to meet external aggression, bind us to meet this internal commotion, with this exception, and this only, that the weapons of our warfare shall not be mortal steel, but life-preserving gold?

‘Yes! the *DUTY* of Capitalists—and that term embraces every individual in the three kingdoms, of independent circumstances, all who have any thing to lose by national convulsion—the *DUTY* of Capitalists at the present moment is onerous, solemn, and responsible in the extreme. Upon them, and them alone, the peace and existence of society, as now organized, depend. What the *movement* have the will, by disorder and illegitimate means, to accomplish, the capitalists, by order and legitimate means, have the power to avert. Many look for political salvation to the Reformed House of Parliament. But if Parliament be to protect property, and administer justice, and execute the laws, it cannot effect what implies the violation of them all. Parliament can do much, and we trust will do much; and that the much will be done both well and wisely:—but the re-

generation of the country is not in its power alone. Coercion, necessary though it be, will not prosper Ireland; Church Reform will not afford employment; taxes from knowledge will not make words bread; foreign corn importation will not make our agriculture flourish; freer exportation will not extend consumption within ourselves. Parliament has made, and can unmake laws, but it cannot unmake consequences which are made, and are unmaking us. Parliament cannot make Europe take from us what she can manufacture herself. Parliament can make commercial regulations, imposts, tariffs, restrictions and irrestrictions; but none of these can make a prosperous, contented, flourishing body of consumers within ourselves. Every bill, now in agitation, whether good or bad, will fail of restoring that NATIONAL CONFIDENCE, without which, all is evil, and nothing is good.

‘There is just one body in the country who can save the country, and that is the capitalist. The wealth of the country must extinguish its indigence. Those, whose power can create confidence, must not withhold the will. When the wind rages fierce and frequent, the oak quails not to the assailing, but casts out new roots for succour in the direction of the storm. Our wealthy must learn wisdom from the economy of nature, and bring it into practice for the salvation of their fellow-kind. It is not at such a moment that fear and panic should paralyze the transactions of those men who have gathered their wealth from afar, and made the earth pay tribute to their dominion. They must now make friends with the mammon they have won: and it must be done speedily, and done extensively, and done with one wide and general consent. If they now omit the opportunity, their last hope and anchor is gone—and to save a little, they will lose all.

‘It is not a small stake that is concerned—the amassed riches merely of the world. No! the breaking up of the British power, will also be the breaking down of Religion and Rational Liberty: of all that is most precious and sacred to man considered in his noblest relations to self, his country and kind. For such a stake who is not prepared to make a sacrifice? The times are gone by when the Christian braved the shackle and the brand. Demand upon the purse has now succeeded to that upon principle. The cross of the present generation is, that all who own allegiance to its cause, are bound to come forward to alleviate that distress which is more fatal than either witchcraft or idolatry. The *merchant*, who in hope of adding a few more units to the heap, freights his richly laden bark, and commits her to the safety of the raging deep, periling her price upon a thousand hazards, is called upon—not to refuse the value of at least one venture, to secure his country’s peace and happiness from shipwreck. The *manufacturer*, who has subtracted from the cultivation of the soil thousands of his countrymen, whom no longer he employs to enable him to effect his views of encompassing the globe with his commodities, is called upon—not to close his ears to that voice which, trumpet-tongued, claims of him no longer to defer unmaking by steam, economically applied, that distress, which steam physically applied alone has fomented. The *land-owner*, who has dwelt hitherto in peace and security upon the plains of his inheritance, is called upon—not to love his native soil so little, as to allow the foreign serf to raise the food which his starving peasantry can no longer afford to purchase, by refusing to adopt an improved mode of agriculture, which will permit the developement of industry of every kind, to the utmost extent of which human industry is capable. If indeed, the contrary prove the case—if national principle shall be found at such discount—and blindness to self-interest, not in part but wholesale, be so exercised by the capitalists, as to suffer the present state of things to go on—then, indeed, *Destruction* itself will change its character, and partake somewhat of the justice of merited *Retribution*.

"It cannot be, however, that gentlemen of England of the present generation—capitalists of every shade and denomination—will hold their manhood so cheap as to omit what will accurse it with posterity for ever. Let them not be so false to their wives and families, to their altars and hearths, as to allow Panic to achieve within our walls, what armed Europe could not accomplish if banded against us. A united and determined front must oppose mis-confidence. Great investments of capital again restore industry and contentment. The dependent classes who are willing and anxious "to labour in that station of life in which God has been pleased to place them," must have their hands strengthened. The rescue and protection of this body is of life and death importance to the re-establishment of order, and to the safety of the country. The wealth of the rich alone can put down the penury of the poor. Principles of practical good confront and extirpate those of active evil. We are not yet doomed to destruction—unless it be by a *felo de se*. Our condition in no respect parallels the Roman, when her name and glories departed for ever. The armed Goth looks not down upon our citadels—the children of the soil only look up in wretchedness. We have the means of regeneration amply within ourselves, if we will apply them.

"The conversion of steam to economic purposes is the only method, sufficiently extensive, safe, and remedial to all classes, by which capitalists can at once practically make at home, the consumption which they can no longer find abroad. The most obdurate comprehension cannot but acknowledge that a means which will save a third of the annual crop of the country, by opening up new fields of human labour, will practically deal the *finishing stroke* to the 'theory of rent' of the Ricardo school of economists. A theory, which declares what they call "the decreasing fertility of soils" to be the sole cause of rent; and the cause, at the same time, of a progressive reduction in the profits of capital, and the wages of labour (that is, of the share of wealth which falls to every other class of society than the landlords) "of such magnitude and power as finally to overwhelm every other." To be, in fact, a "great law of nature, from whose all-pervading influence the utmost efforts of human ingenuity cannot enable a man to escape;" and which is sure, in the long run, to overmatch all the improvements that may occur in machinery or agriculture." A theory, which however decried as "pernicious and visionary," steam economically applied alone can *practically* render such. For at the present moment it is experimentally demonstrating the paramount importance of a sufficiency of *food* of home production to all other considerations;—and that there is no exaggeration in the assertion that upon its low price, relatively speaking, the position of the nation in the scale of civilization, will be determined. Since by it, production of every kind is restrained within the narrowest limits, or its development permitted to the utmost possible extent.

'Capitalists, therefore, of every description, are equally interested in applying steam to economic purposes. It is thus alone that we will infuse new streams of wealth and employment into the exhausted channels of trade and commerce. Thus that the Poor-rates may be made subservient to their own extinction. Thus that the Corn-laws will be beneficially superseded. Thus foreign production be reduced to a level in competition with our own. The favourable moment, however, may be permitted to pass! Nor should Ministers be slack in forwarding so immensely beneficial a measure—since it will alone put them upon that moral vantage ground, which, after all that has passed, will exonerate them from the awful responsibility implied in bearing the Sword of Justice NOT IN VAIN. Enable them to maintain with good report the orderly relations of society. And make them THE GENERAL BENEFACTORS OF THEIR KIND.'

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

PROPOSAL FOR COLONIZING THE POLES IN CANADA.

SIR,

Brighton, 3rd April, 1833.

I suggested that a *permanent* provision might perhaps be formed for the heroic Poles, in raising a loan by subscription, as a fund for advances, to enable them to establish themselves on small rural Farms. As a question of profit, it might be still more profitable if they were thus enabled to establish themselves on the rich and cheap lands of Canada, &c., where the burthen of taxation does not press on industry. Cæsar said, "*Men and Money*" were the two things needful. The money by loan, at 5 per cent. with a 1 per cent. Sinking Fund, and 5 per cent. for Insurance (if deemed requisite) and the profits on the Insurance to be divided, which would increase the power of the Sinking Fund. This would be important, as they would not be liable to be harrassed or checked, by being called on for the principal. The profits would be so great to both parties, that the charge would be light as a feather to the cultivators, while to the subscribers, it would be vastly more beneficial than the Funds, under a Charter. 2ndly, as to the *Men*—from our redundant population—and, in Ireland, men might be obtained by wholesale—the operation would be so profitable, that it might afford to allow the Poles, (many of them men of rank,) to be instructed to act as *Directors*, like the officers of an army: this might be more gratifying to their feelings, than to work their land, like the Romans, with their own labour.

The plan of Campaign might, in some way, be thus.—The labourers to be formed into regiments, or brigades, &c. of volunteers, or local militia; subject to mild, yet firm, military discipline,—as to be trained and exercised, a few days in the year, as riflemen, in green uniform, which would be suited to a rural force. The Prussian troops (where discipline is so nice) which aided in Napoleon's overthrow, had only three weeks for their precise and strict training and discipline. The training of rural local militia might be effected by an hour or two occasionally, and thus not interfere with rural industry: our volunteers were exercised an hour or two on Sunday mornings. Government would be glad to have a powerful force of riflemen as a bulwark of defence against the ambition of the American States. The Poles might delight in this "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." Military discipline, if only *pro forma*, might be important, as maintaining a feeling of honour, and as a check against *Desertion*, which is the great evil, as the means of rapid opulence are so easy, and the habits of the people there are so migrating and restless.

In Ireland, there are millions of men, who cannot find employ at 6d. per day, and who have not half a meal of potatoes, without *salt*. The men of most decent character might be selected. I have known wholesale masses of the most desperate drunken ruffians in Ireland easily and quickly reclaimed by "the *soothing system*:" when they were kindly treated and reasoned with, and *punctually paid* their pittance; they are warm-hearted, and may easily be thus managed, combined with firmness; though kindness alone, judiciously used, might suffice. Their barbarism arises from the dreadful oppression of their superiors, and their reckless misery. They eagerly migrate to England, to earn a few pounds in harvest; and they would gladly migrate to Canada, to earn hundreds of pounds. The select

young men might enlist by thousands, under agreement, as for twenty years, and for 1s. per day, and *meat* daily, and plenty of potatoes and salt. The money, after paying for clothes and necessaries, the surplus to be deposited in a Savings' Bank, a Book of Account to be kept—but none of the money to be drawn, unless with the mutual consent of the parties, until the period of their enlistment expired: any dispute of opinion to be settled by amicable arbitration or conciliation, like “the good Man of Ross,” to keep off the sharks of law expense. Such an agreement, *previously* to their going, might, with the discipline, effectually prevent *desertion*; and the money deposited, to be forfeited, if guilty.

Some such Form of Agreement might be eagerly agreed to; but it would not be necessary to enforce it to the letter, like Shylock's bond: it would give to the Society the grand requisite of complete power. But as the *self-interest* and happiness of the labourers would be the most powerful policy—it might be wise, while the power might be a terror against evil doing, that judicious kindness should be the predominant principle. The lower orders, though they *appear* rude, are very quick and shrewd to their own interest, and electrically feel, when *bonâ fide* kindness is intended. It might not be judicious, but an injurious folly, to render the labourers immediately *their own masters*. A preparatory training and discipline might be necessary; but they might be told, that though the agreement was to serve twenty years for 1s. per day (good soldiers' pay) that if they conducted themselves well during the voyage, the Society hoped to be able to pay them 2s. or 3s. per day. Thus, though under the order of commanders, two acres might be allotted to each labourer, and an account be kept of the profits; one-third as rent, and two-thirds for the tenant, deducting 10 per cent. for the advances. The labourers, when they knew they worked these two acres for their own benefit, could easily work them at *extra* hours, with the aid of their wives and children, without interfering with their regular labour. This would be thus so much clear *gain* to all parties. They might, by the improved mode of culture, keep several cows, pigs, milch-goats, sheep, poultry, &c. on two acres of rich land; and the outlay would be small, as good log-houses are built, at trifling cost, and two bondsmen of their own class might be required, as a collateral security.

The society, of course, must provide a general stock of horses, ploughs, and every requisite, as two acres could not keep them. But, as they could easily pay 10 per cent. for all advances, the society might let out to hire the ploughs, &c., and thus, it would be beneficial to all parties. *Science* presents incalculable resources, and forms the richest mine of gold. Thus I knew of a cow, which yielded, for some months, *four pounds* of butter per day; she was pastured on ground which had been *salt* ground. Salt is dirt cheap in Cheshire. Mr. Cobbett, in his valuable tract—“Cottage Economy,” (a bright page of political economy) says, that one cow may be kept on a quarter of an acre, and yield milk for eleven months; say only four cows, for two acres, and 2lbs. of butter per day, for ten months, or three hundred days. A good cow in Canada costs about 5*l.* or 6*l.*—say 25*l.* for four good cows; even at 1*l.* per day, of butter, which is there worth ninepence. This, from four cows, would, in three hundred days, be 900*s.* or 45*l.* yearly, besides the calves, and milk and butter-milk, for family and *pigs*, (a most profitable article) &c.. The price might fall, though prices rather rise, in a rising country. There would still be the *real* wealth (whatever the *nominal* price) of valuable rich produce. The society would derive one-third as rent. The soil and climate of Canada are still more congenial for hemp and tallow, than the British, and perhaps for tobacco. The sugar Maple trees too exist, *en masse*.

By a scientific simple process, Maple sugar may be rendered superior to

West India sugar. This might supersede and abolish the most destructive part of negro toil, in sugar plantations, and thus the planters be compelled, for self-interest, to adopt a very improved scientific system, to educate the negro in useful *knowledge*, as a valuable friend. It has been proved, that cattle may supersede some of the destructive negro toil, and yield 50 per cent. profit, and that the most precious *spices* may be grown. Coffee too, if *properly* and scientifically treated, might be far superior to Mocha coffee, as their sugar is far superior to oriental sugar. The produce, in their tropic climate, is so profuse in quantity, and so precious in quality, that it appears complete delusion, that they should destroy and ruin themselves and the negroes, by barbarism and oppression, when, as with the Irish, they might convert their land, and by elevating the negro, might enrich themselves, as from a mine of exhaustless diamonds.

It may be said, that colonies at home might be more important than in Canada, as the home trade is most valuable, and serves as a nursery for soldiers, sailors, &c. and for increasing the revenue. A colony in Canada might, however, be more richly profitable to a society, and more suited to the feelings of the Poles. Visionary economists prate and say, that labour is value: value consists here in the *property* of the rich land, and of the *knowledge*, by which, with a minimum of labour, a maximum, in quantity and *quality of produce*, may be had. Land is termed, in French, *Bien-fonds*—Funded Property.

The heathen Romans managed Colonization far better than modern Christians; who think of emigration more as a mode of *getting rid* of men, than of converting them into the most valuable instruments of wealth, by previously organising an enlightened and comprehensive plan of campaign, like an able general, and previously *providing* all the requisite means, and thus improving on the beneficence of *Providence*. In this hasty sketch, I have, as a model, taken the Roman system, with every complete means of provision and improvement, which occurred as suitable to modern science and improvement, with every precaution, relatively to the barbarism of the Irish, and of preparatory prevention, by a proper plan of campaign, and of discipline and order, which might be equally valuable for English or Scotch labourers. I have endeavoured to be the friend of the labourer, who the most requires protection. The two-acre plan is analogous to the Agrarian law of Rome, one great source of her grandeur and power, with the improvements, which modern science renders available. The Agrarian law, from being incomplete, fell into abuse: as a permanent system, the plan I have sketched, might, from its cautious organization, of discipline, &c., prove more stable and secure, with greater benefit to all parties, and without the evil of the Roman system.

But farther: I propose the two acre plan, for labourers, merely as a *commencement*, and gradually, and as quickly as possible, to promote the labourers, if deserving, and if found expedient, to larger tenures, as of five acres, which are the most profitable; for when a tenant has a larger tenure, and is dependent on *hired* labourers, it becomes less profitable proportionately, as the hired labourer will not do half the work, which he will do for himself. If, however, it be so desired, the tenures might vary in quantity, from two acres each, to five acres, and to farms of some hundreds, and to some thousands of acres,—the best plan is by *renewable* leases, as for twenty-one years; and at the expiration of the term, the tenant to have always the right to renew, in preference to others, on condition of proper culture, &c., and at the fair times price, which, in case of dispute, may be settled by amicable arbitration; the price or rent to be regulated by the average price of produce, as of corn, meat, butter, &c. for seven or more years preceding.

It would be more profitable to Government, or to a society, to establish tenants who could pay high rent; and it would be beneficial to the tenants to be provided with knowledge and money, and to enable them to enrich themselves, as well as the landlords. Even if some farmers, with their own capital, engaged under the society, it might be more beneficial to them not to sink their capital in the purchase of land, but to reserve it for culture, &c. There is an immense mass of capital in the country, which cannot find profitable employ, and which might eagerly be invested, on some well organized plan, on this the most solid security of Landed Property, as the very best fund, and to an enormous amount. If Government and the Legislature were thus to raise some hundreds of millions at 4 or 5 per cent. annuity, while they might receive 10 per cent. or upwards, the state might soon become opulent. If agriculture be prosperous, commerce, trade, and manufactures, with *common* prudence, join in the harmonious concert of prosperity. But science offers *uncommon* resources.

There were committees of *Taste*: if there were a permanent committee of *Science*, the various Scientific Societies might be invited to go through the previous investigation of the various scientific inventions, of patents, &c., and to prepare pithy brief reports, *briefly* stating the *reasons* for their approval, as solicitors go through the preparatory drudgery, and prepare *briefs* for counsel. The committees of the Commons, and of the Lords, (where the Duke of Sussex might be President) would merely give a coup-d'œil, and sanction and confirm, by their approval. Thousands of millions of value might thus be rapidly created and diffused, without costing one shilling of loss. Not one shilling of money would be required. It is only *knowledge* that is requisite. Capitalists are not men of science, and each fears to be the first to hazard his money, on an invention which he does not understand. But, if Scientific Societies recommended important inventions, and clearly described in their reports the vast profit which might be gained; and if the committees, either of them, gave to the public the high *sanction* of their approval of the report, it might then become a competition with capitalists, as with a loan, who should first secure to himself such a treasure. Men, who abound most in science, often have the least money; to render their important inventions available, they require aid and patronage. It seems a sublime and sacred duty of the Legislature to cherish, and patronise, and bring forward into public light, exalted genius and humble merit. I wrote to Mr. Canning on the invention of one person, which would be worth hundreds, or even thousands of millions, if thus publicly brought forward. Mr. Canning called on him, though a poor man, and intended to have patronized him. It may be said to the Legislature—"Go and do ye likewise."

From the stupendous resources of *science*, (if made available) all classes may quickly be restored to opulence and happiness; and the great basis of society, like the pyramid, be rendered solid and secure.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We have been obliged to curtail some portion of our Correspondent's interesting letter—our limits for each department of the Review being circumscribed; so that we cannot indulge on any topic beyond a reasonable length. We shall always be happy to hear from him, however, when his communications are confined within a single sheet.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW

And Family Magazine.

STATE OF THE PUBLIC MIND.—APPOINTMENT OF MR.
LITTLETON AS SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

OF late we appear to have fallen on evil days. The minds of men have become unsettled, feverish, and unstable. There is a vague dread of something terrible, which sooner or later must come to pass. To one who has regarded public affairs with a searching eye, these indications afford evidence of nothing new. He, who has curiously looked into the springs and workings of the State machine, must have seen that such indications were as inevitable as the events, whose approach they not remotely heralded. The truth must be no longer concealed. We are drifting on, slowly perhaps, but not less surely, to a great organic change. What precise shape, what definite form this change shall invest itself with, it boots us not much to speculate, for the humour of the hour may give it a direction wholly opposite to the first purposed one ; but it concerns us to be prepared for the change that must come.

We have never been—we are not now—alarmists. We think there is no better sense or maxim in politics than “*nil desperandum.*” We have, therefore, continued to hope on, even against hope itself ; but we should be wicked, as well as blind, not to declare, that *now* the season for hope is past. The eager and believing credulity of the people was intently wrought upon by the Reform Bill. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.* They, therefore, fell down and worshipped this unknown benefit, this perfect *panacea*, for which they prayed, and talked, and struggled. The machinery was put into action by the hands of the very workmen who had framed it ; and what is the result ? The most timid, the most subservient, the least enlightened, and the most unmannerly House of Commons which has ever appeared in England. Its deadly sins are, a total absence of dignity, and the predominance of selfishness, vanity, prostration to authority, rudeness, ignorance, and the most frightful egotism. These are original and inborn defects, not wiped out by any redemption. Such are the materials on which a weak, a vain, and an incompetent Ministry had to work.

A Cabinet of wise men and true Statesmen might have wielded such drossy and dull materials to some great, and many useful purposes ; but a Cabinet of men imbued with all the vices of the House they were to govern, could only guide it to their own, if not to the nation's ruin.

Of the Whigs, the truth must at length be told ; for it has penetrated us, despite the casing of prepossession in which we had wrapped ourselves up. We gave these proud and weak men a fair, nay, a partial trial. In the beginning, though we might have scoffed, yet we remained to pray that their hearts might be turned. But no ! For the vain, the selfish, the ungrateful, there is no hope. They are foredoomed ! The Whigs began the Session ill, they continued it worse, they will end it worst of all. There is one man among them, who would ruin any nation, or party, that confided in him. Their first mistake was his individual job. He would have Mr. Abercrombie for Speaker ; and his colleagues, who were pledged to Mr. Littleton, with sinister dexterity, made the affair a drawn battle, by nominating Mr. Manners Sutton, one of the ablest of their opponents. Who had been the loudest talkers against Tory misrule in Ireland ? The Whigs. Yet their very first boon in a Reformed Parliament is the Irish Coercion Bill, before which the Insurrection Act of Lord Castlereagh's Government fades into utter insignificance. This was not a mistake, but a crime.

The Irish Church Bill followed. Ten bishops were slowly sacrificed, when the real reform required was the quick suppression of twenty out of the twenty-four. The Factory Bill came next. This was put off by a Jobbing Commission. Then Irish Poor Laws followed. These were also put off by a Commission, now in course of appointment, and which we are given to understand, will be principally composed of individuals opposed to the introduction of a State provision for the destitute Irish. The conduct of the Whigs on the question of the Malt Tax is well known ; and their faltering on the Window Tax is not less notorious. Their last effort is the Slave Emancipation Measure, which possesses the double fault, of neither satisfying the eager Abolitionist, nor the unwilling Slave Master.

What the Whigs have done for Ireland, let Mr. O'Connell answer ; and the misdeeds of Mr. Stanley bear witness unto. There are few who entertain a higher opinion of the senatorial powers of Mr. Stanley than we do. He is by far the ablest and sharpest debater in the Lower House ; and he possesses an energy of will and directness of purpose, which are indeed main virtues, but these are "dashed and brewed" with such defects, as to render his very virtues troublesome to his friends, and formidable to himself. Mr. Stanley is stubborn, self-willed, and too much governed by impulse. His bearing is cold, haughty, and aristocratical to a painful degree. There runs through his conversation, as well as his speeches, a current of contemptuous misanthropic satire, which chills the blood. Was such a man the fitting Minister for Ireland ? Alas ! was he not most conspicuously unfit ? How many sores has he opened, which

still bleed afresh? How many personal and national vanities has he wounded? Then came Sir John Hobhouse, who, though a traveller, had never been in Ireland in his life, and who knows as much of her people and her parties as he does of the doctrines of Contingent Remainders, or Executory Devises. Well! he does nothing, absolutely nothing, either for good or for evil; and is, at length, obliged to sacrifice his popularity, his office, and his seat, to the unpopularity of the Whigs.

A long interregnum now takes place; four or five men have been tempted, and are about to nibble at the official bait, when they remember them of their Constituents, and fear (looking to the high estate from which Ministers are fallen) the fate of Sir John Hobhouse. At length, however, a man is found willing to run the risk,—the great risk of again presenting himself to his Constituents.

Mr. Littleton is a Staffordshire gentleman of good family, large fortune, and elegant taste. Experienced in public affairs, he has always adopted a moderate line of politics. Though in the time of the Liverpool administration, he sometimes supported the Government, yet he was known to be personally and politically attached to Mr. Canning. Since the period of that statesman's decease, he has pursued an independent course of conduct, voting with the existing Government when he thought them right, and opposing them when he thought them wrong. Temperance of language, and moderation of view, are among the characteristics of his mind: he is allowed to be industrious and pains-taking, to be candid and well-informed, and gentlemanlike; but we never heard him called energetical, nor did we fancy he was the man, in such a temper of the public mind, and in such a ticklish season as the present, to stand between the two factions in Ireland, or to bring that country under the ban of the law. All that good sense, calmness, moderation, impartiality, and patient industry, can do for Ireland, we are quite aware will be effected by Mr. Littleton; but these peaceful and domestic virtues are not the weapons by which an almost rebellious land is to be brought back to her allegiance: it is not any one man, or any set of men, who can pacify Ireland: nothing can have this effect but a complete change of system. If the wisest among the apostles, and the most inspired among the prophets, were appointed Secretary, and it was ordained that things should go on in the present fashion, the wisest of the apostles, and even the most inspired of the prophets, would take office in vain.

It will be abundantly evident to our readers, from what we have stated, that we are favorably disposed to Mr. Littleton; but what can Mr. Littleton do, fettered and restricted by such a Cabinet? Besides, is he so sure of his return as to run the hazard? Is he aware that the people of Staffordshire are at issue with him on many points? Does he not know that they are against all sinecures—that they are against the Hop, and Malt, and Window Taxes—that they are Church Reformers to a man? Is he aware how they may feel on the conduct of the Police, in the recent affair of the National Convention? These

are questions which, at least, he should have asked himself, before taking the step which he has already made. Of one thing he may rest assured ;—that the people of the country feel just as the people of London do, with regard to the Whigs. Four months ago there was no more popular man than Mr. Thomas Duncombe : he was a great and deserved favourite at Westminster Meetings : a few weeks ago, when he came forward to sustain the Government candidate, he was not only hooted, but pelted from the hustings. Four months ago, the Duke of Wellington was a most unpopular man with the people of London : within a few days of the day on which we write, his Grace was applauded to the echo, by the very same public who attacked him last winter in High Holborn. Four months ago, Mr. George Dawson dared not have shown his face at a public place : not many days ago, he appeared on Covent Garden hustings. There was a cry, when he stepped forward, of “ No Tories : ” — “ Gentlemen,” said the ex-member for Harwich, “ I do not come here to defend the Tories, for I know they are unpopular with the people (applause) : but I come here to arraign the deceitful, the promise-breaking Whigs.” (Vociferous cheering.)

Let us look now at the metropolitan boroughs. Here the very name of Whig is assafœtida and ipecacuanha to the public taste : Dr. Lushington and Mr. William Brougham are already called on to resign. These are pretty significant symptoms. Look now to the country parts : at Gloucestershire a Whig was defeated ; in Worcestershire, a Whig was obliged to deny his name.

We do not mean to aver, that because the Whigs have thus fallen, the Tories are likely to rise on their ruin ;—it is not so : but the people now see that the Tories are at least consistent : they make no promises, and they break none—they refuse all pledges, and therefore they have none to violate. Though, therefore, the Tories have somewhat gained in comparison with the present occupants of office, still the people have not taken them—they never will take them for guides : but unfortunately, from the absence of a compact third party, they are obliged, for the present, to make such uses as they can of both Tories and Whigs.

To such as are neither—to the discordant, scattered, yet powerful elements of that third party, from whose ranks the saviours of the nation must at length arise—we have a few words to say. Let the men of this party meet without delay : let them cohere quickly, and the game is in their hands : let them abandon all petty jealousies—all private hobbies—all impracticable schemes—and unite in the one great object of striking the common enemy down. Agreeing in principle, let them not quarrel in details : let Mr. Hume attack Financial and Colonial Expenditure, and be followed by such as are able to follow. Let Mr. O’Connell address himself to Legal and Constitutional Questions, Irish affairs, and general debating. Let Mr. Harvey assail the Woods and Forests, and cover the retreat of the young and inexperienced on his side, by sharp retorts and good cross-firing. Let Mr. Tennyson treat Municipal Questions with his usual earnestness ;

and Mr. Warburton with less of his accustomed peculiarities. Let Mr. Grote become more practical and less abstract; and Mr. Roebuck more conciliatory and less sharp. Let Mr. Bulwer arraign with more energy the Foreign Policy. Let Colonel Torrens give the House his views of Political Economy; and Mr. Robinson continue to devote himself to Trade:—and there is no fear that in time a visible progress will follow on this system of mutual forbearance and wise concession. Meantime, let Mr. Thomas Attwood use his influence out of doors—let him preside at peaceable Public Meetings, and sustain the efforts of the scores within the House, by the applause and approval of the millions out of it. This is our advice, given in all frankness and sincerity—we hope it may be followed. In that event, there is yet some hope for the country; but if, in consequence of petty personal divisions, the liberal Reformers allow the Ministers to have an easy victory, the latter will more fastly approximate to the worst species of Toryism, while the people, in the wildness of despair, will rush into Republicanism—perhaps to Revolution. As to ourselves, we have done our duty: we have warned Ministers till our voice is hoarse. May it so turn out, however, that they may not be more fatally warned by events!

THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEWER.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 23.

THE attraction of the Epsom Races was so much more powerful than that of the Legislative Assembly, that a sufficient number of members were not in attendance, at 5 o'clock, to form a House; and consequently the business of the evening was adjourned till the following day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 24.

The morning sitting was devoted to the receipt of petitions; and, in the evening, the only two subjects discussed were—the Hertford and Carrickfergus Elections—at both of which the grossest bribery had been proved to be practised. The details of the discussion would be wholly uninteresting to the general reader, and we shall therefore give them very briefly, but sufficiently at large to make the subject fully understood.

Mr. BERNAL, as Chairman of the Committee appointed to try the merits of the election petition against the return of the late members for Hertford, Lord Ingestrie and Lord Mahon, read the Report of the Committee; and went through a large mass of evidence, which established, beyond all doubt, the existence of a most extensive system of bribery and corruption in the proceedings of that election.

Mr. E. STEWART, and Lord GEORGE SOMERSET, contended against the sufficiency of the evidence to justify the disfranchisement of the borough. Mr. Wynn, Mr. Pollock, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Willoughby, and Mr. Goulburn, all followed in the same strain; and great efforts were made by the Tories to throw discredit on the evidence in the first place, and to weaken the conclusions drawn from it, in the next.

These were opposed by the Attorney-General, Mr. Clay, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Wason, Mr. Hardy, and the Earl of Kerry. We present three of the speeches, which shew the grounds taken by each of the parties—the advocates and the opponents of the motion before the House.

‘Mr. C. W. WYNN observed that the question was not as to the conduct of the late members for Hertford, but whether the electors of that borough generally had abused the trust reposed in them to such an extent as to call for the adoption of strong measures, and justify the House in making an alteration in the constituency. Bribery was a serious offence by statute and common law, both in the receiver and giver; but to constitute the offence the money must be given in consideration of a vote, and if the consideration were not proved, a general giving of money or clothes, as in the present case, was not bribery. Then, as to treating, that was an offence only in the person who treated—voters were not punishable for it. In former cases (such as those of New Shoreham, Grampound, Aylesbury, and East Retford), where the House had interfered, it was invariably on the ground that bribery to a great extent, generally embracing a majority of the electors, had existed; but in the present instance there was not evidence of direct bribery in more than eleven or twelve cases (the number was certainly under twenty) out of 600 voters. He maintained that that was not an extent of corruption sufficient to justify the interference now called for. And as to treating, to which he had already alluded, if the principle were pushed as far as it would go, and to the extent proposed, any member might be unseated, and the issue of a writ suspended for any place in the kingdom. There was nothing illegal in a gentleman who had been elected in November going down to the place he represented in January, and making a distribution of money, provided he had not procured votes by a promise of such distribution, and provided there had been no previous understanding on the subject. There might be reasons for altering the law in this respect, but the House had now to do with the law as it stood, and must act upon it. In conclusion, he again expressed his opinion that no case had been made out against the borough sufficient to justify the suspension of the writ.

‘Mr. MILD MAY concurred in thinking that no distinction could properly be drawn between bribery and treating; the one poured into the stomach, and the other into the pocket of the individual, whose vote was the inducement. The one inducement presented itself on the wings of a bank-note, and the other was conveyed through the steam of gin and tobacco. (“Hear,” and a laugh.) He concurred in thinking that time sufficient had not been allowed to Hon. Members to go through the evidence in the present instance, which consisted of 450 folios, but that was not to regulate the decision of the House. A Select Committee upon their oaths had reported that bribery and treating had prevailed, both previously to and during the last election for the borough of Hertford. That decision was not to be disturbed, and it was now only sought that a further inquiry might be instituted in order to see how the whole subject was to be disposed of. If

the House refused to institute the further investigation, it would not be acting up to the decision, or the verdict more properly speaking, which the Committee had delivered. That inquiry he should support, for he could not conceive a worse man in existence than he who, possessed of wealth and education, pandered to the sensual appetites or pecuniary advantages of individuals, in bartering for the rights, interests, and liberties of their country. (Hear, hear.)

‘ Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that after the speeches which had been delivered upon the question, he would do little more than give a silent vote ; nor should he, indeed, have troubled the House with any observation, had he not remarked that the same arguments which had been got up in defence of the proceedings at Hertford had been promoted on every previous occasion on which the question of bribery at elections had been introduced to the notice of the House. It happened very curiously that hon. gentlemen who professed themselves as ready as willing to enact general regulation regarding bribery, yet always appeared to shrink from the contemplation of the particular cases. What! after the evidence already afforded, would the House act upon the recommendation of the Hon. Member for Montgomeryshire, and merely consent to punish a few individuals with the consequence before them of the affair being then hushed up for ever? For his part, he considered the evidence of Mr. Nicholson a sufficient warrant for the resolution. The proof of bribery among a great portion of the electors was clear, and it was the bounden duty of the House to set its face against such profligate proceedings, and to signalize its condemnation of them, by not allowing the writ to issue during the present Parliament. (“ Question.”)

The House then divided on the following resolutions, which were carried by a majority of 227 to 55 :—

1. ‘ That the Bribery and Treating which prevailed previously to and during the last Election for the Borough of Hertford, requires the most serious consideration of this House.

2. ‘ That a Select Committee be appointed, to consider and report upon the best mode of preventing Bribery, Treating, and other corrupt practices, in all future Elections for Members to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Hertford.’

A conversation subsequently ensued, in which Colonel EVANS, Mr. TYNTE, Mr. E. STANLEY, and Mr. O’CONNELL joined ; the result of which was, to elicit a strong impression in favour of the Ballot, as the only effectual cure for evils of this description.

Mr. O’CONNELL next introduced the subject of the Election at Carrickfergus, which had been declared a void election, in consequence of the bribery and corruption that characterized it. As the details of this Election are not so familiar to our readers as those of Hertford, which were freely published in the newspapers while the Committee was sitting, we subjoin the speech of Mr. O’Connell entire.

‘ Mr. O’CONNELL rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill to disfranchise the county of the town of Carrickfergus. This proceeding was founded upon a report of a Committee of the House, that gross bribery and corruption had prevailed at the late Election for Carrickfergus. This town was situate in the county of Antrim, which (including Carrickfergus) sent six Members to Parliament. The constituency of Carrickfergus, before the Reform Bill,

consisted of 39 freeholders and 812 freemen, making a total of 851. Under the Bill the constituency had been increased to 1,024. For many years the Marquis of Donegal and the Marquis of Downshire had struggled to obtain the master influence in the borough; the success had been various, but at length the Donegal interest became predominant. The Committee had thrown treating overboard, but they found that bribery was universal. The Hon. and Learned Member read extracts from evidence taken before the Committee, to prove that two persons, named Hallerton and Hunter, had received 10*l.* each. The second case was one in which bribery had been practised on both side. In the case of Matthew Coyle, his wife had received 20*l.* from Mr. Legge for voting for Mr. Dobbs. This was an open transaction in the street, in which a voter was purchased away from the opposite side. In the case of the Harpers, there were three who had votes, but it was supposed there were only two; 10*l.* was given to each of the two, and when it was found there was a third, 7*l.* was offered, but refused, and at length all three got 10*l.* each. There was evidence of wholesale and sweeping bribery. In John M'Cann's evidence he talked of opening house and treating the electors, and he admitted that he got from Mr. Legge 120*l.* for "general election purposes," which was distributed amongst the voters and wives of voters. James Penny, another agent, produced a list of persons he had bribed by money he had received from Mr. Legge, and of which he was desired to make the best use he could. He bribed his own brothers and father, and paid 10*l.* to a person whom he called "a briber." He swore he carried on this bribery gratuitously on his part. Mr. David Legge in his evidence stated that he distributed a sum of money, the exact amount he could not specify, amongst every one who would take a bribe. He said that his party were obliged to bribe by the other side; they allowed the other party thirty-six hours before they gave a bribe. He stated that the electors could not withstand the temptation of bribery, which prevailed equally amongst the poor freemen and the 10*l.* householders. Another gratuitous agent, named Cohen, stated that he had bribed 200 electors at least for Sir A. Chichester, and that "there was no getting them to a poll without bribing them." There was, (the Hon. and Learned Member observed) in fact, no distinction between the freemen and the householders. The Rev. George Chaine, a clergyman, and therefore a person of respectability, stated in his evidence, that he brought from a Conservative Society in Ireland 500*l.* for carrying on the election, and he borrowed 450*l.* on his own credit, which sum of 950*l.* he gave to Legge for the purposes of the election. He swore that he knew Carrickfergus too well to think an election could be carried on without bribery. The constituency of the place, before the Reform Bill, was 851, of which thirty-nine were freeholders and thirteen 40*s.* freeholders. From the evidence of Mr. Cohen it appeared that at a former election forty-one voters were offered 700*l.*; but they said they could not take the money, and for a good reason—because the other side had offered 1,000*l.* The constituency now consisted of 1,024; but, contrary to the expectation of the commissioners, only 101 were 10*l.* householders. He trusted he had shown enough to prove that if ever there was a case in which the House ought to act decidedly, this was such a case. Considering the limited representation of Ireland, it might be said that he ought to suggest some place to which the franchise should be transferred; but considering that this was a Protestant place, he declined, from peculiar delicacy, to take that responsibility, which he left entirely to the House, in order that motives might not be imputed to him which he was not willing to be suspected of. The Hon. and Learned Member concluded with moving, at first, for leave to bring in a Bill to disfranchise Carrickfergus, but afterwards, that the

House do agree with the Committee, that gross bribery had taken place at the election at Carrickfergus.'

The following were the Resolutions reported by the Committee ; and subsequently proposed to the House :—

'That the most gross and scandalous bribery appears to have prevailed on both sides at the late election for the town and county of the town of Carrickfergus ; and that, although it does not appear that Conway Richard Dobbs, esquire, did personally take any part in such bribery, yet that his return was procured by his agents and friends by bribery.

'That a great proportion of the constituency, composed of freemen of the corporation, have been influenced solely by bribery in giving their votes at the late election ; and it appears to the Committee that similar corrupt practices have prevailed at former elections for the said town and county of the town of Carrickfergus.'

No opposition was made to this by any party ; the Tories even admitting the case to be such as warranted the measure proposed : and it was accordingly assented to without a division. And after the other matters standing on the list for this day were transferred to future days, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the House adjourned till Thursday ; so that no business would be done on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, of the Whitsun holidays : and this will account for the absence of any proceedings on those days in our Parliamentary Report.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

New Member sworn in.

Henry Jeffrey Winnington, esquire, for Worcestershire (Western Division).
Honourable Sir Charles Paget, for Carnarvon Borough.

Leave of Absence.

To Mr. Langdale, a fortnight ; Mr. William Handley, a fortnight ; Mr. Andrew Johnston, three weeks.

To Mr. Cripps, three weeks ; Colonel Tynte, three weeks ; Mr. Cornish, three weeks ; Mr. Lister, one week ; Mr. Walker, three weeks ; Mr. Blackney, three weeks ; Marquis of Blandford, three weeks ; Mr. Wallace, one week ; Mr. Cotes, one week ; Mr. Greene, a fortnight ; Mr. Shiel, a fortnight ; Mr. Charles Russel, a week ; Mr. Colquhoun, three weeks ; Mr. Lloyd Watkins, one week.

New Writ issued.

New Writ for Staffordshire (Southern Division),—In the room of Edward John Littleton, esquire, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

New Writ for Stroud,—In the room of David Ricardo, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

Resolutions reported.

Assessed Taxes Acts.—Resolutions reported :

1. 'That the Duties of Assessed Taxes on Inhabited Dwelling Houses occupied for Trade, and which are now exempt from certain of the Duties on Windows in respect of Shops or Warehouses, and certain of the same Duties on other

Inhabited Dwelling Houses, not exceeding the annual value of £18, shall be reduced to such an amount as may be provided by any Act to be passed in the present Session of Parliament.

2. 'That the Duties of Assessed Taxes on Riders, Travellers, Clerks, Book-keepers, Office-keepers, Stewards, Bailiffs, Overseers, Managers, Shopmen, Warehousemen, Porters, and Cellarmen, shall cease and determine.

3. That the reduced Duties of Assessed Taxes of £1.10s. on two Wheel Carriages without metal springs, and on Common Stage Carts, shall cease and determine.'

Reports of Election Committees.

Warwick Borough Election.—House informed, that the Select Committee on the Petitions of William Collins and John Enoch, and of George Cattell Greenway and Henry Robbins, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of Warwick, have determined,

That the Honourable Sir Charles John Greville is *not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Warwick:

That the last Election for the said Borough is a void Election, so far as regards the return of the Honourable Sir Charles John Greville:

House also informed that the said Committee had come to the following Resolutions:

That gross Bribery appears to have prevailed at the late Election for the Borough of Warwick, on the part of the agents of the Honourable Sir Charles John Greville.

That, although Sir Charles John Greville does not appear personally to have taken part in such Bribery, yet that his return is, in a great measure, to be attributed to Bribery.

Limerick City Election.—House informed, that the Select Committee on the Petition of John Vereker, esquire, and others, have determined,

That William Roche, esquire, and David Roche, esquire, *are* duly elected Citizens to serve in this present Parliament for the City of Limerick:

Coleraine Borough Election.—House informed, that it appeared to the Committee that the merits of the Petition did depend in part upon the Right of Election, and that therefore the said Committee required the Counsel for the Petitioners and the Counsel for the Voters of the said Borough, who were admitted as parties by an Order of the House dated the 14th of March last, to defend the return of Sir John Poo Beresford, to deliver to the Clerk of the said Committee statements in writing of the Right of Election for which they respectively contended:

That the said Committee have also determined,

That Vice Admiral Sir John Poo Beresford, baronet, is *not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough of Coleraine:

That William Taylor Copeland, esquire, *is* duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough:

Carlow County Election.—House informed, that the Committee have determined,

That Walter Blackney, Esquire, is duly elected a Knight of the Shire to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Carlow:

That Thomas Wallace, esquire, is duly elected a Knight of the Shire to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Carlow.

Warwick Borough.—*Ordered*, That the Speaker do not issue his Warrant for a New Writ for the Borough of Warwick, before Monday the 17th day of June next.

Dover Election.—House informed that the Committee have determined,

That John Halecomb, esquire, *is* duly elected a Baron to serve in this present Parliament for the Town and Port of Dover.

Carnarvon Borough Election.—The Committee have determined,

That Owen Jones Ellis Nanney, esquire, is *not* duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Carnarvon.

That Rear Admiral the Honourable Sir Charles Paget is duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough.

Montgomery Borough Election.—House informed, that the Committee have determined,

That John Edwards, esquire, is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Montgomery.

Clonmel Borough Election.—House informed, that the Committee have determined,

That Dominick Ronayne, esquire, is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Clonmel.

Notices of Motions.

Mr. Wallace.—Bill for improving the forms of process, shortening the delays and lessening the expenses of litigation in the Court of Session in Scotland; also, for regulating the forms of procedure, and diminishing the expenses, in Appeals from the said Court to the House of Peers, and also in Appeals in civil causes at the Circuit Courts in Scotland.—[Tuesday 4th June.]

Mr. Wallace.—Bill for the better regulating the forms of process in Sheriff and Burgh Courts in Scotland, and for adding to the powers and jurisdiction thereof, with a view to shorten the delays and lessen the expense of litigation in said Sheriff and Burgh Courts in Scotland.—[Tuesday 4th June.]

Mr. Cutlar Fergusson.—To call the attention of the House to the state of affairs in Poland, and our engagements towards that country under the Treaty of Vienna.—[Thursday 13th June.]

Mr. Peter.—Bill for the purpose of amending and consolidating the Laws relating to the Observance of the Lord's Day.—[Monday 10th June.]

Lord Molyneux.—Bill to legalize the Marriages of Roman Catholics in England by their own Clergy.—[Monday 10th June.]

Mr. Hill.—That it be referred to a Committee of the House, to examine into and report to the House, the facts and circumstances of the claim of the Baron de Bode upon the Fund received from the French Government for indemnifying British subjects for the loss of property unduly confiscated by the French Authorities.—[Wednesday, 12th June.]

Mr. Fitzgerald.—In Committee on the Juries (Ireland) Bill, to move, That no person shall be appointed as Sub-sheriff for any County, or County of a City or Town in Ireland, who shall, within two years prior to such appointment, have practised as an Attorney, or otherwise professionally, in any Court of Assize, Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions, Coroner's Court, &c. &c. within such County, Bounty of a City or Town.

Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to disfranchise the County of the Town of Carrickfergus.—[Friday 24th May.]

Lord Viscount Althorp.—Bank of England Charter.—[Friday 31st May.]

Mr. Lloyd.—On Report of the Dwelling House Robbery Bill, to move a Clause repealing so much of the Act of 2 and 3 Will. 4, c. 62, as makes the offences in that Act specified punishable by transportation for life only, and instead thereof, providing that such offences shall be punishable either by transportation or imprisonment for a limited period, at the discretion of the Court.—[Monday 3d June.]

Mr. Bennett.—That the Committee appointed to inquire into the matters complained of in the Petition of the Electors and Inhabitants of Liverpool, presented to the House on the 21st February 1833, which Committee was instructed to report, in the first place, the result of their inquiries as to Bribery and Corruption at the last Election, having presented such first report, be instructed to pursue their inquiries into the whole of the matters complained of in the said Petition, and report the result of such inquiries to the House.—[Tuesday 4th June.]

- Mr. Cobbett.—Bill to alter and amend the Act [55 Geo. 3, c. 148] as far as the said Act relates to Stamps on Legacies, and to Probates of Wills.—deferred till Thursday 6th June.]
- Mr. Charles Grant.—Resolutions respecting the East India Company's Charter [Tuesday 11th June.]
- Dr. Lushington.—To move for Minutes of Court Martial on Captain Robison. [Deferred from Thursday 23d May till Wednesday 12th June.]
- Mr. Dominick Browne.—In Committee on Carrickfergus Disfranchisement Bill, to add a third Knight of the Shire for the County of Mayo.
- Earl of Kerry.—Returns relating to the present state of Education in England and Wales.—[Friday 24th May.]
- Mr. Roebuck.—Copy of the Instructions given to the Police by the Home Secretary respecting the dispersing of the Meeting at Cold Bath Fields; and also, a Copy of the Evidence given before the Coroner's Inquest, as well as a Copy of the Verdict of the Jury.—[Deferred till Monday 3d June.]
- Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to amend Irish Reform Act.—[Wednesday 5th June.]
- Sir Andrew Agnew.—Bill to enable local authorities to change Saturday and Monday Fairs and Markets to other days.—[Friday 7th June.]
- Sir Andrew Agnew.—Bill to enable the elections of Officers of Corporations, and other Public Companies, now required to be held on the Lord's Day, to be held on the Monday or Tuesday next ensuing.—[Friday 7th June.]
- Mr. Young.—On reading the Order of the Day for going into Committee of Supply, to move for returns of tonnage, showing the practical effect of the Treaties made under the authority of the Reciprocity of Duties Act on the interests of British Navigation.—[Friday 7th June.]
- Sir Robert Heron.—Bill to prevent the necessity of a Member holding an Office under the Crown, vacating his Seat in Parliament, upon an exchange of Office. [Thursday 13th June.]
- Colonel Evans.—Motion relating to the payment of Rates and Taxes as a qualification for exercising the Elective Franchise.—[Tuesday 18th June.]
- Mr. Hutt.—In Committee on the Stamp Duties Acts, to move, That the Duties on Policies of Marine Insurance, as far as relates to Time Risks, be reduced to one half of the amount proposed in the Bill.
- Mr. Feargus O'Connor.—Resolution, That it is the opinion of this House, that the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland has been proved, by an experience of more than thirty-two years, to be a measure of bad policy; that all the conditions upon which the said Union was established have been violated; that the Irish people looked with intense anxiety to the formation of a Whig Administration, hoping to receive from them some of the promised benefits of Reform, but they now consider them to be the most dangerous enemies to civil liberty, inasmuch as they have held out promises to the people which they well knew they could not realize.—[Wednesday 26th June.]

Petitions presented.

- Innkeepers.—Petition of Innkeepers of the County of Essex, complaining of the inequality of the Taxes levied upon them, and praying for relief.
- Currency.—Petition of Land-owners, Farmers, and others, of Fraserburgh, Pitsligo, Tyrie, and Aberdour, for an alteration in the monetary system.
- Education (Ireland).—Petitions against the new system of Education in Ireland;—of Moderator of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil;—of Ministers and Elders of Alford;—and, of Moderator and Members of the Presbytery of Garrock.
- Soap.—Petition of Proprietors, Manufacturers, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Turriff, for the reduction of the Duty on Soap.
- Malt.—Petitions for reduction of the Duty on Malt;—of Landholders, Electors, and Farmers, of the County of Aberdeen;—and, of Crofters, Cottagers, and Labourers, in the County of Aberdeen.
- Attornies Tax.—Petition of President of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen, for repeal thereof.

- Protestant Dissenters.—Petitions for redress of grievances in relation to Marriages, Parochial Rates, and Registration;—of Protestant Dissenters in Spalding;—and, of Independents of Wethersfield.
- Fire Insurances.—Petition of Owners and Occupiers of Land and Inhabitants of Billingham, for reduction of the Duty on Fire Insurances.
- Tithes.—Petition of Parishioners of Ashburton, for a commutation thereof.
- Weights and Measures.—Petition of Land-owners and Occupiers, Members of the North Devon Agricultural Association, and Inhabitants of the Northern Division of Devon, for rendering the use of the Imperial Measures compulsory.
- House and Window Taxes.—Petition of Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, and Vestrymen of St. Paul Covent Garden, for the repeal thereof.
- Malt and Hops.—Petition of Owners and Occupiers of Land, and other Inhabitants of the hundred of Launditch (Norfolk), for the repeal of Duties thereon.
- Education.—Petition of Inhabitants of Epping and Harlow, recommending the consideration of a plan for the instruction of the poorer classes.
- House and Window Tax. — Petition of Inhabitants of Worcester, and its vicinity, for the repeal of the House and Window Tax.
- Dissenting Chapels. — Petitions for exemption of Protestant Dissenting Chapels as well as Churches from liability to Parochial Rates; of Ministers, Trustees, and Members of the Wesleyan Methodist Congregation in Albion Street Chapel, York;—in George Street Chapel, York;—and, in New Street Chapel, York.
- Vote by Ballot. — Petition of Electors and Inhabitants of Gloucester, for the adoption of Vote by Ballot at the Election of Members for Cities and Boroughs.
- House and Window Tax.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Inhabitants of Plymouth;—of Sir John Key, Chairman of a Meeting of Inhabitant Household-ers of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Boroughs of Finsbury, Greenwich, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, and the Tower Hamlets;—of Merchants, Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, and Inhabitants of Liverpool;—of Shopkeepers and Retail Dealers, Members of a Guardian Society for the protection of Trade, at Kingston-upon-Hull.
- Assessed Taxes.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Burgesses and Electors and Inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Hull;—of Inhabitants of Shepton Mallet;—and, of the Chairman of a meeting of Householders and Inhabitants of St. Pancras.
- Protestant Dissenters.—Petitions for relief with respect to Marriages, Parochial Rates, and Registration;—of Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters of Edge Hill;—of Byron Street, Liverpool;—of Baptists of Liverpool;—and, of Cockspur Street, Liverpool; referred to the Select Committee on Parochial Registration.
- Corn Laws.—Petition of Owners and Occupiers of Lands and others residing in the Parts of Kesteven, Lincoln, against any alteration of the Corn Laws; to lie on the Table.
- Hand-loom Weaving.—Petitions complaining of distress, and the appointment of a Board of Trade for the regulation of that department of Manufacture;—of Hand loom Weavers of Ayr;—of Kirkintilloch;—and, of Torrens Campsie, Waterside, and Kirkintilloch.
- Dissenting Chapels.—Petition of Ministers, Trustees, Stewards, and Leaders of a Congregation of Wesleyan Methodists in Walcot, Bath, for exempting all places of religious worship from Poor Rates and Church Rates.
- Malt.—Petitions for repeal of the Duty thereon;—of Agriculturists, and others, of Kingsworth;—and of Pluckley.
- Septennial Act.—Petition of the Chairman of a Meeting of Householders and Inhabitants of St. Pancras, for repeal of the Septennial Act, and for Vote by Ballot.
- Stamps on Receipts.—Petition of Merchants, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of the City of Aberdeen, for the repeal thereof.
- Distilleries.—Petition of Members of the Kilbernie Temperance Society, for the abolition thereof.
- Slavery.—Petitions against the abolition thereof, without compensation to the proprietors;—of Robert Hibbert, esquire;—of Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and others, of Bristol;—of Merchants and others, mortgagees and incumbrancers

on Estates and Plantations in the West India Colonies;—of Persons interested in the West India Colonies resident in the City of Edinburgh;—and, of Inhabitants of Dumfries, and Planters now residing in the vicinity thereof; to lie on the Table.

Post Office Packets.—Petition of Inhabitants of Falmouth, complaining of the substitution of ten gun brigs for hired packets; to lie on the Table.

Reform of Parliament (England) Act.—Petition of Electors of the Borough of Bedford, for the amendment thereof; to lie on the table.

Criminal Laws.—Petitions for the abolition of the punishment of death, except for the crime of Murder;—of Merchants, Farmers, and others, of Tullamoore; and, of Clara; to lie on the Table.

Carriages.—Petition of Inhabitants of Oxford Street, that the Public Carriages of the Metropolis may be put upon a better system; to lie on the Table.

Knowledge.—Petition of Members of the Bolton Mechanics Institution, for the repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge; to lie on the Table.

Newspapers.—Petition of Members of the National Political Union, for the repeal of the Duty thereon; to lie on the Table.

Poland.—Petitions for the restoration of Poland to her former independent state; of Birmingham;—and, of Dartford and Crayford; to lie on the Table.

Prisons.—Petition of Edward Pelham Brenton, that children may no longer be committed to the common Prisons; to lie on the Table.

Nocturnal Legislation.—Petition of Inhabitants of the City of Edinburgh, against; to lie on the Table.

Oaths.—Petition of Residents in the City of Limerick, for relief from the taking of Oaths; to lie on the Table.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Who, on Friday, the 17th of May, voted for Mr. Whitmore's Motion for revising the present Corn Laws.

<i>England.</i>			
Aglionby, H. A.	Gaskell, D.	Parker, J.	Whalley, Sir S.
Baillie, J. E.	Godson, R.	Philips, M.	Whitmore, W.
Bainbridge, E.	Grey, Sir G.	Phillpotts, J.	Young, G. F.
Barnett, C. J.	Grote, G.	Potter, R.	
Bish, T.	Guest, J. J.	Ramsbottom, J.	<i>Scotland.</i>
Bolling, W.	Gully, J.	Ricardo, D.	Dunlop, Capt. J.
Briggs, R.	Hardy, J.	Rippon, C.	Ewing, J.
Brotherton, J.	Hawes, B.	Robinson, G. R.	Ferguson, R.
Buckingham, J. S.	Hornby, E. G.	Romilly, J.	Gillon, W. D.
Buller, E.	Hughes, H.	Romilly, E.	Maxwell, Sir J.
Bulwer, H. L.	Hume, J.	Ryle, J.	Oliphant, L.
Burdett, Sir F.	Humphery, J.	Sheppard, T.	Oswald, R. A.
Clay, W.	Hutt, W.	Stewart, P.	Oswald, J.
Dashwood, G. H.	Hyett, W. H.	Strickland, G.	Parnell, Sir H.
Davenport, J.	Ingham, R.	Strutt, E.	Ross, H.
Dawson, E.	Jervis, J.	Tancred, H. W.	Stewart, R.
Divett, E.	Key, Sir J.	Tennyson, C.	Wemyss, Captain
Evans, De Lacy	Langton, G.	Thompson, Ald.	
Ellis, W.	Lester, B. L.	Thicknesse, R.	<i>Ireland.</i>
Etwall, R.	Lister, C.	Torrens, Col. R.	Evans, G.
Evans, W.	Marshall, J.	Turner, W.	Lalor, P.
Ewart, W.	Marsland, T.	Vernon, Hon. G. L.	O'Connell, D.
Fenton, L.	Martin, J.	Williams, G.	O'Connell, M.
Ferguson, Sir R.	Milton, Viscount	Wood, G.	O'Connell, C.
Fielden, W.	Molesworth, Sir W.	Wood, Ald. M.	O'Connell, J.
Fryer, R. C.	Morpeth, Viscount	Walker, R.	O'Connell, M.
Fielden, J.	Morrison, J.	Walter, J.	Ruthven, E. S.
	Ord, W. H.	Warburton, H.	Vigors, N. A.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Who, on Tuesday, the 21st of May, voted for Sir Samuel Whalley's motion for taking off the House and Window Tax.

<i>England.</i>	Fellowes, Hon. A. W.	Lyall, G.	Walter, J.
Aglionby, H. A.	Fellowes, Hon. N.	Methuen, P.	Wason, R.
Astley, Sir J.	Fenton, J.	Miller, W. H.	Welby, G. E.
Baillie, J. E.	Feilden, W.	Molesworth, W. H.	Whalley, Sir S.
Beauclerk, Major	Fryer, R.	Penleaze, W.	<i>Scotland.</i>
Beaumont, T. W.	Gaskell, D.	Palmer, General	Gillon, W. D.
Berkeley, Hon. C. F.	Godson, R.	Parrott, J.	Maxwell, Sir J.
Barnard, E. G.	Grote, George	Pease, J.	Maxwell, J.
Bewes, T.	Guest, J. J.	Petre, Hon. E.	Oswald, J.
Bish, T.	Gully, J.	Phillips, M.	Sinclair, G.
Blackstone, W. S.	Hughes, H.	Phillipps, J.	<i>Ireland.</i>
Briscoe, J. I.	Hall, B.	Pigot, R.	Butler, Hon. P.
Brocklehurst, J.	Halse, James	Plumptre, J.	Daly, J.
Brodie, Captain	Hanmer, Col. Henry	Robinson, G. R.	Finn, W. F.
Brotherton, J.	Harvey, D. W.	Roebuck, J. A.	Fitzgerald, T.
Buckingham, J. S.	Hawes, Benjamin	Rotch, B.	Fitzsimon, C.
Bulwer, H. L.	Henniker, Lord	Seale, Colonel	Lalor, P.
Chandos, Marquis	Hill, Matthew	Shaw, R. N.	Nagle, Sir R.
Chapman, A.	Hotham, Lord	Spry, S. T.	O'Connor, Don
Chetwynd, Capt.	Hope, —	Stanley, E.	O'Connell, D.
Chichester, J. P.	Hume, J.	Stewart, J.	O'Connell, M.
Cobbett, W.	Humphery, J.	Tancred, H. W.	O'Connell, C.
Collier, J.	Hutt, W.	Todd, R.	O'Connell, J.
Curtis, Capt.	Inglby, Sir W. A.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.	O'Connell, M.
Davies, Lieut.-Col.	James, W.	Tooke, W.	O'Connor, F.
Denison, W. J.	Jervis, J.	Torrens, Col. R.	Roche, W.
Dick, Quentin	Kemp, T. R.	Townshend, Lord C.	Roe, J.
Dundas, Capt. J. W.	Key, Sir J.	Tullamore, Lord	Ronayne, D.
Evans, Colonel	Lamont, Capt. N.	Turner, W.	Ruthven, E. S.
Etwall, R.	Langton, Col. G.	Tynte, C. J. K.	Ruthven, E.
Faithfull, G.	Lowther, Viscount	Thompson, Ald.	Vigors, N. A.
Fancourt, Major	Lowther, Hon. Col.	Wigney, I. N.	Wallace, T.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Who on the 22nd of May, voted for Mr. Warburton's motion—"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the various points arising out of the Reform Bill, upon which contradictory decisions have been come to, whether by the Revising and Assisting Barristers, or by Returning Officers, or by Election Committees."

<i>England.</i>	Godson, R.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.	Fitzsimon, N.
Aglionby, H. A.	Grote, G.	Tooke, W.	Lalor, P.
Beauclerk, Major	Harvey, D. W.	Trelawney, W. L. S.	Lynch, A. H.
Bewes, T.	Hawes, B.	Turner, W.	Nagle, Sir R.
Bish, T.	Hawkins, J. H.	Vyvyan, Sir R.	O'Connell, D.
Blackstone, W. S.	Humphery, J.	Williams, Colonel	O'Connell, J.
Bowes, J.	Hutt, W.	Wason, R.	Roche, D.
Brocklehurst, J.	Hughes, H.	Wynn, Rt. Hn. C. W.	Roe, J.
Buckingham, J. S.	Jervis, J.	<i>Scotland.</i>	Ronayne, D.
Buller, C.	Knatchbull, Sir E.	Arbuthnot, W. H.	Ruthven, E. S.
Clay, W.	Lloyd, J. H.	Maxwell, Sir J.	Ruthven, E.
Collier, J.	Nicholl, J.	Sinclair, G.	Shaw, F.
Dawson, E.	Parrott, J.	<i>Ireland.</i>	Vigors, N. A.
Duncombe, Hon. W.	Pease, J.	Butler, Hon. P.	Wallace, T.
Ewart, W.	Phillips, M.	Blake, J.	
Evans, Colonel	Romilly, J.	Evans, W.	TELLERS.
Faithfull, G.	Romilly, E.	Finn, W.	Hume, J.
Gaskell, J. M.	Strutt, E.	Fitzgerald, T.	Warburton, H.
Gladston, W. E.	Stuart, Lord D. C.	Fitzsimon, C.	

LIST OF THE MAJORITY

Who, on the 22d of May, voted for the Second Reading of Mr. R. Grant's Bill for Emancipating the Jews.

England.

Aglionby, H. A.	Heathcote, J. J.	Romilly, J.	Oliphant, R.
Attwood, T.	Heron, Sir R. Bart.	Romilly, E.	Ormelie, Earl of
Bainbridge, E. T.	Hill, M. D.	Russell, Lord J.	Oswald, R. A.
Baring, F.	Hodgson, John	Russell, W. C.	Parnell, Sir H.
Barnett, C. J.	Horne, Sir W.	Sanford, E. A.	Traill, G.
Beauclerk, Major	Hoskins, K.	Scott, Sir E. D.	
Bernal, R.	Howard, P. H.	Seale, Col.	<i>Ireland.</i>
Biddulph, R.	Hume, Joseph	Sebright, Sir J.	Acheson, Viscount
Bish, T.	Hutt, W.	Smith, J. A.	Barron, W.
Blake, Sir F.	James, W.	Smith, J.	Bellew, R. M.
Blamire, W.	Jernyngham, Hon.	Strickland, G.	Butler, Hon. P.
Bowes, J.	H. V. S.	Strutt, E.	Blake, M.
Briggs, R.	Johnstone, Sir J. V.	Tancred, H. W.	O'Connor Don
Broughton, J.	Kemp, T.	Thicknesse, R.	Evans, G.
Buckingham, J. S.	Lee, John Lee	Throckmorton, R. G.	Finn, W. F.
Buller, J. W.	Labouchere, Henry	Tooke, W.	Fitzgerald, T.
Buller, C.	Lambton, H.	Torrens, Col. R.	Fitzsimon, C.
Bulwer, H. L.	Leech, J.	Townley, R. G.	Fitzsimon, N.
Burdett, Sir F.	Lester, B. L.	Trelawney, W. L. S.	Grattan, H.
Byng, G.	Lloyd, J. H.	Vernon, Hon. G. J.	Howard, R.
Campbell, Sir J.	Lumley, Viscount	Vivian, J. H.	Jephson, C. D. O.
Carter, J. B.	Maberley, Colonel	Wigney, I. N.	Lalor, P.
Cayley, Sir G.	Macauley, T. B.	Wilbraham, G.	Lambert, H.
Cayley, E. S.	Mangles, J.	Williams, Col. G.	Lynch, A. H.
Chaytor, Sir W.	Marjoribanks, S.	Willoughby, Sir H.	Macnamara, Maj. W.
Childers, J. W.	Marshall, J.	Wood, G. W.	Macnamara, F.
Clay, W.	Martin, J.	Wood, Alderman	Nagle, Sir R.
Clayton, Col. W. R.	Molyneux, Lord	Wall, C. B.	O'Brien, C.
Collier, J.	Moreton, Hon. A. H.	Walter, J.	O'Connell, D.
Curteis, H. B.	Morpeth, Viscount	Warburton, H.	O'Connell, M.
Dillwyn, L. W.	Mostyn, Hon. E. M. L.	Ward, H. G.	O'Connell, J.
Dundas, J. W. D.	Ord, W. H.	Watson, Hon. R.	O'Connell, C.
Dykes, F. B.	Palmer, Gen.	Young, G. F.	O'Connell, M.
Ebrington, Viscount	Palmer, C. F.		O'Connor, F.
Evans, W.	Parker, J.	<i>Scotland.</i>	O'Farrall, R. M.
Evans, Colonel	Parrott, J.	Abercromby, Right	O'Grady, Col. S.
Ewart, W.	Pease, J.	Hon. J.	Roche, W.
Fenton, Capt. L.	Peter, W.	Adams, E. H.	Roche, D.
Ferguson, Gen. Sir R.	Petre, Hon. E.	Bannerman, A.	Roe, J.
Fordwick, Viscount	Phillips, M.	Dunlop, Capt. J.	Ronayne, D.
Fox, S. L.	Pinney, W.	Ewing, J.	Ruthven, E. S.
Fox, Lieut.-Col.	Ponsonby, Hon. W.	Fergusson, R.	Ruthven, E.
Gaskell, Daniel	Potter, R.	Fleming, Hn. Ad. C.	Talbot, J.
Godson, R.	Poulter, J.	Gillon, W. D.	Tennent, J. E.
Goring, H. D.	Pryme, G.	Grant, Rt. Hon. C.	Vigors, N. A.
Grote, George	Pendarves, E. W.	Hay, Col. A. L.	Walker, C. A.
Hall, B.	Penleaze, J.	Jeffrey, Rt. Hon. F.	Wallace, T.
Handley, B.	Ramsbottom, J.	Kennedy, T. F.	
Handley, H.	Rider, T.	Macleod, R.	TELLERS.
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	Rolfe, R. M.	Maxwell, Sir J. Bt.	Lushington, Dr. S.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

ON THE JUSTICE, SAFETY, AND PRACTICABILITY, OF IMMEDIATELY ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

WE return to this subject, in continuation of the article given in our last, the interest of which has grown greater and greater on every succeeding day. The press is hardly rapid enough to enumerate the several publications which have appeared on both sides of this great question: we mean, on the side of the West India Proprietors, and on the side of the Abolitionists; both of whom are strongly opposed, though from very different motives, to the Government Plan. For this reason, we feel persuaded that it can never be carried into practice without very great alterations; and as we are truly desirous of contributing our share towards the defeat of that plan, and the substitution of a better, we shall continue, until it is finally settled, to devote some portion of our pages to the dissemination of our views on this momentous subject. If we have space, we will notice some of the principal publications adverted to, at the close: and in the meantime we proceed to consider the greatest and most important features of this question, as indicated in the title under which we write.

As to the justice of an *immediate* rather than a *gradual* abolition of Slavery, and the perfect safety as well as benefit with which that might be accomplished, it appears to us that there is one safe rule by which we may guide our determination. The decision must depend altogether on the answer to this question—"To whom does the slave belong?" It has been already admitted by a large majority of the people of England generally, that the master has not, and cannot establish, any just or legal title to a property in the body or soul of his slave; that neither by religion, law, nor justice, can any one man claim a property in the person of any other man. If, then, this position be admitted, the whole question is settled; for, if the slave can not be the property of the master, he must be the property of himself, and have a clear right and title to the possession of his own body, as well as of his own soul, over which, no other person can, without his voluntary surrender of it, have any absolute dominion or power. Now, what do we do, in cases of disputed property like this;—as, for instance, where an estate, with all the cattle upon it, has been unlawfully held, by some usurper, for ever so long a period, while the rightful owners have been prosecuting their claims in Chancery for a restitution of the property unlawfully held or possessed by others? When the decree of the court has determined that the actual possessors have no legal right or title to the estate so held, but that the property belongs to another—does any one ever hear of a *gradual* restoration

of the rights of property to the rightful owners of it—by the release of a few acres of land, or a few head of cattle, at a time? Is not the restoration immediate, sudden, instantaneous? Does any one attempt to stay the issue of the decree, by pretending that it will be most distressing to the wealthy possessors (however unlawfully their wealth was acquired) to be reduced *all at once* to the lowest level of poverty; and equally dangerous to elevate, in a moment, and *without previous preparation*, an indigent and ignorant family, to the possession of unbounded wealth, and all the intoxicating effects which this new-born affluence and newly acquired power will be sure to produce? No! the only question is to determine to whom the disputed property rightfully belongs; and that once determined, be the property large or small, and the claimants to it few or many, the restoration of it is not *gradual* but *immediate*, as that of the emancipation of the slaves, by restoring to themselves their property in their own persons, should be. The fittest time, indeed, for redressing any grievance, and making restitution for any wrong, is the moment after the grievance or wrong is discovered and admitted to be such; and every hour of delay beyond that period, is a cruel protraction of unnecessary and unjustifiable evil.

The supposed difficulty of providing for the slaves when emancipated, has deterred many persons from giving their cordial support to the proposition for immediate emancipation: but for ourselves, we could never perceive any difficulties in the case whatever. On this subject we can speak in the character of a witness, as well as in that of an advocate; and we must say, that during a personal intercourse with the West India Islands, several of which we visited many years ago, we never knew an instance of the emancipation of slaves having either made those slaves dangerous to society, or placed them in a situation of incapacity to provide for themselves. On the other hand, we have known abundant instances of great gratitude being expressed and evinced by slaves who had obtained their freedom: and so perfectly able and willing are they generally to maintain themselves, that the great bulk of what may be called the middle classes in the West Indies—the free blacks, and free people of colour, who fill up the great gulph that would otherwise divide the master from the slave,—are persons who, having become, from various causes, emancipated from the condition of slaves, have from that point started forward in a career of industry and activity unknown to them before; and having once tasted the sweets of enjoying property of their own, as the reward of their labours, have been stimulated to produce and acquire more and more, till many of them, becoming artizans and tradesmen, have accumulated property to the extent of 500*l.* and even 1,000*l.* trained up their children in habits of industry, given them education, and become, in short, the founders of a new race, such as never could have had existence, had not their emancipation from Slavery laid the first foundation for their improvement. Not to rely too strongly, however, on our own opinions, we give those of others on the same subject.

‘The history of emancipation in St. Domingo, and of the conduct of the mancipated slaves for thirty years subsequent to that event, (as detailed in

Clarkson's admirable pamphlet on the necessity of improving the condition of our West Indian slaves) is a complete refutation of all the elaborate arguments which have been artfully advanced to discredit the design of immediate emancipation. No instance has been recorded in these important annals, of the emancipated slaves (not the *gradually*, but the *immediately* emancipated slaves) abused their freedom. On the contrary, it is frequently asserted in having the course of the narrative, that the negroes continued to work upon all the plantations as quietly as before emancipation. Through the whole of Clarkson's diligent and candid investigations of the conduct of emancipated slaves, comprising a body of more than 500,000 persons, under a great variety of circumstances, a considerable proportion of whom had been *suddenly* emancipated, *with all the vicious habits of slavery upon them*, many of them *accustomed to the use of arms!*—he has not, throughout this vast mass of emancipated slaves, found a *single instance of bad behaviour*, not even a refusal to work, or of disobedience to orders; much less had he heard of frightful massacres, or of revenge for past injuries, even when they had it amply in their power. Well might this benevolent and indefatigable abolitionist arrive at the conclusion, 'that emancipation (why did he not say *immediate* emancipation?) was not only practicable, but practicable without danger.' All the frightful massacres and conflagrations which took place in St. Domingo, in 1791 and 1792, *occurred during the days of slavery*. They originated, too, not with the slaves but with the white and coloured planters,—between the royalists and the revolutionists, who, for purposes of mutual vengeance, called in the aid of the slaves. Colonel Malenfant, in his history of the emancipation, written during his residence in St. Domingo, *ridicules the notion that the negroes would not work without compulsion*, and asserts, that in one plantation, more immediately under his own observation, on which more than four hundred negroes were employed, *not one in the number refused to work after their emancipation*.

'In the face of such a body of evidence, the detaining our West Indian slaves in bondage, is a continued perpetration of the same atrocious injustice which first kidnapped and tore them from their kindred and native soil, and robbed them of that sacred inalienable right, which no considerations, how plausible soever, can justify the withholding.

'An *immediate* emancipation, then, is the object to be aimed at: it is more wise and rational—more politic and safe, as well as more just and humane—than gradual emancipation. The interest, moral and political, temporal and eternal, of all parties concerned, will be best promoted by *immediate* emancipation. The sooner the planter is obliged to abandon a system which torments him with perpetual alarms of insurrection and massacre; which keeps him in the most debasing moral bondage; subjects him to a tyranny, of all others the most injurious and destructive—that of sordid and vindictive passions:—the sooner he is obliged to adopt a more humane and more *lucrative* policy in the cultivation of his plantations:—the sooner the over-laboured, crouching slave, is converted into a free labourer; his compulsory, unremunerated toil, under the influence of the cart-whip, exchanged for cheerful, well-recompensed industry—his bitter sufferings for peaceful enjoyment—his deep execration of his merciless tyrants, for respectful attachment to his humane and equitable masters:—the sooner the Government and the people of this country purify themselves from the guilt of supporting and tolerating a system of such monstrous injustice; productive of such complicated enormities; the sooner all this mass of impolicy, crime, and suffering, is got rid of, the better.'

It is well known, that in the United States, as well as in the West Indies, many slave-owners permit their slaves to go out to work for themselves, some as tradesmen, ship-builders, carpenters, masons, &c. and some as mere labourers, on condition that they maintain themselves entirely, and give over to their owners a certain proportion of their weekly earnings, in the shape of tribute money, or interest on the capital invested in their purchase, as the price of this mongrel kind of freedom which they thus enjoy. Now, it must be evident to all, that if the free "roaming about" of such working gangs of men as these, is attended with no danger, (and no one pretends that such danger exists in this case) there could be no danger from the same men roaming about freely, when they belonged to themselves, any more than when they belonged to others. There would be this happy difference, however, in their case, that being relieved from the necessity of paying over any surplus of money to their owners, they would have far less difficulty in maintaining themselves as free men, than they now have as slaves; and therefore, to say that men, who can and do, under the present system, not only maintain themselves, and cover all their cost of subsistence, but yield a large profit to their owners, whether working on estates or in the gangs described—could not, if released from their payment of tribute, or yielding of profit, find means of subsistence,—is to utter both a falsehood and an absurdity at the same time. The West Indians would still cultivate their estates by men, whether these men were free or enslaved, and these men would still work on the estates for subsistence, in the one case as well as in the other. The only difference would be, that the tyranny and caprice of the master being at an end, competition and the relation between supply and demand, would settle the price of labour there, as well as elsewhere:—no more labourers would be employed than were needed: these would work for the rate of wages which competition would determine, and the surplus hands, if any should remain, would gradually find employment elsewhere. At first, therefore, the number to be "let loose," as the phrase is,—meaning thereby, thrown out of all employment, and cast upon the stream—would be extremely few, if any, and their emancipation would be attended with no danger whatever. If any one should doubt the safety of letting large bodies of men free from previously existing restraints, let him think of the immense numbers which, at the close of every long war, are released from bondage, from stripes, and from chains,—100,000 from the ranks of the army—100,000 from the ships of the navy—and 100,000 from the prisons of England, France, Portugal, and Spain. Did any one ever propose the *gradual* emancipation of all these beings from servitude, from suffering, or captivity? or did any one ever predict danger from such a course? Never! Men released from bonds of any kind, are too grateful for their freedom, to do any thing but rejoice at their deliverance, and make the best use of it they can to benefit themselves, and evince their gratitude to those who effected it.

We turn, however, with great satisfaction, to some recent interesting and important evidence on this subject. It is from the Fifteenth

Report of the American Colonization Society. This was a Society founded more than fifteen years ago, for the purpose of providing a Settlement in Africa for all emancipated Negroes who desired to return to their own country. In one of the Reports is a map of the territory purchased by them in Africa for this purpose. It lies between Cape Sierra Leone, south, along the coast to Cape Palmas—being about 300 miles long, and extending inland about 50 miles broad. It is remarkable for a good soil, an ample supply of water, and a salubrious climate. Its chief town stands about mid-way between the two promontories mentioned; it is situated near Cape Montserada, and is called Monrovia, in honour of the American President, Monro. The expense of sending an emancipated slave from America or the West Indies to this free African colony—most appropriately named *Liberia*, for it is not *subject* to America nor to any other power, but is perfectly independent in every respect,—is not more than seven pounds sterling; for which sum, each person so sent has not only a free passage and all provisions found, but, on his arrival in the colony, he is put in possession of thirty or forty acres of freehold land, and furnished with implements and materials for its cultivation. The funds for this magnificent undertaking have hitherto been furnished by the general government of the United States, by the local legislatures of the separate States, and by the donations and subscriptions of private individuals. The success of the experiment is complete, and must for ever set at rest the question of whether an emancipated slave can maintain himself, and elevate his own condition in life. Africans as well as Asiatics, and Asiatics as well as Europeans, are all anxious to improve their own circumstances, and to increase the amount of their enjoyments. Present them with the motives and the opportunities so to do, and they rarely or ever fail to profit by them. The reader may judge, therefore, for himself, whether they have done so in Liberia or not, by the following short letter, containing the most recent intelligence from this infant but interesting colony, that has come into our possession. It is dated Washington, Feb. 10, 1832, and is as follows :

‘ Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On Dec. 14th I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the Colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserada, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that

I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person*, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist Church, to full congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world.—WILLIAM ABELS.

After this, it must be unnecessary to say another word. Contrast this picture of the industry, contentment, morals, and religion, of the Free Negroes in their native land, with the indolence, dissatisfaction, profligacy, and utter ignorance which is characteristic of the system of Slavery everywhere, and which, in the West Indies especially, has made the masters even worse than the slaves; for while the latter have some affection for their kindred, some respect for their own offspring, some conception of moral duty, and some sense of religion too—their tyrants are those who would hang the Missionaries, burn down the chapels, and exile or exterminate the professors of all sects of Christianity for ever from the land.

But, let us now show some of the actual fruits of this interesting Colony, in a production which is altogether African, and wholly the work of the free Negroes of Liberia. We have before us a newspaper, entitled "*The Liberia Herald*." Its size is a good quarto, in form and space resembling the *Athenæum* and the *Literary Gazette*. It is well printed, filled with information of great interest: and the first article, which is, "*On the surprising Influence of Prejudice*," is one that, for soundness of thought, and accuracy of expression, would be worthy of any periodical journal in England. After refuting ably all those arguments urged against emancipation, which are founded on the *assumed* inferiority of the black to the white races of men, and shewing that the different circumstances under which each has been placed, is more than sufficient to account for the present barbarism of Africa, and the high civilization of Europe, the writer cites a long catalogue of remarkable Negroes, who in their own persons proved the possibility of black men exhibiting the same powers of intellect, and attaining to the same distinction as white men, if placed within the reach of such attainments. The catalogue, though interesting, may be thought too long to be published entire; but the following are a few only of the names that it contains:—

Hannibal, an African, who had received a good education, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General under Peter the Great of Russia, and his son was also a General in the Russian Artillery. Francis Williams, a Negro, born in Jamaica, studied in the University of Cambridge, and became a teacher of Latin and mathematics. Antony Williams Amo was born in Guinea, brought to Europe when very

young, and under the patronage of the Prince of Brunswick, he pursued his studies at Halle, in Saxony, and at Wittemberg, at which University he obtained the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. He was eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, and supported several profound positions in metaphysics and philosophy, and delivered most interesting lectures; and he is spoken of by the Abbé Grégoire, and the celebrated Blumenbach, as well as by the Academic Council, by which a memoir of him was published, as being remarkable for his integrity, talents, industry, and erudition. John Capitier, born in Africa, and purchased by a slave dealer at eight years of age, being carried to Holland, studied painting, and at the same time acquired the elements of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic languages; after which he became a distinguished minister of the Gospel, and wrote and published *Elegies and Dissertations* in the Latin language, on the calling of the Gentiles, and on Slavery, as well as a volume of *Sermons*. Othello, a negro, published at Baltimore, in 1784, an *Essay against the Slavery of the Africans*, with which it is said few works can be compared, for the force of its reasoning and the fire of its eloquence. And though last, not least, Belinda, a negress, brought from Africa at the age of twelve, and sold in Massachusetts, after being a slave to one man for 40 years, addressed to the legislature of that State, in 1782, an eloquent petition for the freedom of herself and her daughter, which has been preserved in one of the volumes of the *American Museum*.

These, then, are the records of what individuals of the African race, and of both sexes, have become, under every imaginable disadvantage, and in spite of the prejudices still existing against their colour and their capacity. What may they not become in future years, when freedom has placed them on a level with ourselves: and when, instead of hindrances and obstacles, they will receive aids and helps to their effort at our hands? Let us hear no more, then, of the senseless cry that the slaves are not fit for freedom, and therefore ought not to be entrusted with it. The only grounds of this supposed unfitness, must be their present poverty, or present ignorance, or both. Now, if either the one or the other of these were a disqualification for freedom,—how many beings are there in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, whose poverty is as great as that of the negro—for they have nothing: and whose ignorance is as complete, for they cannot even read: yet who ever heard any one say that these persons, poor and ignorant though they be, are not as fully entitled to receive, and quite as fit to enjoy, that protection of person, and freedom of action and opinion, which the poorest and most ignorant among us may claim, as being as much his birth-right as that of any noble in the land? As to any danger from the slaves roving hither or thither, and being let loose to go wherever they please—it is quite chimerical. We find no evil from the liberty of “roaming about,” as it is called, being equally enjoyed by every man in England. Necessity, and self-preservation—the first laws of nature—will keep them from being long idle: and the loss of time and loss of

subsistence, which such roaming must involve, will soon place limits to the extent of the poor man's range.

For ourselves then, convinced of the absolute injustice of continuing the existence of Slavery, for a single hour—satisfied of the perfect safety of abolishing it at once and for ever—persuaded that the master and the slave would be equally benefited by the emancipation of the latter—and that the interests of the nation, as well as the cause of humanity and religion, would be greatly advanced by such a step,—we contend for the *immediate* and *unconditional* emancipation of all the Slaves in the British dominions, without encumbering the question with any *previous* provisions of laws, rules, or regulations, but letting Emancipation come first, because Religion, Justice, and sound Policy, alike demand that gift at our hands—and bringing, as speedily as possible in its train, those improvements in law, education, morals, and condition, which may then be safely hoped for, but which, without Emancipation preceding them, will never be realized.—After this, we may enter on the question of compensation, with a full determination to put to the test the experiment as to whether the cheerful vigour and buoyant energy of free labour would not be far more productive to the planter than the slow and sullen, and despairing efforts of slave labour by which he is now sustained; and if the result of that experiment should be, as it inevitably must, to prove the superiority of Freedom over Slavery, even in a mere pecuniary sense, the compensation would then have to be paid by the planters to the Government, for having relieved them from the dangers of insurrection, lightened the burthens on their estates, and made them more productive even to themselves. Let us get the question of compensation into *this* shape,—and into this shape it must be brought, if the experiment be tried,—and we shall see that the planters will then be the first to recommend the postponement of its payment to the remotest possible period of time.

PROPORTIONS OF POPULATION TO SOIL, IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

THE approaching discussions on Emigration, as one of the modes of relieving Great Britain from what is called a “superabundant population,” will form our apology, if any indeed can be necessary, for calling the attention of our readers to the statistical facts which we shall lay before them in this article—the object of which is to prove, by incontrovertible evidence, that an abundant population ought to be, under any tolerable system of good government, a blessing to a country, as a scanty population is an evil; and that, in point of fact, those countries which are the most abundantly peopled are the richest and the happiest, and those most thinly supplied with inhabitants the poorest and most miserable.

In pursuing this subject through all its important details, we shall confine ourselves rigidly to acknowledged and undoubted facts, and to the legitimate inferences which these facts admit; and if the investigation should appear to be divested of those reflections which the subject is so well calculated to excite, we beg the reader to believe, that it is not because the reflections and the feelings do not exist, but because it is our desire, in all cases, but more especially in topics like the present, to condense and concentrate, as much as possible, the elements for forming a sound decision, and to leave the rest to those who will have to pronounce the judgment. With this explanation of our motives and views, we proceed at once to the consideration of the subject proposed.

‘Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth:’ such was the command of the omnipotent Creator to the first man and woman; and the injunction was accompanied by adequate means to fulfil it. ‘And men began to multiply on the face of the earth; for they had dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.’ Thus, one of the advantages given to man was that of being omnivorous, or capable of subsisting upon an infinite variety of animal and vegetable productions; whilst, by another special privilege, he was so constituted that he could live, propagate, and multiply, almost equally well in every climate of the globe.

In being thus capacitated to inhabit every part of the earth, and to convert into food so great a multiplicity of substances, our species would seem, at first sight, to have been exempted from every impediment to their unlimited increase; inasmuch as man could accommodate himself to almost every variety of circumstances, and adapt circumstances to his situation. There are, however, three principal stages in social life, by which the propagation of mankind is more or less checked, and population limited. In the least civilized state, the savage or hunter, living on the spontaneous products of the earth, requires about a dozen times more territory to supply him with food than the shepherd; consequently, in an equal extent of country, the population of a savage community must be twelve times less than that of a pastoral people. And, therefore, when a savage population has increased so far as to exceed the proportion of the subsistence spontaneously supplied by nature, their tribes are driven by necessity to resort to wars of extermination among themselves, and thus to reduce from time to time their extra population to their meagre means of subsistence; which circumstance is, no doubt, the reason why anthropophagi are frequently found in this unhappy and brutalized state of society. The pastoral life offers to the shepherd community a better, more abundant, and less precarious supply of food, in the herds of domesticated animals which they rear. Yet the feeding of flocks and herds also requires an extensive territory, and frequent change of pasturage; so that a community of herdsmen must necessarily occupy a much larger proportion of soil than an agricultural society, and can

only reach a twelfth part of the population of the latter in a country of similar extent. When they increase beyond the resources for subsistence available in their erratic state, the surplus of their population are obliged to emigrate; and they thus send abroad warlike colonies, well characterised by the name of *Sacred Springs* among the pastoral aborigines of Italy. Thus, the Sabines were a 'Sacred Spring' of the Umbrians, the Samnites of the Sabines, the Lucanians of the Samnites, &c.

In the mere pastoral state, we perceive that it is nature alone, producing spontaneously food for the living creatures of the earth, that supplies provision for the shepherd. It is equally obvious, that unassisted nature directly furnishes subsistence to the savage. It is only in the more advanced stage of society that man combines and improves the gifts of nature, and obtains all the supplies necessary for his wants. And, as the labour of a few husbandmen is sufficient to maintain many families, and to enable them to procure those means of subsistence by which many members of the commonwealth find leisure to cultivate the various handicraft trades, and to acquire a knowledge of the arts and sciences, the agricultural state is obviously that which is most favourable to human propagation. In this condition, mankind being better fed, clothed, and lodged,—their wars, incited by a spirit of ambition, less destructive than those that are merely predatory,—and their attention to the productions of the earth supplying them with cures for diseases, or preventives for those which ordinarily prevail,—they are consequently placed in the most favourable situation for obeying the divine command to 'multiply and replenish the earth.'

The highest step in the progress of civilized life is the commercial state. Affording leisure for the artizan, it improves and vivifies every thing at home; commanding subsistence from abroad, it pursues those schemes of adventurous speculation which a spirit of commercial enterprise opens; it establishes the beneficial relations which necessarily grow out of that spirit; imparts new means for developing the industry of the country; increases the general abundance, at the same time that it augments the wealth of individuals; and finally yields resources for the support and useful activity of a dense population. What is effected by commerce at large, and by the reciprocal interchange of commodities between nations, is produced on a smaller scale by the towns and cities of a civilized country. In this concentrated union of many interests, the town attracting fresh citizens from the country, and demanding a constant supply of provisions, afford a ready market for the surplus productions of the agriculturist, as well as opportunities of employment for the superabundant population of the vicinity. Hence, the means of industry are incessantly augmented, and the propagation of inhabitants constantly increased. Accordingly, we see that population is generally more abundant round the towns than at a distance, and denser near the great cities than in the neighbourhood of the smaller ones. In this manner, the towns keep in constant requisition the productions of agriculture, and call more rapidly into existence the population of the country; and, to crown

all, foreign traffic and commercial intercourse come in to increase the general industry and population.

With these two powerful agents, (agriculture and commerce,) population and subsistence advance, hand-in-hand, in rapid ratio. Indifferent almost to the natural fertility of the soil, (a requisite not always the most important,) unfruitful countries have been enabled by human perseverance and industry, not only to maintain a great number of inhabitants, but even to export provisions. It is, however, more easy to perceive the actual effects of these two agents, than to appreciate the extent of their influence.

It is very difficult to determine the limits to which population is restricted in each of the **THREE** stages of society previously described, because the laws influencing the propagation of mankind have been almost as much concealed from our view in their social as in their physical operation. As, however, the one is more accessible to investigation than the other, we shall collect some facts and materials by which this important object may be first illustrated, and afterwards reduced into rules of arithmetical calculation. Our researches will commence by instituting a comparative estimate between the *area* and the *population* of counties whose statistics have been fully detailed or made known to us. These being properly ascertained, by reducing the number of persons to the square mile, we shall arrive at a standard by which to determine the unknown population of analogous regions. The first object will be to ascertain the superficial extent and the number of inhabitants of those countries in which these points have been precisely determined, and from these data to fix, as a proportionate number, the comparative amount of persons to the square mile.

To check, as well as to elucidate and exemplify these calculations, it will be necessary to reduce the square miles into their corresponding number of acres, and then to determine what is the proportionate number of acres to each inhabitant. With these data, we shall find out the proportions existing between the *area* and *population* in most of the countries of the globe; and, by analogical comparisons with territories of which we have no statistical returns, but which possess a certain similarity in circumstances and situation to those of which the statistics are known, we shall be able to obtain approximate estimates on which the probable number of their inhabitants may be calculated; and thus solve many problems in population hitherto unattempted, or, if attempted, deduced from supposititious inferences, or facts not sufficiently authenticated. The same comparative method will offer facilities by which to judge of the accuracy of ancient and modern records, or to determine what is within or beyond the reach of the propagating power of human society. The following table, illustrated by explanatory details, will exhibit more distinctly the advantages of this mode of calculation.

Comparative Population and Area of all the Countries of the Globe.

Countries and Parts of the Globe.	Number of Acres.	Area in square miles.	Number of Inhabitants.	Persons to the square mile.	Acres to each Person.
Russian Tartary . .	1,952,000,000	3,050,000	3,000,000	1	651
Independent Tartary .	384,000,000	600,000	3,000,000	5	128
Chinese Tartary . .	531,200,000	830,000	8,000,000	9½	66
China Proper . . .	832,000,000	1,300,000	160,000,000	123	5 1-25
Indo-China	192,000,000	300,000	9,000,000	30	21
Japan Islands . . .	88,320,000	138,000	17,000,000	123	5
Indian Islands . . .	321,920,000	503,000	15,000,000	30	21
Birman Empire . . .	286,720,000	448,000	18,000,000	41	16
Hindoostan	714,240,000	1,116,000	110,000,000	100	6
Persia and Afghanistan	512,000,000	800,000	14,000,000	18	39
Turkey in Asia . . .	294,400,000	460,000	12,000,000	26	24
Palestine	5,120,000	8,000	200,000	25	25½
Arabia	448,000,000	700,000	3,500,000	5	127
Asia—Total . . .	6,521,920,000	10,253,000	372,700,000	37	18
Egypt	92,688,000	141,700	2,500,000	18	37
Ditto (cultivated part)	10,752,000	16,800	2,500,000	150	4
Abyssinia	256,000,000	400,000	7,000,000	18	36
S.W. and Central Africa	4,352,000,000	6,800,000	34,000,000	5	128
African Islands . . .	128,000,000	200,000	4,000,000	20	32
Barbary	357,632,000	558,800	15,000,000	27	24
Africa—Total . .	5,186,320,000	8,100,500	62,500,000	8	83
Turkey in Europe . .	139,472,000	202,300	12,000,000	60	12
Italy	75,520,000	118,000	20,000,000	170	4
Spanish Peninsula . .	116,480,000	182,000	14,600,000	80	8
France	103,040,000	161,000	30,000,000	190	3½
British Islands . . .	71,264,027	111,363	21,200,000	191	3½
Netherlands, &c. . .	22,400,000	35,000	7,000,000	201	3
Switzerland	11,955,200	18,680	1,800,000	100	6½
Germany	179,200,000	280,000	40,000,000	150	4½
Russia in Europe . .	1,152,000,000	1,800,000	52,000,000	29	22
Scandinavia	245,120,000	383,000	6,000,000	16	41
Europe—Total . .	2,105,096,027	3,271,663	204,600,000	63	10 1-20
Northern America . .	1,072,960,000	1,676,500	140,000	0 1-12	7620
British North America	1,600,000,000	2,500,000	600,000	0¼	2700
United States . . .	1,280,320,000	2,000,500	10,500,000	5	123
Mexico and Guatimala	711,040,000	1,111,000	8,500,000	8	84
West India Islands . .	64,000,000	100,000	2,500,000	25	26
Columbia and Quito . .	704,000,000	1,100,000	2,800,000	2½	252
Peru	317,760,000	496,500	1,400,000	3	227
Chili	109,760,000	171,500	1,100,000	6½	100
Buenos Ayres	973,440,000	1,521,000	2,300,000	1¾	423
Brazil	1,920,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000	1¼	480
Southern America . .	352,000,000	550,000	1,400,000	2½	252
America—Total . .	9,105,280,000	14,227,000	35,240,000	2½	251
Polynesia	2,688,000,000	4,200,000	8,400,000	2	320
Grand Total . . .	25,606,616,027	40,052,163	683,440,000	17	37

The extensive region, called Siberia, or Russian Tartary, is very thinly peopled. The Russian records attribute to it little more than two millions of inhabitants; but, as many wandering tribes and isolated societies are not comprised in these, we are authorized to raise the population to three millions, which, compared to the area, gives the ratio of *one inhabitant to the square mile*, being *six hundred and fifty acres to each person*. We shall find hereafter that *this proportion is about the common standard of the pastoral state*.

Independent Tartary has always been the haunt of barbarian hordes. Driven from the East by other wanderers, they accumulated in these regions, till necessity compelled them to become the invaders of neighbouring countries, into which they penetrated and which they successively occupied.

The Arabians, at an early period, exchanging, to a considerable extent, their pastoral state for a more sedentary life, their present barren country displayed, in several districts, lines of the most delightful gardens, which became very populous and thickly inhabited: but, since their retrogression to the nomadic state, these beautiful spots have been overspread by the sands of the desert, or have been converted into a wild range of unproductive pasturage. Recent travellers assign to this country only three millions of semi-barbarous inhabitants, who are in the proportion of five persons to a square mile, being 123 acres for each individual.

Chinese Tartary is tolerably populous, particularly in Manchou, Thibet, and Little Bocharia. The pastoral state prevails only in Mangolia and the great Desert of Cobi. In computing the whole together, we find about ten persons to the square mile. At the rate of sixty-six acres to each individual, there are 8 millions of inhabitants.

The numerous estimates respecting the population of China vary from fifty millions to the mystical number of three hundred and thirty-three. The great imperial map of the Celestial Empire, published in the year 1790, fixes, however, the population of China Proper at 143 millions of taxable persons, to whom may be added 7 millions of untaxable inhabitants. These will make, altogether, 150 millions of persons, or (as the Chinese records express it) of *mouths*; for such is the phraseology used, in place of our customary enumeration of the number of *souls* comprised in a census of the people. Some very late accounts make the number more than 350 millions; but taking it at the lowest amount, and adding 10 millions more for the islands in the Chinese Seas and the Peninsula of Corea, which gives, together, the ratio of 123 inhabitants to a square mile, or a little more than 5 acres to each person, the population of China will be found to be inferior to that of many European states, inferior to that of Germany, and even to that of Modern Egypt.

We shall see hereafter that this country, whose agricultural produce for the support of human life is almost exclusively rice, is capable of maintaining not only the high population which has been heretofore ascribed to it, but one still more numerous; nor would its inhabitants live in the continual dread of famine,

or of pestilence, more commonly the attendants of ill-peopled and ill-cultivated countries, rather than of those supporting a dense and industrious population.

The want of statistical accounts supplying details of the population of the Indo-Chinese kingdoms of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Laos, and Cambodia, will oblige us to assume for them a ratio similar to that of the Indian Islands in their neighbourhood. This rate being known to be that of thirty persons to the square mile, or twenty-one acres to each individual, would give a population of nine millions for those dependencies.

The population of the Japanese islands has been the subject of much diversity of opinion; but, as no country resembles China so much in its political institutions and the manners and habits of its people, as those Islands, to none can we more satisfactorily apply that proximate proportion suggested by strong points of analogy in the social features and characters of a similar people. The same proportionate number of inhabitants to the square mile, or of acres to each individual, as that of China, would fix seventeen millions as the population of Japan.

With regard to the Indian Archipelago, the Dutch reports having stated, on some few satisfactory data, the number of inhabitants on some of the islands, these statements, with proper allowances, will serve for the whole. Thus we are enabled to establish throughout these islands, collectively, the proportion of thirty persons to a square mile, or twenty-one acres to each inhabitant. This will give the number of fifteen millions of souls for the whole Indian Archipelago.

The Birman empire is more thickly inhabited. Recent facts, derived from the social condition of its people, would determine us to fix the proportion at forty-one persons to the square mile, or at sixteen acres to each inhabitant,—giving a numerical population of eighteen millions of souls.

Hindoostan is stated to possess one hundred millions of Hindoos, and ten millions of Mohammedans, or 100 persons to the square mile, being at the rate of six acres to each individual;—a slender allotment for such a rich and fertile country, being only the same proportion as that presented by the census of the mountainous district of Switzerland.

In Persia, Candahar, and Afghanistan, arid deserts, increasing with the decrease of the population, thinned by a long succession of disturbing causes, exhibit a proportion which reduces its inhabitants to eighteen persons in the square mile; being an allowance of thirty-nine acres to each person, or a total of fourteen millions of souls.

Turkey in Asia, a country the long-continued prey of the worst possible Government, possesses about the same proportions as Persia, in its eastern provinces; but towards the west, particularly in Anatolia, it is much more populous. The accounts which recommend themselves by the most approved authority, give to the whole a population

of about twelve millions, or twenty-six persons to a square mile, being twenty-four acres to each inhabitant.

Palestine, from one of the most populous countries in the world, has been reduced to the same low proportion,—an aggregate of only about two hundred thousand inhabitants.

We should be led to reduce Arabia to the rate of the pastoral condition of society, if its sandy region, surrounded by a fertile border, and gemmed with a few green oases, in which are some towns and many sedentary tribes, did not, according to the best authorities, compel us to fix the number of inhabitants at the rate of five persons to the square mile.

Thus we find in all Asia a population of about three hundred and seventy-two millions and a half of souls, being thirty-seven persons to the square mile, or eighteen acres to each inhabitant.

In Africa, beginning with Egypt, we find a country, comprising a valley of the greatest fertility, compressed between arid and parched deserts,—presenting for the whole area a proportion of about eighteen persons to the square mile; being, in all, a population of about two millions and a half. If, however, we direct our attention to the habitable and cultivated parts exclusively, the ratio will be found to be 150 inhabitants to the square mile, giving the sum of four acres to each individual,—a rate superior to the best peopled countries of Asia, but greatly inferior to that of its ancient populousness.

Abyssinia, with its immense mountains and fertile valleys, has a mixed population of Christians and barbarians; but it cannot be estimated higher than eighteen persons to the square mile, or thirty-six acres to each individual. The result of this calculation will give about seven millions of inhabitants.

No part of the world resembles Arabia so much as the Southern, Western, and Central regions of Africa, taken collectively. This resemblance, added to some partial statements, will determine the adoption of the same ratio of five persons to the square mile, or 123 acres to each inhabitant, giving a supposititious populations of thirty-four millions.

The African islands, far better known to us and much more densely peopled than the continent, have been estimated to possess four millions of inhabitants, or twenty persons to the square mile; being at the rate of thirty-two acres to each individual.

In the States of Barbary, the most probable relations have assigned, at this present time, to the stretch of shore understood by this peculiar appellation, fifteen millions of inhabitants, being twenty-seven persons to the square mile, or an allowance of twenty-four acres to each person; a result which gives only half the number of inhabitants that peopled the same countries when under the dominion of the Romans.

By these estimates, the whole of Africa would seem to possess a population of sixty-two millions and a half. Eight persons would,

therefore, be the average to the square mile, or eighty-three acres the allotment for each individual ;—a very scanty proportion, not attributable to the aridity of the soil only, since large tracts are extremely fertile, but to the barbarism of the inhabitants, and the waste of life created by the slave-trade.

The population of Turkey in Europe is generally estimated at twelve millions. This would give the proportion of sixty inhabitants to a square mile, being twelve acres for each person,—a very depopulated condition for one of the finest countries in the world, anciently embellished with splendid cities, and inhabited by the most intelligent race of the then known families of the earth.

Contrary to what we perceive to be the result in regard to Greece, modern Italy possesses a higher rate of population than in the most prosperous period of the Roman empire. In the time of Pliny it was stated to contain fourteen millions of souls : it has now reached the number of twenty millions of inhabitants, which would be 170 persons to the square mile, or four acres to each individual.

The Spanish Peninsula is computed to contain fourteen millions and a half of inhabitants ; that is, eighty persons to the square mile, or eight acres for the subsistence of each. Under the Moors, the population of Spain was double the present amount, it being then one of the most industrious and civilised countries of the middle ages.

France has attained a population of thirty millions of souls, being 190 persons to the square mile, or three and a half acres to each inhabitant. The increase, however, was very slow ; since, in the time of Cæsar, there were at least six millions of souls in Gaul.

Great Britain and Ireland possess collectively higher proportions, with a population of upwards of twenty-one millions ; but individually, we shall perceive by some after analyses, that England and Ireland have acquired a higher rate, a rate even greater than that of the Netherlands and Belgic-Prussia, with their 201 inhabitants to the square mile, or three acres to each person,—proportions produced by a population of seven millions in a territorial space comparatively extremely limited in its dimensions.

The number of inhabitants in Switzerland is not so great by half, since it does not reach two millions, with 100 persons to the square mile, or six and a half acres to each individual.

The whole of Germany is peopled by about forty millions of souls, the ratio being 150 persons to the square mile, or four and a half acres to each inhabitant.

Russia in Europe is so thinly inhabited, that, with a population of fifty-two millions, there is scarcely the proportion of twenty-nine persons to the square mile, being but one individual to twenty-two acres.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, considered collectively, are yet more thinly inhabited : with a population of six millions, the ratio is

reduced to sixteen persons to the square mile, or one individual to forty-one acres.

According to the foregoing analysis, the whole population of Europe will be found to be two hundred and four millions and a half; sixty-three persons being assigned to the square mile, or a little more than ten acres being apportioned to each inhabitant,—a much more compact population than that found in Asia at this present, or perhaps at any previous, time, and the most dense ratio of any of the *five parts of the globe*.

Northern America is reduced to the lowest ratio of human society. Computed at a rate twelve times less than that of the pastoral state, it may serve as the standard of savage life, a condition of society which predominates over the whole extent of that part of the American continent. On this basis, the fractional calculus of one-twelfth part of an individual may be allowed to the square mile, or 7,620 acres apportioned to each person. This would give a population of 140,000 savages,—an estimate probably not far from the truth.

British North America contains a population of about 600,000 souls, being one-fourth of an individual to the square mile, or 2,700 acres to each inhabitant.

The fast increasing population of the United States, exceeding at the present time ten millions and a half of inhabitants, has not yet surpassed in its proportion to the territorial extent the low rate of Africa and Arabia, since there are only five persons to the square mile, or one inhabitant for the subsistence afforded by 123 acres.

In the new republics of Mexico and Guatemala, the number of inhabitants has been asserted to be eight millions and a half. The ratio to the area would be eight persons to the square mile, or eighty-four acres to each individual.

The West India Islands, which, according to the early Spanish historians, swarmed with population, still possess a greater share of inhabitants than an equal extent of territory in the southern division of the American continent, containing two millions and a half of inhabitants: they present a rate of twenty-five persons to the square mile, or a division of twenty-six acres to each individual.

In South America, the independant States of Columbia and Quito, with a population of two millions eight hundred thousand souls, have, over the wide extent of surface comprised in these territories, only a fraction more than two inhabitants to the square mile, being one person to 252 acres.

Peru possesses nearly one million and a half of inhabitants: this would be three persons to a square mile, or 227 acres for each individual.

Chili has a population of 1,100,000 souls; being six persons to the square mile, or 100 acres for every individual within its territory.

The number of inhabitants in the States of La Plata, or Buenos

Ayres being 2,300,000, would present the ratio of less than two persons to the square mile, or 423 acres for every individual.

The empire of Brazil has four millions of souls ; which would be one and one-fourth person to the square mile, or about one individual to 480 acres.

The population of the other parts of South America taken collectively, as Paraguay and the southern territories of the Continent, may be computed at the rate of two and a half persons to the square mile, or 252 acres to each inhabitant ; the result being an aggregate of 1,400,000 souls.

According to the foregoing statements, the whole Continent of America, to the north and south, presents an aggregate of thirty-five millions of inhabitants ; the proportion to the area being as two and a half persons to the square mile, or about 251 acres for the subsistence of each individual. The result of this review is, that the new Continent is by far more thinly inhabited than the Old World. Its native Indians, in their habits of social life, are still under the influence of the severities and privations incident to the condition of their state of savage existence ; but, placed amid regions the most diversified in climate, amid plains and mountains and valleys inexhaustibly fertile, wandering in a country replenished by magnificent streams and mighty lakes, and commanding never-failing resources for the industry of a dense population, what a theatre does it lay open for the propagation of the species, and for the improvement and civilization of man !

It is very difficult to ascertain the area, and still more difficult to collect the multiplicity of details, by which alone the population of the innumerable islands comprised under the designation of Polynesia can be estimated. In such an intricate task there is only one method of proceeding in the inquiry, and that is by approximation. First, having determined from geographical data the extent of New Holland and the great islands, by making allowances for the small ones, we obtain an area for the comparison of the whole. Secondly, collecting the numerous relations of these detached spots, irreconcilable as they may seem one with the other, we acquire certain characteristic facts respecting the population, by which to determine their social condition. By these it would appear that the small islands are proportionally the most populous ; the larger ones, New Holland in particular, being but very thinly inhabited. After mature consideration, we shall be led to form this conclusion, that these scattered isles, taken collectively, are not better peopled than the States of Columbia or Buenos Ayres. Fixing, then, the proportion between the superficial area and the population, at the rate of two inhabitants to the square mile, or at 320 acres for each person, the result would present a population of 8,000,000 of souls for Polynesia.

In summing up the whole of the preceding details, we arrive at these statistical facts :—That, diffused over the terrestrial globe, there are twenty-five thousand and a half millions of acres of land ; that there are forty millions of square miles, and six hundred and eighty-

three millions and a half of inhabitants; being only seventeen persons to the square mile, or one individual to thirty-seven acres: *That the abundance of the land assigned to each person is indicative of the penury of the people, in any given district of the world; but the abundance of inhabitants comprised within a definite portion of the earth's surface is a sure test of the opulence of the country.*

These are the theorems deduced from comparative estimates of the surface and population of the various countries of the earth. These primary ideas will be extended and exemplified more at large by simple but conclusive facts, in more detailed statements, to be presented hereafter. In the present analysis we shall just remark, that seventeen inhabitants are a small proportion for a square mile of cultivable land. The fact, that so minute a number occupy so great an extent of productive space, would lead us to conclude, that, though population be generally on the increase, and though, in all probability, the aggregate results are at this present time the highest hitherto known, the present period exhibits but *the infancy of the human race*; 'for we are but of yesterday.'

THE RETROSPECTIVE TRAVELLER.

EXCURSIONS IN THE ENVIRONS OF SMYRNA—GREEK RELIGION AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

THE multiplicity of objects which crowd themselves all at once on the attention of the traveller, who for the first time sets his foot on a new continent, is often painful; but when, added to the novelty of the quarter of the globe visited, he makes his first entry into it by a city like Smyrna, where every thing is so dissimilar to that which he has been accustomed to see and hear in his native land, he is bewildered, and cannot for a long period either classify the objects to which he desires to direct his attention, or condense and arrange the impressions which these make on his judgment or imagination. In such cases, his materials for observation will be necessarily unconnected, except as to the successive order of time in which they may have been collected; and it will not be until after a residence of some time in the city or country which forms the scene of his researches, that he will be able to arrive at those sound conclusions which mark the philosophic pages of such a writer as Volney. Nevertheless, there is much even in the scattered and disjointed observations of the traveller's diary worth preserving in its original form; with all its character of first impressions, rude, perhaps, in their manner of being committed to paper, but vivid and more true to nature than any subsequent *on re-touching* can make them. They form, indeed, the evidences

which the subsequent summing-up is to be formed; and on that ground they may be quite as acceptable to those who like to accompany the traveller, step by step, in his wanderings, as the conclusions to which they lead may be important to those who seek only results, without stopping to examine the stages by which they have been attained. With this explanation, the narrative of these papers is continued from the last.

Wishing to enjoy as much as possible of the country air and scenery after our late voyage by sea, I did not remain a day in Smyrna before my wishes were anticipated, by an invitation to join a party of residents in an excursion to a village named Sedikuey, about ten miles from the city, which I eagerly accepted; and on the morning after my arrival in the harbour, found myself buried in the most agreeable country retreat.

Sedikuey is a Turkish name, and, literally translated, is said to mean "The Village of Love." It is certainly in a situation where Nature furnishes every aid to the indulgence of that passion. Seated on the declivity of a grand amphitheatre of hills, and having before it a widely-extended plain, it enjoys the delicious freshness of the sea-breeze from the Bay of Smýrna, and the scenery, from every point of view, is grand and interesting. In the course of our walk we halted at the "Fountain of Sighs," a neat little structure, built by some pious Musulman for the accommodation of Mohammedan travellers, but acquiring its present name from its having been the scene of some romantic love affair. It is embowered amidst a cluster of plane-trees, in a most sequestered spot, and affords an agreeable and refreshing shade and coolness. After resting a few minutes, and tasting its waters, we ascended the mountain, from whence we enjoyed one of the finest prospects, both in beauty and extent, that could possibly fill the eye. An immense plain, extending upwards of fifty miles, unbroken even by a hillock, covered with luxuriant vegetation, a serene atmosphere and cloudless sky, with the balmy softness of the surrounding air, impressed us with an idea that Nature had formed this beautiful spot for purposes of the purest enjoyment, while the stupendous masses of rocky mountains that skirted the outline of the picture, left us in doubt whether most to admire the grandeur or the beauty of her productions.

After an early dinner, which is the universal custom here, we rode to a Turkish village about two miles distant from Sedikuey, inhabited chiefly by farmers and peasantry. Nothing could present a more complete picture of filth, indolence, and poverty. The houses, or rather huts, were invariably of one room only, built of mud walls, and flat roofed, without even door or window, having an open entrance, and openings in the walls only, without any shutters. On the inside was neither table, chair, nor stool, the floor serving them for seats, beds, and all other purposes. The inhabitants appeared squalid and miserable; and while the children were rolling in dirt, and the wife sitting enveloped in her mahramah, the husband puffed away his cares in supreme indolence. Nothing about their farms evinced the slightest

approach to good husbandry, but every thing bore the stamp of neglect and barbarism.

To avoid the heat of the sun, (which was now, in the middle of August, very considerable) we mounted our horses at day-break for our return to Smyrna. On the road we overtook several trains of camels, which, in travelling, are fastened to each other, and form an extended line. They are animals admirably calculated for the climate and country, and, though possessing no individual claim to beauty, form a highly characteristic ornament to Turkish scenery. About midway between Sedikuey and Smyrna, on the summit of a hill, we passed through the broken arches of a ruined aqueduct, apparently of high antiquity, built in alternate layers of stone and Roman tiles, the pipes still in great perfection.

Shortly after passing this aqueduct, we arrived opposite to the mountain at the foot of which Smyrna stands. It was the Mount Pagus of the ancients. Although the city, from demolition by war and earthquakes, has frequently changed its site, yet, in the remotest period, this hill seems to have been connected with it through all its changes, and to have formed the Acropolis. After so many ages, it now consists of an embattled wall, with many towers, square and angular, enclosing about seven acres. From hence we possessed an excellent view of it, and it appeared yet in good preservation. There are, as appendages of great castles on the Gothic model, the ruins of a chapel, and a large arched cistern: nor does it appear that the inside space was ever built on, but used as a camp, when so manfully defended by the Knights of Rhodes. The present castle was put into a complete state of defence, if not wholly rebuilt by them, after having been destroyed by Tamerlane in 1419. Sultan Morâd dismantled it, and it was finally restored by John Angelus Comnenus, who was a great benefactor to the city. The head of the northern gate is of white marble, sculptured with an inscription round the arch relative to the restoration of the city by the Emperor John Angelus Comnenus and his Empress Helena. On one side of the west gate is a colossal head, concerning which most travellers have offered a conjecture. It has been called a Sphinx, the Amazon Smyrna, and the Empress Helena. The western declivity has vestiges of the stadium, and the northern of the theatre.

Upon the middle space of Mount Pagus the ruins of a temple were lately discovered, the dimensions of which were fifty feet by twenty-seven within the wall. The stadium, when taken to pieces to build a khan, was 540 feet long, and the diameter of the circular end 288 feet, 120 of which were occupied by the arena, and the remainder by the subsellia. The vaults for savage animals were then discoverable; and legends report that it was here St. Polycarp was torn to pieces by wild beasts.

As we descended the hill, the rich valley underneath us, covered with Turkish gardens, presented a most luxuriant scene. It contains the *Meles*, the rivulet sacred to Homer, whose scanty stream is scarcely perceptible. In the Ambra of Politian is an elegant passage,

describing the birth of the poet on its banks. The claims of Smyrna to the honour of having given him birth, are not, however, well substantiated, though certain it is that the Smyrneans considered him as their own, and were particularly jealous of that fame. They erected his statue; they cultivated the science of rhetoric in his temple; and they impressed, as a vehicle of the greatest notoriety, and the highest testimony of their respect, his portrait upon their current coins.

The entrance into Smyrna is through very spacious cemeteries and luxuriant cypress groves, the trees of which are in the richest state of foliage, and not less than fifty feet high. The surrounding cemeteries have a very singular appearance, and the cypress-groves afford a melancholy shade, which is quite in unison with the general character of the scene.

Passing the cemetery, we overtook a party of Turkish women, who had been paying their early visits to the graves of deceased friends. Their figures were not good, and their gait extremely awkward: Their faces were so completely enveloped in mahramâhs as to prevent our seeing a feature, except the eyes, which were sparkling and vivacious, and as we gazed upon them with eager curiosity, they turned aside to avoid being closely observed. The mahramâh is formed by two pieces of muslin, one of which is tied under the chin, enveloping the head, and the other across the mouth and half the nose, admitting space enough for sight. The dress is of very ancient invention, calculated for the concealment of the person; nor can there be a more complete disguise. They were attended by black female slaves.

No people exceed the Turks in those religious observances by which the memory of deceased friends is continued and honoured. To frequent the grave of a parent or beloved relative, to offer expiatory prayers, or to mourn in silence for a long time after their death, is a duty which a good Musulman never neglects, and which he cannot perform by proxy.

In the cemeteries, the humbler graves are marked by cypresses planted at the head and feet, from which custom extensive groves have grown up in every possible stage of vegetation. Others are distinguished by upright stones, carved, for men, with a turban denoting their rank or occupation during life; and for women, with a plain round top. Inscriptions, containing the name and age, and some appropriate verses, are likewise embossed with raised letters, gilded and contrasted by a black or green ground very delicately wrought. Between some of these a chest of ornamented stone is placed, and filled with earth, in which the choicest aromatic flowers and herbs are planted, and regularly cultivated by the females of the family, who assemble in groups for that duty. This mark of respect is more generally shown to the young of either sex who die unmarried. It is of the highest antiquity amongst both polished and rude nations, and none can be more elegant and appropriate.

On the 25th of August, another opportunity presenting itself of visiting one of the numerous villages in the neighbourhood of Smyrna,

chiefly inhabited by Europeans, who have their country houses there, I joined a party for that purpose, and proceeded early to Boodjah, a village, which is rather larger, and in many respects superior, to that of Sedikuey. Situated in a fine plain, encompassed by vast chains of mountains, it receives from their passes refreshing currents of air, that moderate the sultry heats of an Asiatic summer. The houses are about two hundred in number, neatly built of light materials, with excellent gardens attached to them, and are principally occupied by Frank or European families. Boodjah is the country residence of the British Consul, the Levant Company's Chaplain, and most of the British merchants of Smyrna, and being at the convenient distance of about five miles from town, it forms a desirable retreat.

In the afternoon we made an excursion to some aqueducts in the neighbourhood, and at five, reached the romantic spot called, with much propriety, the Lesser Paradise. It is a deep vale, caused by a seemingly abrupt separation of the earth, the hill on each side being formed of immense rocks heaped on each other; the interstices of which are filled with rich earth, and exhibit a luxuriance of vegetation amidst apparent sterility. Through the vale flows a broad transparent stream, whose course is in some places impeded by huge masses of stone, while in others it flows tranquilly along, exhibiting all the miniature variety of the limpid rill and foaming cataract. Across this vale, to convey water from the summit of one hill to the summit of another, are erected two fine aqueducts. One of them is evidently ancient, though in a good state at present, and romantically overgrown with ivy. It is about seventy feet high, three hundred and fifty feet in length, and contains arches above and below, some circular and others elliptical; the latter of which are conjectured to be Turkish additions. Its stream is now used to turn a corn-mill above it, on the brow of the hill; and the former channel of its waters across the top of the aqueduct being at present dry, we walked over it to the opposite hill. The other aqueduct is about three hundred yards distant from the former; is sixty feet high, two hundred feet across, and has seven arches above and two below. This is of very modern date, said to have been built in 1674, is in a high state of perfection, and now in use, the channel for the water on the top being arched over with neat masonry. The surrounding scenery was rich in the extreme, and the effect of the aqueducts such as to give a superior degree of interest to the picture.

On the following day, we returned again to Smyrna, and on the 27th of August made another excursion to a larger village in the environs of the city, and in a different direction from the former ones. Our party first went by water to the head of the Bay of Smyrna, calling at the Careenage on our passage; and having horses waiting, which had been sent round by land, we rode from thence to the village of Bournabat, to witness a great religious festival of the Greeks, in which honours to the Virgin bear a conspicuous part.

Alighting at the house of a retired Armenian broker, we proceeded to the Greek church. The crowd of Franks who had come hither

from Smyrna to witness the festivities of the day was immense, and literally lined every avenue to the church; we were, therefore, disappointed in our expectations of getting in, and were content to amuse ourselves with the grotesque figures that were returning from thence, in dresses that defy description, all extremely gaudy, loaded with a profusion of necklaces, ear-rings, and bracelets; and many of the females with their hair flowing on their shoulders, full of gold thread intermixed. They had been to pay their early adoration to the Virgin, that they might with quiet consciences devote the remainder of the day to pleasure. The Greek religion minutely resembles the Roman Catholic in most of its doctrines and ceremonies, although they express the greatest contempt for those who embrace that faith; a disposition arising wholly from their ignorance of the difference.

The separation of the Eastern churches from that of Rome, and the animosities which subsisted between them for many ages, are not to be ascribed to their early difference in opinion concerning the observance of certain festivals, nor even to the important subjects of dispute which gave rise to the Arian heresy; they are rather to be referred to that period when Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, and by augmenting the dignity of the latter see, rendered it formidable to the authority of the Roman Pontiff. In the second general council, the Bishop of Constantinople was allowed to sit next to the successor of St. Peter; and, by the 28th canon of the synod of Chalcedon, he was permitted to enjoy an equal rank. No small resistance was made to these encroachments, but the Emperors of the East were strenuous to assert the privileges of the new city, and by the preponderance of their authority confirmed all its pretensions. The flame of resentment, though stifled for a time, broke out with increased fury in the eighth century. A new cause of offence was given by Leo, the Isaurian, in his zeal against images, of which the Roman Pontiff did not fail to take advantage. On this occasion, however, Gregory carried his persecution too far, and from that period the separation may be considered fixed and permanent. The attempts made by Michael Paleologus to allay the fervour of contention were vain. The mutual sacrifices required were unpalatable, both to the Roman and the Constantinopolitan Prelate, so that each remains to this day the centre of a different system.

Considering the state of the Greek clergy, and the want of curiosity which seems to have prevailed in most parts of Europe respecting that church, a genuine account of its articles of faith and doctrines is difficult to be obtained. In consequence, however, of a controversy between the Port Royal and John Claude, the celebrated Protestant minister of Charenton, the religious tenets of the Greeks were scrupulously examined, by which it was ascertained that the doctrines of the Greek church differ but very little from those of Rome.

The doctrine of the Trinity, and the articles of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, are received by the Greeks, in common with other Christians. In one particular, indeed, they differ; they believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only, and not from the

Father and the Son. In the number of its sacraments, the invocation of saints, the belief of the real presence, the practice of auricular confession, and in admitting masses and services for the dead, the Greek church is perfectly consonant to that of Rome. It is asserted, that the doctrines of supererogation, and its consequent indulgences and dispensations, are not adopted by the Greeks; but notwithstanding this and other less important peculiarities, it is evident from the most authentic documents that the creeds of Rome and Constantinople are not materially different.

Those Greeks who profess the Roman Catholic faith are invariably descendants of proselytes originally made by the Genoese or Venetians, to whom the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago were subject, and who receive it as an hereditary religion.

It seems to be the general opinion of writers on this subject, that nothing, excepting the dread of excommunication, operates more powerfully in restraining the Greeks within the pale of their own church, and preventing their apostacy to the religion of the Romanists or Turks, than a rigorous observation of rites and ceremonies. By their ecclesiastical ordinances, they are required to attend the service of the church on the Sabbath, and on all fasts and festivals, not only such as are usual, but such as are particularly appointed, and those are equally if not more numerous than the latter.

They administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper to infants newly born; and in the place of confirmation they substitute the chrism or sacred unction, being a part or appendage of the baptismal ceremony. Marriage is by them called the marriage coronation, from the crowns or garlands with which the parties are decorated. The sacrament of the holy oil, or euchalaion, is not confined, as the extreme unction in the Romish church, to the sick and dying, but is given to devout persons on the slightest malady, if required. The lavipedium observed on Holy Thursday, in imitation of our Saviour's humility, differs little from that ceremony as performed by the Pope. On this occasion, Jesus Christ is personified by the Patriarch, and the twelve apostles by as many caloyers, when a ludicrous contest arises who shall be the representative of Judas, as the name attaches for life.

The service of the Greek church, like that of Rome at present, and that of all other churches before the Reformation, is principally choral. Their canons and antiphonies are hymns, or portions of scripture set to music, first recited by the minister, and then chaunted by the choir, but without musical instruments, which are not admitted in accompaniment.

They admit pictures into their churches, not merely as ornamental, but as indispensable in the ceremonials of their religion. They are usually attached to the skreen which secretes the chancel, and from thence receive the name of Iconostas. In the arguments advanced by Greek theologists in defence of this preference of painting to sculpture, there appears to be little solidity. They consider themselves as secure under the authority of St. John Damascenus.

The sacerdotal habits are not less various, splendid, and costly than those of the Romish church, being made of rich silk or velvet, embroidered with gold or silver; and in the emblematical and mystical properties attributed to clerical vestments, they rival the barbarism of the monkish ages in the obstinacy of their superstition.

All orders of the Greek church, inferior to bishops, are permitted to marry. The married papas, or priests, wear a fillet of white muslin round their bonnet of black felt, and long beards universally, and are never promoted to a higher dignity than that of proto-papas of the church in which they serve. Celibacy and monastic habits are indispensably necessary in those who are candidates for the mitre.

The obsequies of the bishops are performed with various ceremonies, one of which is exposing of the corpse several nights in a church, dressed completely in the pontifical vestments. In Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, when a papas dies, if his wife vow a perpetual widowhood, he is, by way of particular compliment, borne sitting upright to his grave. One who had married a most lovely woman, and enjoyed a singular degree of conjugal happiness, dropped down in a fit of apoplexy, and was hurried to his grave a few hours after. Previous to this ceremony, his wife was asked whether she would renounce all future connexions, that the deceased might have the honour of an episcopal funeral, which she declined. As he was carried through the streets, he suddenly came to life; and, on re-entering his own doors, he gave his unexpected wife demonstrative proofs of his resuscitation, by a severe beating!

The revenues of the church afford the clergy but slender salaries. A certain contribution is annually made amongst the devout Greeks, to maintain votaries in their pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, yet such as is insufficient to defray the whole expense to each individual, who makes up the deficiency. Both sexes perform these pilgrimages. The men are distinguished by the name of 'hadjè,' as amongst the Turks, and they bring back likewise a piece of sacred cloth for their own sepulture. The pilgrimage of the Turks to Mecca, of the Armenians to Ekmiasin, and of the Greeks to Jerusalem, have both in their conduct and consequences a very near analogy.

After being much gratified with the novelty of a scene that exhibited an eternal variety of persons, dresses, attitudes, and figures, we breakfasted with a Levantine family, and took a morning stroll through the village.

The situation of Bournabât, in the centre of a beautifully fertile valley, and at the head of Smyrna Bay, commanding an extensive view of all the town and harbour, with the shipping there, is infinitely preferable to that of the other villages in the neighbourhood; in consequence of which so many persons have fixed their country residences here, that it has increased almost to a town,—an inconvenience which overbalances its best attractions. In the course of our ramble we visited the Bazaar. In the centre of a square, pleasantly shaded by trees, was erected a sort of stage, or platform, about two or three feet

from the ground, to which the ascent was by three or four steps. This stage was divided into boxes, each capable of containing a party of about ten in number. The whole stage admitted about fifty of these boxes, each of which was occupied, and with the strangest groups that can possibly be fancied. In one of them were an Armenian and a Jew, playing at backgammon; behind them, a Greek, a Maltese, a Tunisian, and a Frenchman, at whist; two Turks at dice in one corner; and an old white-headed Carmelite friar, stooping over the rail, enjoying their diversion. In the next were Jewish and Armenian brokers conferring gravely on business; behind them, a merry party entertained by a Greek buffoon. Further on, a group of black Mohammedans from Tunis and Algiers, relating their piratical adventures to some wondering Greeks; and adjoining these, ten or twelve green-turbaned Turks, immediate descendants of Mohammed, enjoying the supreme and silent luxury of being buried in clouds of smoke. During our walk through the Bazaar, these last frequently attracted our notice; and from our entrance until our leaving it, which was at least four hours, we did not observe one of them to speak, nor were their attitudes altered a hair's breadth. Every description of person who visits this platform, is obliged to sit cross-legged, like the Turks, who, with their loose trowsers, fold their legs underneath them with great apparent comfort. In their pipes the Turks are extremely particular; the stem must be of jasmín or cherry-tree, with the bark preserved, perfectly free from the least knot or imperfection, straight throughout, and of as great a length as possible; the part for the mouth must be of pure amber, free from flaws, and in the colour of which they are very choice; the bowl to contain the tobacco is manufactured from a fine clay found at the foot of Mount Olympus, and which they cast in moulds, with various ornamental devices, the whole stained of a delicate pink colour. One of these pipes, when complete, will cost from five to ten pounds sterling, and every Turk is provided with pipes for his visitors. Almost all the Europeans have adopted the custom of smoking after the Turkish mode, so that into whatever house you enter, the first thing presented you is a pipe by the master, and coffee by the mistress, or the young lady, if there be one, which it is considered almost an insult not to accept.

From my personal aversion to smoking, it occasioned me some embarrassment at first, and cost me some pains to overcome it, but perseverance succeeded, and I soon learnt to puff against my inclination. Their coffee, too, is extremely unpalatable to a stranger. It is presented in a small cup without a handle, not larger than a wine glass, boiling hot, without milk or sugar, and so thick that you may be said to *eat* rather than to *drink* it. I confess this was more painful to me than the pipe; for the lady who presents it to you generally waiting before you for the return of the cup, politeness induces you to make haste in despatching it, and, unless your throat is fire-proof, politeness is sure to be dearly paid for. It astonished me, however, to see this group of Turks in the Bazaar, when coffee was brought them from an adjoining coffee-house, swallow it down literally boiling, and resume their pipe again with the greatest complacency. One of them,

in particular, an extremely old man, drank a cup nearly every five minutes. His pipe was one of the most luxurious kind; the bowl rested on wheels, that he might roll it with ease at his pleasure; the stem, which was pliable, and formed of white leather, similar to an engine hawse, passed through a glass vessel full of cold rose water, which cooled and perfumed the smoke before it reached his mouth, and a little black slave sat at his feet ready to replenish the tobacco the instant it was expended.

After visiting every part of the village, and seeing much more than is possible to describe, but which afforded me abundant pleasure, we returned to the Armenian broker's to dinner, and passed an hour in walking over his gardens. These were laid out in an excellent manner.

Our dinner consisted of not less than thirty dishes, all of them excellent in their kind; the wines were of the first quality, and the dessert exhibited all the fruits of the season; the clusters of grapes surpassed every thing I had ever seen, and there were peaches on the table which weighed upwards of a pound each, of a peculiar kind, brought from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and, notwithstanding their immensely large size, possessing the richest flavour. Over his pipe, the old gentleman lamented to us the contrast of the times within his remembrance. At the period of the general peace, he described Smyrna as the scene of active commerce, and, at the same time, of the most brilliant gaiety. No jealousies, no party-spirit, operated to destroy the unanimity of different nations, but all distinctions were lost in the general pursuit of pleasure. Balls, concerts, conversaciones succeeded each other with rapidity, and domestic visits filled up the intervals. But since war had again resumed his iron reign, a damp had been thrown on every thing, and not only those public entertainments had been abolished, but party-spirit had diffused distrust and jealousies into private circles, so that the bond of union was completely broken, and the whole face of affairs completely changed.

About an hour after the removal of the cloth, the family dispersed, according to daily custom, each to his separate bed-room, to indulge in sleep. My friend and myself repaired to a superb room which the old Armenian gentleman had fitted up in the Turkish style for festivals and particular entertainments. The ceiling was curiously carved and painted, and from the centre, hung a splendid glass chandelier; the walls were ornamented with landscapes, cascades, and flowers; the floor was covered with a rich Turkey carpet, and, at the door, as mats, were two beautiful Angora goat-skins, dyed of a bright crimson, the hair of which was fine as silk. At the upper end of the room was a recess, to which the ascent was by two steps, and this contained the Turkish sofa, which extended itself all round the wall of the space thus elevated. It is much lower than the English sofa, and the back is composed of a number of pillows, placed so as to form one continued whole. From their being so low, they are uncomfortable to sit on after the English manner, and only adapted for sitting cross-

legged on, or lounging, after the manner of the Turks. On these, however, we enjoyed a luxurious siesta, and at five o'clock dressed for an evening's walk.

The whole of our host's family accompanied us to the public promenade, where were assembled all the beauties of the village. The features of many were agreeable, and fine dark eyes were every where to be seen; but I do not remember to have seen one *beautiful* face, and those that were pretty, were dreadfully disfigured by their grotesque dresses. In a little enclosure by the side of the road, were a party of Greeks dancing; their music was the lyra, a sort of guitar, and a bagpipe, which were played very inharmoniously, and the tune was completely without melody. I tried to retain it in my memory, but found it impossible, for they never played it twice alike. The dance was formed by about twenty men, who interwove their arms around each other's necks, and made the figure of a crescent. Their brown naked legs moved in time to the music; the two ends of this semicircle advanced to meet each other, embraced, and then receded; and so on alternately.

It is astonishing with what different sensations one views a European and an Asiatic crowd. In England, particularly, the sameness of head-dress gives a sombre hue to the picture, while nothing but black hats present themselves to view; but here the endless variety of shape and colour, in the *turban* of the Turk, the *calpack* of the Armenian, and the *capello* of the Greek, with the long flowing robes and sashes of the most brilliant colours, give a richness and beauty to the picture that cannot fail to excite attention and admiration.

After being literally carried about by the crowd for some time, we returned to the bazaar, where we found nearly the same parties as were there in the morning. The green-turbanned Turks had not, I am persuaded, moved from their seats; they had sat smoking for hours, in all the silence of high and sensual enjoyment, and seemed rivetted to the spot.

It was proposed to end the day with a dance, a practice in which persons of all sects here readily unite; but our endeavours to procure music were ineffectual, as every performer in the neighbourhood had been early engaged. At ten, we returned to the Armenian broker's to supper; and were entertained by his performance on a piano-forte, which he kept for his own amusement merely, and, considering it as the effort of a self-taught genius, without the aid of either master or regular study, his skill and even taste, were remarkable. The hilarity and good humour of the family kept us up until the approach of morning.

At day-break, our horses were in readiness, and we started for Smyrna, without having retired to bed, recruited by the delicious freshness of a most delightful Asiatic morning. About two miles from Bournabât, we passed through a Turkish burying-ground, where lay a profusion of broken pillars, fluted columns, shafts, and capitals, some fragments of which displayed specimens of exquisite workmanship;

beside which were huge masses of stone, and other remains of buildings. It is generally believed to be the ruins of ancient Smyrna, whose site is allowed to have been so frequently changed, by earthquakes and other causes, as not to be known now with certainty. Among the columns, I could not avoid observing two remarkable ones, set up at the heads of graves; they were about three feet in diameter, and had circular or spiral flutings, exactly resembling the pillars in the celebrated picture of 'Paul and Barnabas preaching at Lystra,' among the cartoons of Raphael, the only picture in which I remember to have seen such pillars represented.

Our ride to Smyrna was agreeable throughout, and terminated a little after sun-rise.

THE SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATOR.

GENESIS.—CHAP. III.

SUBTILTY OF THE SERPENT—AND UNIVERSALITY OF SERPENT-WORSHIP IN THE EAST.

THIS chapter opens with the following remarkable passage :—"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field." (v. 1.) The cunning of the serpent has been matter of universal observation; and it is conceived that this, as well as its power, obtained for it that homage which has been paid by almost all the nations and people of antiquity. The original meaning of the Hebrew verb from which its name is derived, is 'to observe attentively;' and the term 'a serpent's eye,' was proverbial among the Greeks and Romans, as applied to any one who looked with more than usual penetration into the affairs of others. The fascination exercised by the rattlesnake of the New World is well known; and almost all the varieties of the serpent tribe possess this power in a greater or less degree. The veneration with which the serpent was regarded in ancient Egypt, and with which it is still approached in modern India, is attested by the monuments of both these countries; and it is remarkable, that in almost all the representations of this deified reptile, the figures are erect, though wavy and serpentine, and not in the horizontal or creeping position in which more modern delineations represent them. The poet Milton beautifully combines, in his description of the interview of the serpent with Eve, these three peculiarities,—its subtilty, the erectness of its posture, and its power of charming or fascinating by the eye:—

"So spake the enemy of mankind, inclos'd
In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
Addressed his way;—*not with indented wave,*

*Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
 Circular base of rising folds, that towered
 Fold above fold, a surging maze, his head
 Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes :
 With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect,
 Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
 Floated redundant : pleasing was his shape
 And lovely : never since of serpent kind
 Lovelier ;—not those that in Illyria changed
 Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
 In Epidaurus ; nor to which transformed
 Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline was seen,
 He with Olympias, this with her who bore
 Scipio the height of Rome
 So varied he, and of his tortuous train
 Curled many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
 To lure her eye
 He bolder now, uncalled, before her stood,
 But as in gaze admiring : oft he bowed
 His turret crest, and sleek enamelled neck,
 Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle, dumb, expression turned at length
 The eye of Eve to mark his play : he glad
 Of her attention gained, with serpent tongue
 Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
 His fraudulent temptation thus began :*

*“ Wonder not, sovran mistress, if perhaps
 Thou canst, who art sole wonder : much less arm
 Thy looks, the heaven of mildness, with disdain,
 Displeased that I approach thee thus, and gaze
 Insatiate. I, thus single, nor have feared
 Thy awful brow, more awful thus retired,
 Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
 Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
 By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore,
 With ravishment beheld : there best beheld
 Where universally admired.”**

The simple narrative of the sacred volume is here elaborately but beautifully and naturally expanded ; and amidst the depth of learning which characterizes all his allusions, the poet revels in the images of beauty and of loveliness presented by Eve, and depicts with a force and truth unequalled, the cunning of the serpent, which the sacred historian had characterized as ‘ more subtil than all the beasts of the field, which the Lord God had made.’

It is remarkable that the serpent tribe, while they possessed the power of charming others, were themselves subject to the fascinations of music, and by various arts practised to that end, were made so susceptible of the soothing influences applied, as to become perfectly harmless and submissive. On this subject, the following details will not be deemed uninteresting.

The incantation of serpents is one of the most curious and interesting facts in natural history. This wonderful art, which soothes the

* Paradise Lost, Book ix. lines 494 to 542.

wrath, and disarms the fang of the deadliest snake, and renders it obedient to the charmer's voice, is not an invention of modern times, for we discover manifest traces of it in the most remote antiquity. It is asserted that Orpheus knew how to still the hissing of the approaching snake, and to extinguish the poison of the creeping serpent. The Argonauts are said to have subdued by the power of song, the terrible dragon that guarded the golden fleece. Ovid ascribes the same effect to the soporific influences of certain herbs and magic sentences. It was the custom of others to fascinate the serpent by touching it with the hand. Of this method, Virgil takes notice in the seventh book of the *Eneid*; but it seems to have been the general persuasion of the ancients, that the principal power of the charmer lay in the sweetness of the music: Pliny says, accordingly, that serpents were drawn from their lurking-places by the power of music; and Seneca held the same opinion.

The wonderful effect which music produces on the serpent tribes, is confirmed by the testimony of several respectable moderns: Chardin, in his *Travels in Persia*, remarked that adders swell at the sound of a flute, raising themselves upon the one half of their body, turning themselves round, beating proper time, and following the instrument; their head naturally rounded and long, like an eel, becoming broad and flat, like a fan. Greaves, in his *Travels in Turkey*, says, that the tame serpents, many of which the Orientals keep in their houses, are known to leave their holes in hot weather, at the sound of a musical instrument, and advance towards the performer. Dr. Shaw, the celebrated traveller in Barbary, had an opportunity of seeing a number of serpents keep exact time with the Dervishes in their circulatory dances, running over their head and arms, turning when they turned, and stopping when they stopped. The rattlesnake acknowledges the power of music as much as any of his family, of which the following instance is a decisive proof:—When Chateaubriand was in Canada, a snake of that species entered their encampment. A young Canadian, one of the party, who could play on the flute, to divert his associates, advanced against the serpent with his new species of weapon. The reptile at first prepared to put forth all his strength and venom in an hostile attack: but the moment the flute was played, he started with surprize, drew back his head, and overcome by the magical effect of the sounds, he gradually lost all his fierceness, and sunk into an attitude of repose, attention, and pleasure. When the musician moved, the serpent crept slowly after him; when he halted, the serpent also arrested his motion: and in this manner he was ultimately beguiled out of the camp, to the astonishment of a great number of the spectators, including both Indians and Europeans, who could scarcely believe the testimony of their own eyes, when they beheld this wonderful effect of music on the most formidable of the serpent tribe.

It is the same in Africa. The serpent most common in Egypt is of a poisonous kind: and when they enter houses, the serpent charmers are sent for, who, by certain recitations, by music, and by

other charms, draw them out of their lurking holes. Mr. Brown, the African traveller, saw three serpents enticed out of the cabin of a ship lying near the shore, which were taken up by the charmer, and put into a bag. During his stay in Cairo, he saw several of those fascinated reptiles twist round the bodies of these charmers, in all directions, without having had their fangs extracted, or broken, and without doing them any harm. These serpents will indeed twist themselves round the necks and naked bodies of the children of the charmers without doing them the least injury. But, if any person who is ignorant of the art by which their enmity is subdued, should venture to approach them their destructive powers immediately revive. At Surat in India, an Armenian seeing one of these Indian charmers make a serpent bite him without receiving any other injury than the mere incision, boasted that he could do the same: but after causing himself to be wounded in the hand, he died in less than two hours after receiving the bite.

There are some serpents, however, on which these charms seem to have no power; and it appears, from the Scriptures, that the adder sometimes takes precautions to *prevent* the fascination, which he sees preparing for him: for the deaf adder shutteth her ear, and will not hear the voice of the most skilful charmer, (Psalm lviii. v. 5, 6.) The method is said to be this:—The reptile lays one ear close to the ground, and with his tail covers the other, so that he cannot hear the sound of the music: or he repels the incantation, by hissing violently. The same allusion is involved in the words of Solomon: “Surely the serpent will bite *without enchantment*, and a babbler is no better,” (Ecclesiastes c. x. v. 11.) The threatening of the prophet Jeremiah proceeds upon the same fact:—“I will send serpents (cockatrices) among you, *which will not be charmed*, and they shall bite you,” (Jeremiah c. viii. v. 17.) In all these quotations, the sacred writers, while they take it for granted, that many serpents are disarmed by charming, plainly admit that the powers of the charmer are in vain exerted upon others.*

It is impossible to pass over this chapter without adverting to the remarkable coincidences between the traditions of very distant nations respecting the promise made, in the 15th verse, where, after the serpent had been cursed, and doomed for ever after to creep “upon its belly,” implying the previously erect posture represented in all the ancient monuments, and so beautifully described by Milton: it is said that enmity should thenceforth exist between the serpent and the human race; and that the seed of the woman should “bruise the serpent’s head;” and the serpent should bruise the man’s heel.

In the Gothic mythology, for instance, THOR is represented as the first-born of the Supreme God, and is called in the Edda, or sacred book of the Goths, “the eldest of sons; a middle divinity, a mediator between God and man.” He is represented as wrestling with Death,

* Carpenter, Bochart, Paxton, Burder.

and in the struggle, he *bruises the head of the serpent* with his mace; and finally, slays the monster, though he subsequently falls a victim himself.*

In the Hindoo mythology the same tradition is apparent. In one of their oldest pagodas are seen two sculptured figures, one of which represents Krishna, an incarnation of their mediatorial god Vishnu, trampling on the *bruised head* of the serpent: while in the latter, the serpent is seen encircling the deity in its folds, and *biting his heel*.†

When Epaminondas, the Theban general, wished to impress upon the minds of his soldiers that they would destroy the whole power of the enemy, if they would only once break the Spartans who led them on, he accompanied his representations by the act of *bruising the head of a serpent* before them, and then shewing them that the rest of the body was of no force.‡

The final expulsion of our first parents from their abode of primeval happiness in Paradise, and the planting the cherubims at the east of the Garden of Eden with a flaming sword, possesses a degree of awful grandeur, as sublime as it is sorrowful in all its associations. The sacred narrative is touching in its simplicity, and the same poetic inspiration which guided the pen of Milton in his description of the temptation by which Eve was subdued to sin, forsakes him not in those unrivalled passages, in which he describes her sorrow at receiving the dreadful sentence of banishment from Paradise, and the silent grief with which the once happy pair left that Eden of Bliss, endeared to them by every fond recollection that the heart or mind could feel:—

‘ Adam, at the news
Heart-struck, with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
That all his senses bound.—Eve, who unseen,
Yet all had heard, with audible lament,
Discovered soon the place of her retreat.

‘ O! unexpected stroke, worse than of death!
Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
Thee, native soil, these happy walls and shades,
Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hoped to spend
Quiet, tho’ sad, the respite of that day,
That must be mortal to us both. O flowers!
That never will in other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At eve, which I bred up with tender hand,
From the first opening bud, and gave ye names,
Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount?
Thee, lastly, nuptial Bower! by me adorned,
With what to sight or smell was sweet, from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure

* Edda, Fab. 11. 25.

† Maurice’s Hist. of Hindoostan, v. ii. p. 290.

‡ Polyæn Stratag. c. 2.

And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits? *

* * * * *

In either hand, the hastening angel caught
 Our lingering Parents, and to the eastern gate
 Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
 To the subjected plain: then disappeared.

‘They, looking back, all th’ eastern side, beheld
 Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
 Waved over by that flaming brand, the gate
 With dreadful faces thronged, and fiery arms:
 Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon:
 The world was all before them where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
 They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
 Through Eden took their solitary way.’ †

THE LITERARY EXPOSITOR.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.—ITS TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY.

A Summary of the History of the East India Company, from the grant of their first Charter, by Queen Elizabeth, to the present period. By Captain Thornton, R. N., 8vo. pp. 272. Ridgway, London.

THE immediately approaching discussions on the East India Charter have drawn forth a great number of small publications on this subject. The one before us, professing to be a mere compilation of the principal facts connected with the Company's history, can hardly be subject to criticism. As a compilation, it appears to be fairly drawn up, and the authorities are copiously given. Of the conclusions to which the author comes in his closing pages, we cannot speak so favourably. He assumes that the Government of the India Company enjoys “the respect and affection of eighty millions of the natives of India,” which is certainly untrue, and would be the most wonderful of all human things, if it were otherwise, considering the treatment they have received at their hands. He talks of future centuries “shedding their consecrating influence over conquests achieved by the valour” (read usurpation, robbery, and treachery) of Clive and others.” He dreads, lest “the corroding spirit of discontent and innovation” should be “suffered to diminish that respect, and alienate that affec-

* Paradise Lost, Book xi. c. 263 to 285.

† Ibid. Book xi. c. 637 to 649.

tion." He conceives "the too extensive admission of English settlers may prove not less dangerous to the interests of the community than ruinous to the individual adventurers;" and thinks that "a premature clamour for assimilating the institutions of India to those of England would be dangerous in the extreme, exciting the ambition of other powers, to represent that as an *arbitrary* Government, *which is now considered by the Natives as a paternal* one: (let the mission of Ram Rutton Muckerjah to this country for a redress of native grievances, whose memorial we gave in a former number, bear testimony to the falsehood of this :) "to tamper with the *loyalty* of our two hundred and fifty thousand native soldiers," (whom we have seduced from their true allegiance to their own lawful sovereigns, and put arms in their hands to destroy their own countrymen;) "and finally, to wrest from us that empire, which has rendered England the Rome of the present age."

This specimen, of the despotic, the bigotted, and the bombastic—may serve to show our readers what sort of a guide, the author is likely to prove, at the present crisis. We know only of one who surpasses him in extravagance, and we shall cite him as a fit colleague and fellow-labourer in the same cause. This worthy compeer concludes his work with the following remarkable passage.

'No man who has the welfare of his country at heart, and who is unbiassed by party feeling or private interests, can hesitate to award a high palm of merit to the Honourable East India Company, who have, *pari passu*, risen with this country in the scale of nations, by whose instrumentality the British empire has in a great degree been extended over the face of the earth, whose military servants have shed a bright halo of glory wherever the English flag has been unfurled, while their vast territorial conquests have been governed by a splendid array of genius, wisdom, and talent—As was said of the "Eternal city"—*While the Colliseum stood, Rome stood*—so also may it be said—*While the East India Company stands, England stands!* And when the former shall have passed away, the meridian star of the latter will have set—perhaps in a long night of poverty, misery, and crime!'

In the Preface to this Work, the Author says:—'In the publication of well-authenticated documents, the *name* of an author is unnecessary; and a consciousness of its *unimportance* in the present instance is the *sole* reason for its not being intruded on the public.' Now, though we may admit the unimportance of a *name* when *authentic documents* only are given, yet when *extravagant opinions* are put forth, like those we have seen in the paragraph quoted, it is worth while to know *who* are the persons that give them publicity. Be it known, then, to the British Public, that the author of this Work, and of the eulogy on the East India Company with which it concludes, is a Mr. Montgomery Martin, formerly a medical officer in India—who left that country in consequence of some ill-treatment received—who landed at Liverpool about the year 1828 or 1829, at the time when a

* British Relations with the Chinese Empire in 1839. Published by the East India Company's Booksellers, Messrs. Parbury, Allen, and Co.

public meeting was about to be held there on East India Affairs—who appeared at that meeting, and spoke in terms of such censure and contempt of the India Company and its government and affairs, as to require to be stopped from proceeding farther—who subsequently came to London, and edited the East India Magazine, a work opposed to the Company's Monopoly in principle and in detail—and who, after all this, pronounces the opinions given in the paragraph before quoted—and ends the Preface of the Work alluded to by predicting that if the Monopoly of the East India Company should be disturbed, 'England will fall from the stupendous pyramid on which she now sits enthroned, and become the Niobe of nations, weeping for her children, and not to be comforted !'

When a cause is defended by such instruments as these, it is not difficult to anticipate what will be the issue.

THE CANADAS.

Authentic Letters from Upper Canada, with an Account of Canadian Field Sports. By T. W. Magrath, Esq. 12mo. pp. 334. W. Curry, jun. & Co., Dublin.

THIS is a very useful, as well as entertaining, little volume. The authenticity of the information is guaranteed by the dates and signatures of the letters in which it is contained, and the great variety of practical information conveyed in every letter, gives the whole a permanent value. The letters on Field Sports have much of freshness and novelty about them; and the spirited etchings which accompany and illustrate the work, form a very pleasing addition to the materials of information and amusement with which the volume abounds.

THE SHIPPING INTEREST.

Thoughts on the changes which have taken place in the Navigation Laws of England, and their effects on the Shipping Interest: together with Observations on a Trade of Export, and the benefits to be derived by British Ships from the termination of the East India Company's Charter. By Richard Moorsom, Esq. 8vo. pp. 76. Ridgway, London.

THIS is a very excellent pamphlet, and written by a very excellent man. Mr. Moorsom is a gentleman of fortune, residing at Whitby, and himself and the members of his family generally, have for many years been connected with shipping and shipping interests. There is scarcely any person that can be named, perhaps, who is more thoroughly master of this question than Mr. Moorsom; and having read his production, we are free to say that it is in every respect worthy of its author. Mr. Moorsom was a candidate for the representation of Whitby at the last election, but he was most shamefully deserted by many of those who signed the requisition inviting him to stand. We have no doubt, however, that in the next election, his return will be secured; and we should hail his entry into the senate as a valuable addition to the strength of the liberal cause.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

MEMORIAL FROM SHEFFIELD AGAINST, THE GOVERNMENT PLAN OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

The following Memorial was presented to Earl Grey, on Tuesday, the 28th, by John Parker, Esq. and J. S. Buckingham, Esq., the Members for that borough :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GREY, K.G., &c. &c.

MY LORD,

Sheffield, May 24, 1833.

By the unanimous suffrage of a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sheffield, held in the Music Hall, on the evening of Friday, the 24th instant, we are appointed to communicate to your Lordship the views and feelings of our fellow-townsmen on the plan of Negro Emancipation brought forward under the sanction of His Majesty's Government, by the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies.

We beg leave most sincerely to assure your Lordship, that we have no sympathy with those who would offer a factious opposition to the present or to any other Government. And although it is our decided opinion, in common with the inhabitants of this country generally, that our fellow-subjects, the Negro Slaves of the British Colonies, are detained in bondage, in direct and flagrant violation of the law of God, and of the principles of the British Constitution, and that therefore it is incumbent upon the British Parliament to restore to them the rights of which they have been unjustly deprived, without delay and without condition; yet, even in the prosecution of this object, there is no class of His Majesty's subjects that would more sincerely and strongly deprecate the employment of unconstitutional means, than your Memorialists.

With these assurances, made in the greatest sincerity, we beg leave respectfully, but at the same time most firmly, to express, on behalf of the inhabitants of this town, the bitter disappointment and extreme dissatisfaction which the plan brought forward by the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies has occasioned.

That an admission has been officially made, that the Slave is *entitled* to all the rights of British freemen, your Memorialists are most happy gratefully to acknowledge. But, in duty to their own consciences, and to the long-oppressed Negro, as well as to their beloved country (the prosperity of which is involved in the just settlement of this great question), your Memorialists are constrained to say that, in their opinion, the leading provisions of the plan are directly at variance with this admission.

Throughout the whole plan, the principle is recognized, that man may be justly and legally dealt with as the *property* of his fellow man—a principle which, if once conceded, renders the abolition of Slavery, without the consent of the planters, unjust and illegal.

The great and intolerable injustice is also involved in it, of compelling the Slave to pay the price of his own enfranchisement.

A complicated system of apprenticeship is substituted for the only legitimate and efficient stimulus to labour, namely, adequate wages; a system which, protracting the continuance of Slavery in general for twelve years at least, will, we fear, in most cases, delay it to a much later period; and, in many instances, render it utterly impossible for the Slave to enjoy the blessing of freedom at all.

With the more minute details of the plan your Memorialists would not interfere; these they leave to the wisdom of Parliament. But to the arrangements referred to above, your Memorialists strongly and solemnly object, as unsound in principle and inexpedient in policy.

Nor can any plan, in their estimation, come up to the demands of justice, or to the wishes of the people of England, which does not secure for the afflicted Negro an *immediate* elevation to all the civil rights and privileges of a British subject.

We have the honor to be, my Lord,

On behalf of the Meeting,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servants,

WILLIAM FORD RAWSON, CHAIRMAN.

THOMAS SMITH, A.M., } SECRETARIES.

JOHN McLEAN, }

DANGER TO BE APPREHENDED BY THE FUNDED AND LANDED INTEREST.

SIR,

Leicester, May 23, 1833.

The decision of both Houses of Parliament on the Corn Laws must convince the people of England that they have nothing to expect from the nobility or aristocracy. Mr. Whitmore proposed a duty of 10s. per quarter on wheat, *a higher protection than any other British production receives, yet his proposal was scouted.* I greatly fear the landed interest will continue obstinate until the people determine to have no Corn Laws at all.

It is quite evident that the population, and nothing else, causes land to be more valuable here than it is in the wilderness of New South Wales and Canada. The much oppressed and calumniated manufacturers of this kingdom begin to see this, and think the landed interest ought to be satisfied with the value this circumstance has given to their property, without enhancing it by such artificial and fraudulent means as the Corn Laws.

I think the landholders and fundholders are driving the nation to such a state of despair, that both will, at no distant period, lose their property. The landholders say that they pay all the poor-rates, when it is notorious that one half is paid by the cities, towns, &c.

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

ADVANTAGES OF A PROPERTY-TAX—STATE OF TRADE IN GLASGOW.

SIR,

Glasgow May 24, 1833.

I have read No. X. of the PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, and think, with you, that the best thing for this country would be such a *Property-Tax* as you propose therein. I am anxious that your sentiments should be as widely extended as possible; as I find that, wherever I broach the subject, it seems to be quite new. Few, however, seem averse to the plan when it is explained to them. I think if you were to print a cheap pamphlet, containing what you have so well said on this tax in No. X. of the Review, that it would be the means of making your sentiments better known; and I am sure they only require to be known to ensure their adoption by the great mass of the people.

It is hardly necessary to tell you that little or no profit can be realized from any kind of trade here. I am an extensive manufacturer in this city, and employ a number of weavers: I see, by the debates in Parliament, much said about the distress of this class of men, which I believe is quite true; but I never see the reason of this distress, or the cause of their low wages stated, viz. that the profits of the master are so much reduced that he cannot afford to give a proper remuneration to his workers.

I had the curiosity to go over my expences for a year, to ascertain how much I paid for assessed taxes, insurance duty, bill and receipt stamps, poor-rates, three-fourths of my postages (at which I estimate the tax upon letters), police, bridewell, trade spent, and road money, and find that, for the above, I paid 76*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, from May 1, 1832, to May 1, 1833. I do not include in this any marine insurances—and I keep neither horses nor dogs, nor man servant; indeed, I have no assessed taxes except upon my houses in town and country, which of course I cannot avoid. Before I saw your excellent article upon a Property-Tax, I had no idea that I paid one-fourth of the above; and I am sure, if others would take the same pains to see what they pay, under the present system, they would find that they paid much more than they think. By the Property-Tax you propose, I should not pay one-half of what I do at present.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

J. P.

FALLACIES OF MR. STANLEY IN THE GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

SIR,

Hull, May 20, 1833.

After attentively reading the eloquent speech of Mr. Stanley, in the House of Commons, upon laying before Parliament the Government plan for the *very gradual* abolition of Slavery, several of the arguments which he has used in favour of the planters appear to be brought forward rather with the view of exciting the public sympathy in their favour, than of placing the whole case in a clear and statesmanlike manner before the legislature and the public.

It is stated that the question involves a maritime commerce amounting annually to 250,000 tons of shipping, and a revenue of between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000. Thus the question is put in such a position, that to the great majority of the people, who are caught with *prima facie* statements, it will appear, that if any legislative measures are adopted which may change the relations between the West India Colonies and the mother country, this immense commerce will be totally annihilated! and the other side of the question is kept out of view, that the great majority of the products of the West Indies, and other tropical countries, have become, in a great measure, necessaries of life to the inhabitants of England; and that, by granting to the proprietors of the Colonies such great advantages over the free labour of the East Indies, we have really been *confining* our commerce to the employment of 250,000 tons of shipping annually, instead of giving encouragement to our eastern settlements, by which (taking into account the length of the voyage, and the much greater probability of an increased consumption of manufactures) it might have been extended to probably double that amount.

The export of British manufactures to the Colonies is likewise put forth, by the advocates of the present system, as an inducement for continuing the monopoly (for so it is to all intents and purposes) of the West Indian proprietors; but if this part of the subject is thoroughly understood, how futile the argument will appear. We are told that if the Negro is emancipated, the whole of this export will cease; but it would be a sufficient answer to this part of the argument to rejoin, that the natural course of trade would require returns for the produce brought from the islands; and independently of this great law of commerce, nature will exert her powerful laws; as the negro improves in condition he will require a much greater quantity of clothing to supply his wants, and eventually will probably indulge in a few luxuries, and not be content with the small pittance of 45s. worth, now annually doled out to him by his, in too many cases, hard-hearted and rapacious master. Thus, instead of a *decreased*, I think our manufacturers may look forward to an *increased* demand for their articles, arising out of the improved condition of the emancipated negro; and that his condition will be improved by emancipation, I think no one who has at all studied the human race, and whose mind is not warped by self-interest, could doubt, even if we were without the abundant proofs that already exist of the capabilities of the African race for filling any station of society.

In accounting for the increased ratio of deaths amongst the Slaves, it is clearly shewn that it has kept pace with the increased labour exacted from them, in the production of a larger quantity of sugar, by which the price has been depressed in the home market; but it appears to be quite kept out of view that, in all probability, the extra labour necessary to produce the increased quantity of sugar, was exacted from the Slave to enable the planter to meet the fixed money charge on his estate, which, though nominally the same, was really much increased by the fall of prices, in the produce of the Colonies, as well as as of all other articles of merchandize, caused by the currency measures of 1819; thus furnishing another, in addition to the many evils, which that iniquitous measure has inflicted on the country and its dependencies.

With respect to the fifteen millions proposed to be lent to the planters, I am happy to see you have so ably exposed the injustice of exacting the repayment of it from the labour of the *half* emancipated negro; but I am sorry to see that you, in any way, contemplate entertaining the question of compensation at all. You propose that an account should be made out

of any pecuniary loss which the planters may absolutely suffer from the measure of emancipation. To this I would add, if I *must* entertain the question, that on the other side of the list should be placed the loss which the British public have sustained in the increased price they have paid for their West Indian produce, to support the monopoly of the planters, in the cost of preserving the islands to the British crown, in the injury inflicted on our commerce with British India, and in the total extinction of intercourse with a great portion of the West India islands and Spanish main. When these items had been fairly stated on the other side, I would let compensation be paid to that party to whom it then appeared to be fairly due; and I am much mistaken in my view of the subject, if, instead of the planter having any demand upon the British public, he would not be *debtor* for a very large sum. But, Sir, from experience in our commercial legislation, I hesitate not to affirm, that the question of compensation would never have been entertained for one moment, if a great portion of the proprietors of West India property had not been connected with the aristocracy; and the colonial governments been found to be very convenient places for which to portion off the younger branches of noble families.

I cannot conclude without adverting particularly to the eloquent manner in which the continued and obstinate resistance of the colonial legislatures to all measures for improving the condition of the Slaves, is denounced in the speech of the Secretary for the Colonies, and made the basis of a very conclusive argument for the interference of the British Government, and at the same time expressing my astonishment that, after all, they were to be entrusted with the enactment of laws for the government of the enfranchised Slaves. In how different a manner is the open resistance of the aristocratic legislative assemblies of the Colonies treated, to the passive resistance of the Irish people to the unjust exactions of the tithe proctor!

W. H. H.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We agree with our intelligent Correspondent, that rigid justice would require a strict account of all the losses already *actually* sustained by the *public* as a fair set off to the losses that *may* be sustained by the *planter*. But we are quite satisfied that free labour will be more profitable to all parties than slave-labour; and that there will therefore be *no* loss—and consequently no compensation to be paid for the change proposed.

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING AT MANCHESTER—PAPERS IN CIRCULATION IN THAT NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SIR,

Manchester, May 27, 1833.

The state of the public mind here is that of deep disappointment and thorough disgust. The Ministers are looked upon with a universal hatred, except by the *incorrigible* Tories, who chuckle finely, and ask us, "whether we are not now convinced of their perfidy?" In the mean time, papers, like the enclosed, are hawked about the country. It was bought from a hawker, at the village of Northen, seven miles from Manchester, a few days since.

The Ministers have no idea what is going on: and, if no alteration in their measures speedily take place, I do not know what an indignant, tax ridden, and insulted people will attempt, the first opportunity that occurs.

Thanks to the schoolmaster and the penny publications—the people know *where* they are wronged, and long they will not exhibit patience.

Their industry hampered, their bread doubled, for the *supposed* benefit of the Aristocracy, and a host of abuses, in Church and State, Army and Navy,—civil corruptions, kept up for the benefit of the younger relatives of the Peers and influential Commoners, all are familiar to even the *very poorest*. Any man may, therefore, without the spirit of prophecy, see that ‘the end cometh apace.’ But the Ministers determine that we shall have ‘Nothing but the Bill!’ *Nous verrons*. I have great pleasure in seeing that you keep to your professions, and heartily wish you success. You will—you *must* succeed.

A MANCHESTER RESIDENT.

The following is the paper alluded to, which has been circulated most extensively in this neighbourhood.

THE PRODUCTIVE AND THE UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

‘Truth has often been enforced by Allegory and Parable; and the following one, written some forty years since, forcibly illustrates the present situation of the governors and the governed, in more than one nation of Europe.

‘The writer supposes himself carried into the regions of air by an ethereal being, where he is surveying a whole nation gathered together to shake off the yoke of bondage, and assert their natural rights in the presence of their oppressors:—

‘I now heard a great noise in the west; and turning to that quarter, I perceived at the extremity of the Mediterranean, in one of the nations of Europe, a prodigious movement, such as when a violent sedition arises in a vast city; numberless people, rushing in all directions, poured through the streets, and fluctuated like waves in the public places. My ear, struck with the cries that resounded to the heavens, distinguished these words:

“What then is this new prodigy? We are a numerous people, and we want strength! we have an excellent soil, and we are in want of its produce! we are active and laborious, and we live in indigence! we pay enormous tributes, and we are told they are not sufficient; we are at peace without, yet our persons and property are not safe within! who then is the secret enemy that devours us?”

‘Some voice from amidst the multitude replied: “Raise a discriminating standard, and let all those who maintain and nourish mankind by their useful labours, gather round it; and you will discover the enemy that preys upon you.”

‘The standard being raised, the nation divided itself at once into two bodies of unequal magnitude and contrasted appearance. The one innumerable, and almost totally exhibiting, in the general poverty of its clothing, in its meagre air, and sun-burnt faces, the marks of misery and labour: the other a little group, an insignificant fraction, presented in its rich attire, embroidered with gold and silver, and its round and ruddy faces, the signs of leisure and abundance. Considering these men more attentively, I found that the great body was composed of labourers, farmers, artificers, merchants, all professions useful to society; and the little group was made up of every order of financiers, of nobles, of men in livery, of commanders of armies, of priests; in a word, of the civil, military, and religious agents of government.

‘These two bodies being assembled face to face, and regarding each other with astonishment, I saw rage and indignation arising on one side, and a sort of panic on the other, and the large body said to the little one:

“Why are you separated from us? are you not of our number?”—“No, replied the group; you are the people, we are a distinguished class, who have laws, customs, and rights, peculiar to ourselves.”

‘PEOPLE. “And what labour do you perform in society?”

‘PRIVILEGED CLASS. “None: we were not made to work.”

‘PEOPLE. “How then have you acquired these riches?”

‘PRIVILEGED CLASS. “By taking pains to govern you.”

‘PEOPLE. “What! is this what you call governing? we toil, and you enjoy;

we produce, and you dissipate; wealth proceeds from us, and you absorb it. Privileged men! Class who are not the people! form a nation apart, and govern yourselves."

"Then the little group, deliberating on this new state of things, some of them said: "We must join the people, and partake of their labours and burthens, for they are men like us." Others said: "It would be a shame, an infamy, they were born to serve us: we are men of another race." And the civil governors said: "These people are mild, and naturally servile; speak to them of the law, and they will return to their duty. People! the king wills, the sovereign ordains!"

"PEOPLE. "The king can will nothing but the good of the people; the sovereign can only ordain according to law."

"CIVIL GOVERNORS. "The law commands you to be submissive."

"PEOPLE. "The law is the general will, and we will a new order of things."

"CIVIL GOVERNORS. "You are then a rebel people."

"PEOPLE. "A nation cannot revolt; tyrants only are rebels."

"CIVIL GOVERNORS. "The king is on our side; he commands you to submit!"

"PEOPLE. "Kings are inseparable from their nations. The king of ours cannot be with you; you possess only his phantom."

"And the military governors came forward. "The people are timorous," said they; "we must threaten them; they will submit only to force. Soldiers, chastise this insolent multitude!"

"PEOPLE. "Soldiers, you are of our blood; will you strike your brothers? If the people perish, who will nourish the army?"

"And the soldiers grounding their arms, said to their chiefs, "we are likewise the people; shew us the enemy."

"Then the ecclesiastical governors said; "there is but one resource left. The people are superstitious: we must frighten them with the name of God, and religion."

"Our dear brothers; Our children! God hath ordained us to govern you."

"PEOPLE. "Shew your powers from God."

"PRIESTS. "God commands peace. Religion prescribes obedience."

"PEOPLE. "Peace supposes justice. Obedience implies a knowledge of the law."

"PRIESTS. "Suffering is the business of this world."

"PEOPLE. "Show us the example."

"PRIESTS. "You must have mediators, intercessors."

"PEOPLE. "Courtiers and priests, your services are too expensive, we will henceforth manage our own affairs."

"And the little group said; "We are lost! The multitude are enlightened."

"And the people said; "You are safe; since we are enlightened we will do no violence; we only claim our rights. We feel resentments; but we forget them. We were slaves; we might command; but we only wish to be Free, and we are Free."

THE NECESSITY OF ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN THE EAST INDIES AS WELL AS IN THE WEST.

SIR,

Coventry, May 22, 1833.

Permit me, at this important crisis, to direct your attention to the nature of Slavery as existing in India, that the cry of the poor slave in the East, as well as in the West, may be heard in Britain. The want of information, relative to East India Slavery, is very prevalent; a late highly respected writer on India (whose name I forbear to mention) stated

a few years since—"No slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment." The voluminous Parliamentary Papers on East India Slavery, procured in pursuance of your motion, and "ordered to be printed March 1828," abundantly confirm the position, that there are myriads of slaves in British India.

The nature of this species of slavery is worthy of serious investigation. You will excuse my making the references to "*India's Cries to British Humanity*," (Third Edition) published by Simpkin and Marshall, London; for some copies of which, you kindly favoured me with your name as a subscriber. The *origin of Slavery* in India, as existing among the Hindoos, is involved in considerable obscurity, but its rise among the Mahomedans is evidently to be traced to the triumph of their arms.—"*India's Cries*," pp. 280—292. Of the *nature of Slavery in Hindoostan*, it is difficult to speak in terms that are equally applicable to the different districts in the Peninsula. The Hindoo code divides the slaves into fifteen classes. In Canara, under the Madras Presidency, the slaves are divided into three castes, the Moondul, Mogare, and Mavey; their customs are very singular. "The utmost to which the sale of slaves is tolerated in Malabar is domestic slavery, and this is exclusively confined to those born in a state of bondage. In some districts, the offspring are divided between the owners of the father and the mother; but they are never separated from their parents till adults."—"In Malabar and Canara, where the land is very generally divided and occupied as separate properties, *the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold and mortgaged by him independently of his lands!* In the Tamul country, where land is of less value, the labourer is understood to be *the slave rather of the soil than of its owner*, and is seldom sold or mortgaged except along with the land to which he is attached;" pp. 298—336. The most copious and satisfactory information upon this subject is found in the reports of eleven collectors to whom the Madras government, in 1819, addressed queries respecting Slavery in their collectorates. The replies are contained in the Parliamentary Papers on Slavery in India. 1828. pp. 887—896. A few extracts will show the nature of Slavery under the Madras Presidency.

The collector of Coimbatore observes: "From all that I can learn, it appears certain, that the owner has a right to sell his slaves without the land; but that it is a right very seldom, if ever exercised. The highest price of a good slave is fifty rupees (5*l.*) The price, however, is seldom so high. The children of slaves are born slaves." In Tanjore, Slavery exists. "The master has the power of selling the slave, but he cannot sell him to any one who will carry him to a distant part of the country, without his consent. When the lands are sold, in any way, it is always independent of the bondsmen, if any upon it. If they are likewise to be sold, separate deeds of transfer are passed; if not, they continue attached to their former masters."—"It is usual in the district of Tinnevely for slaves to be sold or mortgaged either with the land or separately, as the proprietor pleases or his wants require."—*South Arcot*. "The lower castes are always looked upon as natural slaves, the property of any person who contributes to defray their marriage expences, which is the ordinary way, at present, of constituting hereditary slavery. The offspring of slaves are always regarded as the property of their father's owner."—*North Arcot*. "It does not appear to be accurately settled to whom the child belongs!! The people who keep slaves most likely find it cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them! and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, who have barely sufficient to support themselves, die of absolute want. I cannot discover that they have any rights or privileges, and they are not possessed of any property, neither can they inherit any."—*India's Cries*, pp. 339—347.

Though the *miseries of East India Slavery* appear not to equal those of the West, they are of such a character as to cry loudly to Britain for redress. A few extracts may suffice. "Male slaves are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. Females in almost every instance are sold to prostitution." T. H. Barber, Esq., Magistrate, in Malabar, declares, "Nothing can be more abject and wretched than the slaves of Malabar; whose *huts are little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently show a want of adequate nourishment.*" Mr. Graeme in his report of Malabar, in 1822, remarks, "The slave alone has his *sieve of a hut* in the centre of the rice lands; but on the coast, at least, he is an industrious, and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, *he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature; stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and amelioration which may confidently be expected from the British Government.*" The Madras Board of Revenue, in 1818, justly stated, "The treatment of slaves necessarily depends principally on the individual character of their owners; and when we reflect on those evils which are inseparable from even the mildest state of Slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour—restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence—and sold and transferred with the land which they till,—policy no less than humanity, would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions which have reduced them, and must continue to confine them to a condition, *scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.*"—*India's Cries*, pp. 303-307.—364.

Of the *extent of Slavery in British India* it is impossible to speak with precision. The greatest number of slaves are found under the Madras Presidency. "In Malabar (exclusive of Wynaud) the number of slaves is estimated by the collector at 100,000. In Malabar, as well as in the West Indies, a man's wealth is as much appreciated by the number of his slaves, as by any other property he may possess." (p. 346.) "Domestic Slavery," says Hamilton, "is very generally prevalent in Bengal, among both Hindoos and Mahomedans. In the lower provinces, under the Bengal Presidency, *the employment of slaves in the labour of husbandry is almost unknown.* In the upper provinces, beginning from Western Behar and Benares, the petty landlords are aided in their husbandry by slaves." This fact is of great importance, in reference to the cultivation of sugar in Bengal, and demonstrates that this article is the product of free labour. The consumption of East India, in preference to West India sugar, is worthy of the serious consideration of every conscientious person. "A portion of the population of the district of Tipperah are slaves, and the custom of disposing of persons already in a state of Slavery is common." The Parliamentary papers on East India Slavery are very defective as it respects giving information of the number of slaves. The following are the only official numbers given—213,288: but there are probably *half a million of slaves in British India.* My object in addressing this to you, and through you to the public generally, is that the claims of the Hindoo and Mousalman slave may be urged, with those of the slave in other parts of the empire, whose situation is better known. Hoping that all the captives may soon be let out of their "prison house," and that Britain may speedily regard the divine admonition—"Let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."

I am, dear Sir,

Your humble and obliged Servant,

JAMES PEGGS;

POSTSCRIPT.

Thursday Afternoon, May 30, 1833.

As this Sheet must be sent to press before the Evening Meeting of the House of Commons begins, to enable **THE REVIEW** to be published in proper time,—all that can be said here respecting the following Outline of a Plan for the Immediate Abolition of Slavery, and the protection of all the interests involved in the change,—is, that it is the intention of Mr. Buckingham, if the Ministers should persist in the published details of their Plan, to move the following as an Amendment thereto: if, however, they should so modify their Plan as to withdraw the most objectionable parts of it, Mr. Buckingham will perhaps content himself with moving the first Resolution announced in the last Number of **THE REVIEW**; or allow the Resolutions of the Government to take the form of a Bill, for the purpose of bringing the whole subject before the House, and then opposing its objectionable parts in Committee. All this will therefore depend entirely on the course adopted by the Ministers themselves this evening.

RESOLUTIONS TO FORM THE BASIS OF A PLAN FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

1. That immediate and effectual measures should be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery in all the British possessions,—without further delay than may be necessary to organize a body of Magistracy and Police, for the preservation of order and peace,—and without subjecting the emancipated Slaves to any payment or burthen whatever as the price of their redemption.

2. That the period of an entire year being amply sufficient for this purpose, it be resolved, that the 21st day of August, 1834—the anniversary of the birth-day of His Most Gracious Majesty, William the Fourth—be fixed as the day on which Slavery shall cease to exist, and be for ever abolished, in all parts of His Majesty's dominions.

3. That to provide against the temporary inconvenience which the proprietors of estates may sustain, by the transition from the present mode of cultivation to a system of free labour—as well as to enable such proprietors to commence the payment of wages to such labourers as they may employ, His Majesty be enabled to advance, by way of loan, a sum not exceeding five millions sterling, to be paid to proprietors at the rate of five pounds for each Slave emancipated—the payment to be made on the day when the Slave shall actually obtain his freedom by law.

4. That to provide for the immediate support of all the emancipated Slaves above the age of sixty, and under the age of ten—as well as of the sick and helpless between these ages, His Majesty be enabled to advance a further sum, not exceeding two millions sterling—to be devoted to this purpose only.

5. That to afford ample means of giving education to all the emancipated Slaves of every age, His Majesty be enabled to advance a further sum, not exceeding two millions sterling, to be devoted to this purpose only; and that in addition to such education, every facility be afforded to the attendance of all classes on such religious worship as they may prefer, without cost or charge.

6. That to provide a competent and efficient body of independent Magistrates, and a Preventive Police to be placed under their sole direction and controul, His Majesty be enabled to advance a further sum, not exceeding one million, to be devoted to this purpose only.

7. That such Magistrates be empowered to open Savings Banks, in which to receive from the emancipated Slaves such sums as they may be persuaded and encouraged to deposit, out of their weekly earnings, for the purchase of annuities after a certain age, on terms that may recommend this prudent provision to general adoption.

8. That the superintendence and administration of all these Funds be placed in the hands of Seven responsible Commissioners, appointed by the Home Government, and under the direction of the Colonial Secretary, so as to bring their accounts annually, through him, before Parliament: the three Senior Commissioners to form a resident Board in Jamaica, and the four Junior Commissioners to be employed in visiting and inspecting personally the condition of all the other parts of our Colonies, and reporting, to the Board and to the Home Government, from time to time, the condition of those parts, in the three important particulars, of internal protection, general education, and the support of the helpless poor.

9. That neither the emancipated Slaves, nor the Proprietors to whom they were formerly subjected, be chargeable with either the principal or the interest of these Loans; but that the whole amount of the Ten Millions advanced, be considered as a Loan made to the Slave Colonies, the revenues of which are to be made liable for the payment of the interest and capital, in the proportions received by each separate Island or Colony participating in the benefit of the Loan, in the same manner as the revenues of Great Britain are chargeable with the payment of the interest of the National Debt.

10. That the Board of Commissioners entrusted with the the administration of the Funds before described, be further empowered and instructed to collect upon the spot, the best evidence they can obtain, as to the actual results, in a pecuniary point of view, of the substitution of free labour for slave labour in the cultivation of the Colonial Estates, for the purpose of enabling the Parliament to determine, on such evidence, the great Question of whether loss or gain be produced by the change: it being the opinion of this Committee, that if pecuniary loss shall actually be sustained, the Proprietors proving such loss, will have a fair and equitable claim to national compensation—as the sacrifice will have been made to promote a great national benefit, in the advancement of freedom, and the extension of religious, moral, and political improvement.

11. That to relieve the Proprietors of Colonial Estates, by encouraging the increased consumption of Colonial produce, this Committee strongly recommend to his Majesty's Government, the admission of all such produce as may be imported from Estates not cultivated by Slaves, free of all duty whatever, from the date before-named, as that on which Slavery is to cease, in every part of His Majesty's Dominions.

12. And lastly,—That to promote, as far as possible, the abolition of Slavery in the Colonial possessions of all other countries, the existing duties be continued on all Colonial produce coming from estates cultivated by Slaves:—and that the Slave Trade, by whomsoever carried on, be declared to be Piracy by British law; and that all ships or vessels, of whatever nation, captured in the act of carrying on such trade, after the 21st of August, 1834, be considered as Pirates, and treated accordingly.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW

And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 30.

THE House met at twelve at noon, for the presentation of petitions, as usual; and it having now become the custom for each individual, after presenting his petitions, to leave the House, the number of Members diminishes with every succeeding retirement. By two o'clock, they were reduced to five in number; and when the last petition was presented for the day, at a quarter past two, the only Members then in the House, were Mr. Richard Potter, the presenter of the petition—Admiral Fleming—and Mr. Buckingham. These, with the Speaker and the two clerks, made together a total of six persons in the House, when the Speaker left the Chair. The business of petitioning Parliament, we may safely predict, is fast drawing to a close; and it would not surprise us if the total cessation of the practice were to take place before another Session is over.

In the evening, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House—Mr. Bernal in the Chair—to pass to the order of the day on the Resolutions for abolishing Colonial Slavery: when, after the presentation of one petition from Bristol, by Sir Richard Vyvyan,—and another from the merchants of London, by Mr. Goulburn, against Emancipation—and forty from different places, in one untied bundle or lot, by Mr. Buxton, in favour of Emancipation,—Sir RICHARD VYVYAN rose to address the House. This speech occupied three hours in the delivery; which is just two hours more than any Member, under any circumstances, ought to be allowed to speak, on any one subject, or at any one time, and six times as long as was really necessary: for half an hour would have fully developed every idea, stated every fact, and urged every argument, that the hon. baronet brought forward in support of his views. But he was the first in possession of the House: and as at that early hour of the evening, all parties are patient and forbearing, he went on without hindrance or interruption, multiplying words as though he were matched to speak against time, and to try the experiment of how vast a space a few thoughts might be extended over. Sir Richard is, however, an agreeable speaker, fluent, chaste, and gentlemanly; never saying any thing very eloquent or very contemptible; never rising very high, nor

sinking very low; but possessing the faculty of going on to an interminable length, without eliciting new views—without enlisting the feelings, and without convincing the judgments, of any but the prejudged and pre-determined.

The drift of his speech was to prove—1st, That the Parliament of England had no right to interfere in this question of emancipating the Slaves, as it was one of social relationship and internal regulation, which, by the law and constitution, should be left to the local Legislatures alone.—2ndly, That these local Legislatures, so far from having resisted, as Mr. Stanley had stated, every order of amelioration sent out from home, had done all that was possible to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the Slaves.

We give the two following extracts as the most important parts of the speech.

‘With regard to the punishment of slaves, he wished it to be observed, that in case of serious offences, that was awarded by the local magistrates in the West Indies. They were the resident gentry of the islands, and not more likely to abuse the power entrusted to them than the magistracy at home. With regard to general allegations of severity used by masters to their slaves, he could only meet them with a general denial. Peculiar facts might be verified, or the contrary; but nothing of that kind had been advanced by the right hon. gentleman, and therefore to nothing of that kind could he give an answer. But the right hon. gentleman had said that the increase of the quantity of sugar had regularly kept pace with the decrease of the number of slaves; but on this point the right hon. gentleman had carefully kept out of consideration one point, which made a great difference in the deduction to be drawn from the returns which he had read, and it was this,—that as the importation of slaves had ceased, and as that importation generally consisted of slaves in the very prime of life, there must be, for some years to come, an apparent decrease in the population, as the old slaves, who were not renewed, gradually died off. He denied that the greatest mortality existed in the most productive colonies, and asserted that the contrary was the case. The hon. baronet referred to documents to prove that the condition of the slaves was better than that of the Glasgow weavers, and others of the working classes in this country. He then proceeded to complain that Government had taken a resolution that direct evidence on oath should not go forth on the subject. A committee had been appointed last session, by the House of Lords, which, of course, was authorized to take evidence on oath; but the West India proprietors were induced to consent to the postponement of the inquiry, in the hope that something favourable would be done. In this expectation, however, they had been completely disappointed: they had all along courted inquiry, and their cause had been greatly prejudiced by its refusal. He complained that Lord Belmore, the last governor of Jamaica, had not been examined, though it was of importance that he should be; neither were other persons who could have given material evidence, examined. The case of the colonists had not been fairly investigated,—they were harshly dealt by.

‘He understood that the Anti-Slavery Society had recommended their friends in Parliament to support the Government proposition, but he did not know how far that support could be relied on. However, he should say a word or two on that subject presently. It was unreasonable to expect the West India body to act till they knew the feeling in the Colonies on the subject. All parties had been taken by surprise. The grand

question of emancipation in the abstract had been admitted by the colonists—nay, their friends and advocates allowed that the time for emancipation had arrived; but then it must be conducted upon just and prudent principles. He did not believe that Slavery and Christianity were inconsistent; but when we admitted Dissenters of every description to teach the slaves, he did not hesitate to avow his belief, that in practice, though not in doctrine, slavery and general unfettered instruction in religion were inconsistent, and therefore upon that principle emancipation became unavoidable. He did not pretend to bring forward any plan in relation to this subject—it was for Government to do that. With respect to the plan proposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman, it was enough to know that merchants and others most conversant with the West Indies had declared it to be one which could not practically work. (Hear, hear.) He had alluded to the adhesion of the Anti-Slavery Society to the Government proposition, but felt convinced that the plan would not eventually satisfy them. Their fundamental principle “that man could have no property in man,” must prevent them from concurring cordially in a system which, according to them, while it rendered the negroes free in name, kept them slaves in fact, by compelling them to labour even during those hours said to be assigned to themselves. The consequence of the imperfect satisfaction of the emancipationists would be, that we should still have an anti-slavery question behind, fresh agitation, and renewed pledges at elections.’

Mr. STANLEY replied to the allegations of Sir Richard Vyvyan, in the course of which he had to travel over nearly all the ground he had trodden before; so that, even in his hands, the question became tiresome as a twice-told tale; and his speech, occupying nearly two hours, without possessing any single feature of novelty—for it was a contest of crimination and recrimination on either side—the House was wearied by an unprofitable discussion about the *past*, while its sole business was to discuss the safety and propriety of certain measures for the *future*. The consequence was, that ten o’clock had arrived before the contest was over; and, after five hours useless sitting, the members had begun to get weary, in mind as well as body, and unwilling to hear any person or any thing with any tolerable patience. We give the following extracts, as the only portion of Mr. Stanley’s speech that contained any thing new:—

‘The Hon. Baronet complained, that whereas the West India proprietors were desirous to obtain a full investigation, the Committee of last year had been allowed to cease at the request and intercession of Government. Now he (Mr. Stanley) declared that it was left entirely to the discretion of the West India body to determine whether or not they would seek a renewal of the West India Committee and inquiry of last year in either House of Parliament. He did not wish to speak the language of complaint, but he must say it was impossible to negotiate with a body such as the West India deputation, which attended to hear proposals with authority to object to them, but without authority to offer any suggestion, or propose any modification in a plan which they rejected. He stated to the deputation distinctly that it was the intention of Government to carry into effect, safely, and if possible with their concurrence, a complete extinction of Slavery, and that such extinction must form the basis of any plan on which Ministers would consent to act. The deputation declared that they had no power or authority to propose any plan. Four of the number did, in their individual capacity, offer to his notice a plan to which he should not have

alluded, but that he found it had been since given to the public. The proposal was, that a grant should be made to the colonists of 44,000,000*l.* sterling, that the colonial proprietors should enjoy all existing rights over the slaves for a period of one-and-forty years ("hear, hear," and laughter); and that that one-and-forty years was to be estimated from the time the 44,000,000*l.* could be paid out of the wages of the slaves, with 4 per cent. interest, and 1 per cent. sinking fund. (Renewed laughter.) He imagined that the House would not think him possessed of too much modesty because he did not venture to propose such a plan as that for its consideration. (A laugh.)

' He would now repeat what he had stated in the first instance on bringing forward these resolutions, that the Government were most anxious that a full consideration should be given to the rest of the plan, even though all its details might not be embodied in the resolutions which the House was called upon to come to. There was one part of the plan of the Government which, both on the part of the West India body, and on the part of those who were anxious for the more immediate liberation of the slave,—there was one part of the plan which by both those parties had been objected to. He (Mr. Stanley) stated, when he had the honour of proposing this plan to the House, that there were but two modes of repaying the amount which it was intended to advance to the West India proprietors—namely, that that repayment must either be borne by the produce of negro labour, or that it must entirely fall upon the revenue of this country, and to the latter alternative he stated at the time that it would be impossible for the Government, or Parliament, or the country to consent. (Hear, hear.) His Majesty's Government, therefore, had proposed that, one-fourth of his time being at the disposal of the negro, the produce of his labour in that time should go to liquidate the advance made by Government, and to remunerate the proprietor for his ultimate loss in the full emancipation of such negro, and they had further proposed that the proprietor should pay an interest for the money during the period that it continued advanced to them as a loan.

' There was another alternative, certainly—one, too, that had been suggested by the West India body—namely, that the loss of this 15,000,000*l.* should be borne entirely by the resources of this country; but that was an alternative to which, as he had already said, Parliament would not, of course, be disposed to adopt. (Hear, hear.) His Majesty's Ministers found that a great and well-founded objection had been urged by the West India proprietors against this part of the plan, as making the nominal payment out of the wages of the slaves be considered as the repayment of this loan, while the real repayment of it would be made out of their (the West India proprietors') own resources. They found, on the other hand, that, on the part of those who sought for the more immediate emancipation of the negro, there was a strong feeling that, during that portion of his time which was to be left at the disposal of the negro, he should be at liberty to enjoy the full benefit of the exercise of his own energies and resources. (Hear, hear.) It was impossible, on the one hand and upon the other, not to feel the force of the objections thus made against this portion of the plan, and as both parties, however opposed in other respects, concurred in this manner in objecting to this part of the plan, if it should be found that the West India body would not object to make such a provision as would compensate this country for at least a large portion of the interest of the sum thus advanced, and if they would not object to an increase in the taxation upon colonial produce, His Majesty's Ministers, under such circumstances, meant amongst other alterations to propose that the proprie-

tors should be altogether relieved from any obligation to repay the money thus advanced to them, and that no deduction should be made from the wages of the negro for that purpose either.' (Hear, hear.)

He concluded by moving that the following resolutions be submitted to the House :—

1. ' That it is the opinion of this Committee, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire Abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the Negroes, as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

2. ' That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free ; subject nevertheless to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3. ' That all persons now Slaves be entitled to be registered as Apprenticed Labourers, and to acquire thereby all rights and privileges of free-men ; subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions, and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4. ' That to provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in His Majesty's Colonial possessions might sustain by the Abolition of Slavery, His Majesty be enabled to advance by way of Loan, to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding in the whole 15,000,000*l.*, to be repaid in such manner and at such rate of interest as shall be prescribed by Parliament.

5 ' That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary Magistracy in the Colonies, and in aiding the local Legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the Negro population to be emancipated.'

' They proposed that during the negro's apprenticeship of twelve years, this reward should be held out to him as an inducement to habits of persevering industry and exertion,—namely, that by the payment of a certain amount of the produce of his labour during the time at his own disposal, the period of his apprenticeship should be redeemed ; that was to say, that when he had, in this way, paid the sum agreed upon as compensation to his master, he should be discharged from the remaining portion of his twelve years' servitude, and amongst other advantages embraced in this alteration, it would afford to the negro an opportunity of proving himself a man of persevering and industrious habits. (Hear, hear.) In that way His Majesty's Ministers proposed to submit to the House such a modification of the plan as did not introduce a material alteration into the resolutions now before it. It appeared to him that it would be only dealing fairly with both parties interested in this question, and with the House, to state at once the course of proceeding with regard to which his Majesty's Ministers had made up their minds in consequence of the introduction of this alteration into the plan. They intended to propose that an additional amount of duty should be charged upon sugar. (" Hear, hear," and cries of " Oh ! oh ! oh !")

' He was well aware that such a proposition was not free from difficulties and objections. He knew that the amount of duty on sugar at present was high, and that it would be well if it could possibly be somewhat reduced. (Hear, hear.) But, believing as he did that a trifling increase in the amount of duty would answer the purpose in question, he felt that his Majesty's Ministers were justified, looking back to a former precedent, when a reduction of the duty on sugar from 27*s.* to 24*s.* did not in any

way affect or benefit the interests of the consumer, while it occasioned a considerable falling off in the revenue, in assuming that the proposed increase would not affect the interests of the consumers in this country, while the revenue might be so increased as to compensate us for the loan advanced to the West India proprietors. But if the effect of the raising of the duty should be a rise in the price of sugar in this country, it would be, of course, upon the consumers—that was to say, upon the people of this country—that the burden would fall (for he did not contemplate, in consequence of such increase of duty, any material diminution in the consumption of sugar,) and, in his opinion, it ought to be borne by them; and he believed it would be cheerfully borne by them, especially when they considered the great benefit and convenience that would be reaped from getting rid of the objection which had been made to this portion of the plan. (Hear, hear.) He had seized the first opportunity to state this important modification to the House, in order that the attention of Parliament might be directed to it. He did not state it for the purpose of calling now for the judgment of the House upon it, as in passing the resolutions now before it the House was not called upon to express any opinion with regard to such a modification of the original plan.

Colonel LEITH HAY rose immediately after Mr. STANLEY, and was received with great impatience, which was continued throughout the whole of his speech, so that it was difficult to hear any connected sentence. The general purport of his observations was, however, to deprecate the Government Plan, to point out the dangers that would arise from change, and to express his protest against the invasion of property which this measure would create.

Mr. P. M. STEWART followed, and met a better reception; in consequence of which he was encouraged to go into great length in refutation of Mr. Stanley's speech on the opening of this great question, about a fortnight ago. For this purpose he read various documents, printed and written, reports, letters, &c., all tending to show that the colonists had been grossly calumniated, and complaining of the Secretary for the Colonies having submitted himself entirely to the dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Stewart's speech occupied nearly two hours also; but the tediousness of the details being somewhat relieved by occasional sarcasms levelled at Mr. Buxton, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Stanley, Mr. O'Connell, and others; and the speech being delivered in a tone of good humour and occasional supplicatory appeals to the generosity, as well as justice, of the House, in guiding its decision, was well received throughout.

It was now twelve o'clock; but though seven hours had been occupied in debate, the question of the *future* had scarcely been touched upon at all; everything had reference to the *past*; which was almost wholly unnecessary, as both parties had agreed that Slavery must cease, and the only fit question for discussion was, not whether its evils had been overrated or underrated—but since, whether good or bad, it was to be abandoned—to determine the when and the how, and to fix the time, the mode, and the cost of such abandonment.

Mr. BUXTON rose after Mr. Stewart; and late as was the hour, and much as was the time already wasted, Mr. Buxton did not remedy the evil; but instead of advancing a single step towards the *future*, he

also dwelt entirely on the *past*, and by a reiteration of his former proofs of the decrease of negro population according to the increase of sugar produced, and by the repetition of pictures of individual suffering, contrived to leave the question of immediate emancipation entirely untouched. We extract the principal passages of his speech:—

‘He would not, upon the present occasion, touch upon the topic of what would be the conduct of the negroes after they were emancipated; but he felt it due to the cause which he advocated, to state that it did not depend upon that. Judge Blackstone said that life and liberty were absolute rights belonging to persons in a state of nature, and that no human legislature had the right of abridging or destroying those rights, unless in the case of a party who committed some criminal act, which amounted to a forfeiture of them. A thousand Acts of Parliament, sanctioning Slavery, might be shown to him, but the negro was unconvicted of crime, and therefore was free. The negro might be in the lowest stage of civilization, or, as Blackstone said, “in a state of nature,” and prefer the pursuits of a savage life to those of civilized society; but still he was unconvicted of crime, and was therefore free. If it could be demonstrated that the negro, when emancipated, would refuse to work for wages, he would not the less claim for him the acknowledgment of those rights which belonged to him by the law of God, and had been taken away from him by the abominable cruelty of man. (Hear.) Those were his views of the question.

‘He was pleased with the modifications which the right hon. secretary proposed to make in his plan, and he believed the public generally would approve of them. He felt himself placed in a *peculiar situation*. He could not conceal from himself the fact, that if an amendment should be carried, and the present measure lost, the consequence would be an immediate insurrection of the negroes. Emancipation would then be more precipitate and uncompensated than it was now proposed to be. With all his zeal for the cause of the negroes, he had not firmness to contemplate with any thing like satisfaction a termination of slavery so horrible as that. (Hear, hear.) He objected to the phraseology of one part of the right hon. gentleman’s resolutions—namely, that which described the masters as the proprietors of the slaves. The slaves did not belong to them, and never had belonged to them. When that word should be struck out, he believed that he should be able to support the plan which had been submitted to the House. If, as he anticipated, he should vote against an amendment embodying the terms of a resolution *which he formerly moved*, it would only be with the view of promoting the welfare of the negro, which was the object he had always had at heart.’ (Hear, hear.)

This is very curious, but not very reconcileable with the general straightforwardness of Mr. Buxton. His allusion here is to the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. Buckingham, and which Mr. Buxton here expresses his anticipation that he shall feel himself obliged to oppose. There is nothing more salutary than the discussion of errors; and as we have not the fear of Mr. Buxton, nor of any other human being, before our eyes, we will give this discussion, let the result be what it may.

It is now about nine years since (in 1824), that Mr. Buckingham published, in the *Oriental Herald*, an article, which has these words for its title, “On the Justice, Policy, and Safety, of giving immediate Freedom to every Slave in the West Indies.” At that time, the

Anti-Slavery Society, of which Mr. Buxton was the chief organ, never contemplated anything more than *gradual* emancipation; and by that Society generally, any attempt at *immediate* emancipation was regarded as visionary and insane. From that hour to the present, Mr. Buckingham has laboured to forward the cause of immediate emancipation; and from that hour the numbers who have adopted his views have increased.

The period arrived, however, on which it was thought proper to distinguish those candidates for seats in Parliament, who were immediate abolitionists, and those who were not; and Mr. Buckingham's name was placed in the list of the former. He was elected: and, being now a Member of Parliament, was invited, with other members, to attend the great meeting at Exeter-Hall, in April last.

The time then came when it was to be discussed in Parliament; and Mr. Buckingham being, there, as free as any other member to follow his own course, gave early notice of his intention to submit to the House an amendment, in order to see who were for *immediate* and who for *protracted* emancipation only. This notice was entered on the books: it became known to all the members; and it formed a topic of discussion at the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society in their chambers. Instead, however, of any offer of aid from that quarter, Mr. Buckingham was waited on by a deputation from that body, to urge him not to press his amendment, or divide on any motion *contrary* to the Government plan, as by so doing that plan might be lost, and no other substituted. Mr. Buckingham professed his willingness, if the Government would *amend* their plan, by removing the burthen of *self-redemption* from the negro, and shortening the term of his slavery from *twelve* years to *one*, not to press his amendment; but declared that, unless this were done, he should feel it his solemn duty to persevere.

Some friends of immediate emancipation belonging to the Agency Anti-Slavery Society, fearing that the amendment of Mr. Buckingham might be withdrawn, requested Mr. O'Connell to press it, in such an event, which he consented to do; but hearing, afterwards, that Mr. Buckingham had no intention of yielding, unless the Government did so in the particulars named, he very generously still left the matter in Mr. Buckingham's hands, begging him to move, and offering himself to second it at the proper time.

It so happened that this amendment, after much deliberation, and much revision, came to be couched in *almost exactly the same terms* as one moved by Mr. Buxton himself in the House of Commons, not long ago; and he, himself, being struck with the coincidence, began to feel, as he expresses himself in his speech, in a very "*peculiar situation*;"—that is, in his determination to oppose the amendment of Mr. Buckingham, he feels he shall be opposing now the very resolution which he himself proposed some time ago! and thereby shewing that, instead of advancing, he is receding—that instead of pressing immediate emancipation now, when all parties are prepared to second

him, he hesitates and draws back, and is not willing to go so far now, as he was when the Government were opposed to emancipation altogether! Well indeed might he feel himself in a "*peculiar situation*," for this would be eating his own words literally. He has good precedent, however, for this, in the Chancellor's reversal of the vote on the Malt Tax; and expediency is the only plea for both.

Mr. Buxton admits that it is contrary to the laws of God and man to enslave a human being for a *single day*; and yet he anticipates that he shall vote for a plan to keep him in slavery for *twelve years or more!* and oppose a plan for his immediate emancipation! To us it seems "doing evil that good may come," to countenance a protracted plan for twelve years' slavery longer, under the plea that unless that plan be carried, emancipation will not take place at all, except through insurrection! The idea is untenable. Any party that is powerful enough to carry immediate emancipation in the House, is powerful enough to compel the Ministers to adopt it in the Cabinet; and whether it were so or not, the duty of a consistent Legislator is this—to do always that which is just and right, and leave the consequences to Heaven. That is our rule of action in all cases, and Mr. Buxton, when the Government Plan comes to be fairly discussed in the House, will, we hope, make it his rule also; in which case we shall still have him on our side.

Mr. WARD and Mr. GLADSTONE rose together. The cries of the West Indians were for the latter, and of the Ministerialists for the former; and these prevailing, Mr. WARD proceeded. This gentleman has the organ of self-esteem as largely developed as any of His Majesty's subjects, be they whom they may: and one peculiar passion of the Honourable Gentleman is, to take His Majesty's Ministers under his especial patronage, and to crown their labours with his high approbation! One ludicrous example of this occurred in his speech of this evening. Not having attended to what Mr. Stanley had said, or being perhaps dining up stairs at Bellamy's, or taking a nap below, it had escaped him, and accordingly he began to eulogize, among other parts of the Ministerial plan, that part of it especially which compelled the negro to work out his own emancipation; when, unluckily for the orator, just as he had brought his commendations to a close, Mr. Stanley turned round to him and said that part of the plan had been given up; at which Mr. Ward expressed his great satisfaction (as if he felt bound to approve whatever the *Ministers* might do), and contended that it was a good plan nevertheless, and, had it been retained, would have been deserving all the eulogies bestowed on it; but since it had been abandoned, the eulogy was UNNECESSARY, and therefore he would pass on to other matters previously arranged for his speech.

It was one o'clock when Mr. Ward concluded; and there had therefore been eight entire hours occupied by six speakers—namely, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Mr. Stanley, Colonel Hay, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Ward—or nearly an hour and half for each; in which time sixteen persons, at half an hour each, might have stated

all they had to say, and the debate have been terminated during that very evening. At one o'clock, however, Mr. Godson rose to move the adjournment, which was acceded to, and the debate ordered to be resumed on Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 31.

In the morning sitting, at 12, the second reading of a private Bill, relating to the claims of Mr. Hutchinson on the East India Company, was moved by Mr. Briscoe, and was expected to be opposed by the Board of Control. There were just forty-two members in the House at the opening of the case; the main facts of which were as follows:—

This Bill was brought into Parliament for providing for the discharge of a debt due from the Rajah and Government of Travancore to the representative of the late John Hutchinson, Esq., and was founded on the Report from a select committee of the House of Commons of last session, who, after devoting twenty-two days to the investigation of the merits of the claim, reported, on the 8th of August last, that “a debt was due from the Rajah and Government of Travancore to the representatives of Mr. John Hutchinson, arising out of a course of fair and honourable transactions in trade,” and recommended that a Bill should be brought into Parliament, to effect its discharge.

The Bill was read a first time on the 20th of last March, since which, considerable correspondence has taken place between the promoters of the Bill, the Board of Control, and the East India Company.

The promoters were desirous that the Bill should be read a second time, and *committed*, in the belief that justice would be more effectually done to all parties in committee, by the reception of the present printed evidence, and any other testimony the Committee on the Bill might require.

The leading circumstances of the case are these:—

„ The Rajah of Travancore, an independent native prince, had large commercial dealings with Mr. John Hutchinson, formerly the commercial resident of the East India Company at Anjengo, in the East Indies. These transactions were *bonâ fide* and without concealment; and the only emoluments of Mr. Hutchinson's office, as commercial resident, were derived from the privilege he possessed of engaging in pepper dealings, and other commercial pursuits. In the course of these dealings a large debt became due from the Rajah to Mr. Hutchinson.

Both the Rajah and Mr. Hutchinson died in 1797; but there being no doubt either of the reality or justness of the debt, the *nephew and successor of the late Rajah*, in 1800, sent two of his Ministers

to settle and adjust the account with Mr. Parry, the agent of Mr. Hutchinson's representatives; who, after a lengthened examination of all the accounts, found that a considerable sum was due from the Rajah to the estate of the late commercial resident.

The succeeding Rajah (who could have had no other motive for an *admission of the debt* than a conviction of its justice) solemnly confirmed the balance of the account, and agreed, by his bond, to discharge it in six years, by stated payments.

Mr. Parry, the commercial resident of Anjengo, who succeeded Mr. Hutchinson, accordingly received several instalments from the Rajah.

Subsequently, in 1805, the East India Company bound the Rajah, by a treaty, to submit the disposal of his revenues to their advice, and afterwards occupied his country with their troops; and having possessed themselves of the revenues of the country, paid thereout *their own debt*, and such of the Rajahs private creditors as they thought proper, but *restrained* the Rajah of Travancore from making any further payments to the present claimants, and prohibited any application to the Rajah or Government of Travancore, for liquidation of the remaining balance reported by the select committee of last session to be due to the representative of Mr. John Hutchinson.

The object of the Bill was, to place the present claimants in the same situation as they were before the interference of the East India Company, who are required by the Bill to advise the Rajah of Travancore to discharge the debt due to the present claimants, or to pay it themselves.

The Rajah could then proceed in the liquidation of the debt without the interference of the resident, or incurring the displeasure of the Court of Directors of the East India Company—or the Company, by virtue of their treaty, could pay the debt out of the surplus revenues of Travancore, through their resident.

Mr. GRANT and Mr. MACAULEY, on the part of the Board of Control, opposed the second reading; and Mr. O'CONNELL advocated it, on the ground that as the justice or injustice of the claims might be fairly examined in Committee, it was proper to let the Bill pass the second reading, get it into Committee, and let it there be fairly sifted. The Ministerial party mustered too strong, however, to permit this: and on a division there were—for the Bill going into Committee, 6, of which we were proud to be one; and against it, 38. It has been often made the boast of the British Constitution (a very false one we well know) that under it there can be no wrong without a remedy. We have fully experienced the fallacy of this boast in our own case; and that of Mr. Hutchinson may be taken as another of the many instances of wrong without remedy, which are, unhappily, but too abundant in every country under the sun.

In the evening sitting, the great attraction was the development of the Ministerial plan for the Bank Charter. This drew a full House at five o'clock: and there being but little preliminary business, Lord ALTHORP entered very early into his views. They were prefaced by

a long but unnecessary speech, inasmuch as there was no resolution to be passed, no vote to be taken, and no division made. "The object of explanation could be sufficiently attained by laying the resolutions on the table: but a long speech, like a flourish of trumpets, being thought the necessary preliminary to the announcement of any plan, this was indulged in. We shall, we are certain, best consult the pleasure of our readers, however, by giving them merely the plan itself; and since this is better explained in Lord Althorp's letter to the Bank Directors, than by the resolutions themselves, we insert that entire, as it was laid before the proprietors of the Bank, at the Meeting held on this subject, in the morning of the same day. It is as follows:—

TO THE GOVERNOR AND DEPUTY-GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

Downing Street, May 2.

'Gentlemen,—After duly considering the conversations which I have had with you, the substance of which I have reported to my colleagues, His Majesty's Government have directed me to make the following proposals to you for the purpose of renewing the Bank charter.

1. 'We propose to renew the charter for twenty-one years, subject, however, to this condition,—that if, at the end of ten years, the then existing Government should so think fit, they may give a twelve-months' notice to the Bank that the charter shall expire at the end of eleven years.

2. 'That no banking company, consisting of more than six partners, shall issue notes payable on demand, within the metropolis, or within sixty-five miles from the metropolis. Banking companies, however, consisting of any number of partners, established at a greater distance from the metropolis than sixty-five miles, shall have the right to draw bills on London, without restriction as to their amount, and to issue notes payable in London.

3. 'Bank of England notes shall be a legal tender, except at the Bank, of England, or at any of its branches.

4. 'Bills, not having more than three months to run before they become due, shall not be subject to the Usury Laws.

5. An account similar to that laid before the Bank Committee of the amount of bullion and securities in the hands of the Bank, and of the amount of notes in circulation, and of the deposits in the hands of the Bank, shall be transmitted as a confidential paper, weekly, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These accounts shall be consolidated at the end of each quarter, and the average state of the Bank accounts, for the preceding quarter, published quarterly in the *Gazette*.

'A Bill will also be introduced into Parliament with the view of regulating country banks. The provisions of this measure will be such as to hold out an inducement to the establishment of joint stock banks, who will not issue their own notes.

'His Majesty's Government direct me to call your attention to the advantages which these different propositions are likely to confer upon the Bank. Their tendency must be to extend the circulation of its notes, and by relieving bills at short dates from the Usury Laws, to facilitate its ope-

rations; while, on the other hand, the only relaxation in its exclusive privileges, as they at present exist, which is required, is the permission given to joint-stock banks established at greater distance than sixty-five miles from the metropolis to draw bills, and to issue notes payable in London. His Majesty's Government, therefore, think that they have a right to expect some considerable pecuniary advantages from the Bank in the management of the Government business. They, consequently, propose that Government should repay to the Bank 25 per cent. of the debt of 14,500,000*l.* now due, and that the Bank should deduct from the payments made to them from the Government, for the transaction of the Government business, the annual sum of 120,000*l.*

'I hope that this proposal will be satisfactory to the Bank directors, and that, by making this arrangement, an end may be speedily put to the suspense now existing.

'I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

'ALTHORP.'

Mr. BARING objected to the several parts of the plan proposed by Lord Althorp, especially to the publicity to be given to their affairs, which he contended would increase rather than diminish the risk of panics; as well as to the injury that would be done to the Country Bankers, by driving all their Notes out of circulation.

Mr. GROTE approved of the plan generally; and especially that of the publicity of the Bank accounts, which he thought should be carried even farther than intended by Lord Althorp; and instead of the *averages* of their quarterly issues being made public, he would have every single week's transactions made known, at the end of each quarter, or at most every half year.

Mr. JOHN SMITH approved also of the plan generally, though he entertained some doubts as to its operation on the interests of the Country Bankers.

Mr. HUME's observations appeared to us more just than any that had been offered on the subject; and those of Colonel TORRENS were also very forcible; we, therefore, give the chief passages of their respective speeches:

'Mr. HUME regretted that he felt called upon to differ from the sentiments which had been expressed by several hon. gentlemen on this subject. He felt no hesitation in saying that to the negligence of the Bank of England was to be attributed the lamentable events resulting from the panic of 1826. At all events, he thought that those results would not have been so lamentable, if proper diligence had been used. Experience had proved, and he was far from thinking that no relief would on that occasion have been afforded, but for the Bank of England; on the contrary, he was firmly of opinion that but for the mismanaged monopoly, the lamentable and eventful period to which he had alluded, would never have occurred, nor the severe losses then suffered, sustained. He therefore could not but regret that the public were again to be subjected to an extension of that monopoly for ten or eleven years longer, and he still more regretted this, because the public were not to be benefitted. He was aware that many hon. gentlemen entertained an opinion that a government bank ought not to be established, but he was of opinion that no body of individuals could manage such an estab-

lishment like the state itself, and that government banks might be established with as able men to conduct them, as at present, and with as little trouble to the minister for the time being, as was at present experienced, and most unquestionably at a much less expense to the nation. He complained that the people were to be deprived for a continuance by the Bank of England of between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* per annum; and he strongly objected to the enjoyment by any individual bank of a monopoly extending sixty-five miles round the metropolis. This appeared to him to be a departure from all the principles, to the full extent of which the noble lord had stated himself ready to go, in order to free the country from such monopolies, and he was sorry to find the noble lord had been led to acquiesce in their continuance.

‘With reference to the bargain which had been spoken of, it seemed to him to be ridiculous that the circulation of the Bank of England should be forced all over the country, and that all the people should get nothing in return. True it was that the people would have to pay for the management of the debt 120,000*l.* instead of 248,000*l.*, but that was the only advantage to the public. With reference to the proposition that Bank-notes should be a legal tender, he could only express his opinion that it would increase the dangers to be feared from a paper currency, and would eventually drive a gold circulation out of the country; for, as the law now stood, every internal bank was obliged to retain a certain quantity of gold in its possession to answer the demand, equal to the circulation of its notes; but under the plan proposed, that was done away with, and, therefore, whenever a run for gold might arise, it would be directed to the Bank of England and its branches, and the danger consequently increased. The plan was entirely bad, and particularly as respected the renewal of the existing Bank monopoly. He saw no reason why the business of banking should not be opened the same as any other trade, business, or occupation. The hon. member for Essex had said that by the establishment of two rival banks, evil would follow, for they would be playing tricks. He must, however, remind the hon. member that the responsibility of each establishment, arising from publicity, would be a sufficient check, and under it no danger could be incurred. So far from entertaining any fears from publicity, he (Mr. Hume) thought, on the contrary, that it would tend much to the public advantage. On the whole, however, he must protest against this system of monopoly being continued, for he was sure the time would come, when it would be regretted that such an important trust as that about to be conferred, should have been placed in the hands of any set of individuals.

‘COLONEL TORRENS said, that though he considered the plan developed by the noble lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be in many respects an improvement upon the present monetary system, yet he could not discover how the dangers inherent in that were to be removed. Publicity of accounts, making Bank of England paper a legal tender, and relaxing the usury laws with respect to bills of exchange, were undoubtedly improvements, but evils of the greatest magnitude remained, for which it was not even attempted to apply a remedy. Long, varied, and calamitous experience had now established the fact that a circulating medium mainly consisting of paper money, issued by irresponsible bodies, and convertible into cash at the option of the holder, was the most fluctuating, insecure, and dangerous currency which it was possible for a great commercial country to employ. The evils of this species of currency were made manifest to a considerable extent during the crisis of 1797, which terminated in the suspension of cash payments. It would not now be contended that the pecuniary embarrassments of that period were occasioned by the

war then raging in Europe, because in 1826, when for the five preceding years there had been peace with all the world, a pecuniary crisis of a still more calamitous character occurred. The panic of 1825 and 1826, occurring during a period of profound repose, with universal peace abroad and perfect tranquility at home—that panic, traceable to no external or extrinsic cause, had its source and its origin in the nature of the system itself, and in the insecurity which belonged to a paper currency when issued at the discretion of irresponsible bodies, and convertible into cash at the option of the holder.

‘He regretted that His Majesty’s government should have proposed the renewal of the Bank charter without any essential improvement, and left the country exposed to all the calamities of an insecure and deeply fluctuating currency. The establishment of a government bank, issuing a fixed amount of inconvertible paper, somewhat under the wants of the country—say 20,000,000*l.*, and compelled, over and above this fixed amount of inconvertible paper, to issue convertible notes in the purchase of gold at the Mint price, and to receive them back again in exchange for bullion at the same price, then would the circulating medium be exactly upon the same footing with respect to amount and value as if it consisted entirely of the precious metals. The proposed bargain with the Bank was most improvident, and would assuredly disappoint the just expectations of the country.’

After a desultory conversation, in which several Members joined, the resolutions embodying the propositions contained in Lord Althorp’s letter to the Governor of the Bank of England, as already given, were laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed, the discussion on them being postponed till Monday the 10th of June.

It was about nine o’clock, when this discussion terminated, and the House then resolving itself into a Committee on the Slave Question; the debate on this subject was resumed by Mr. GODSON, who had moved the adjournment of the House on the preceding evening. We give the three most striking portions of his speech, as reported in the papers of the day.

‘Mr. GODSON rose for the purpose of expressing his sentiments upon the proposed measure of Government. He admitted that no doubt could exist as to the question of the time having arrived at which emancipation had become in a degree imperative. It could not be denied that the feeling of the people of England was almost unanimous on that point. Such being the fact, it was advisable that emancipation should take place, but it was also advisable that it should be effected in a manner which would be beneficial to all parties interested. The proposition he would first of all set out with was this—that the Parliament of England had no right to supersede the authority of the local assemblies of our colonies. Had that House, for instance, any power to delegate to the Assembly of Jamaica? He denied that it ever possessed such power. This position was illustrated by the parallel instance of the conduct of the States of America before the separation, which never recognized the authority of the English Parliament to interfere in their internal management, and when obedience was attempted to be enforced, answered the demands made upon them, not by compliance but by presenting the bayonet. This position was also strengthened by the charter granted by Charles II., which did not require the acts of the legislatures of the colonies to be confirmed by the Parliament of England, but by the King only. The people of Jamaica had always resisted any attempts

to encroach upon their undoubted rights by the Parliament of England; and a measure like the present, he was sure, the English Government would never have ventured to apply to Scotland or Ireland before the Union; but they were emboldened to force it upon the Colonies only because they were weak, and could offer but little resistance. He hoped, however, the sense of justice which distinguished Englishmen would operate to prevent the consummation of so flagrant an act, and that they would pause before they recognized the principle that power constituted right. He trusted that House would never come to such a decision.

‘In considering the question as to whether the West India possessions were property or not property, he could not help remarking that the right hon. Secretary for the Colonies had carefully abstained from denying the affirmative of that proposition. He (Mr. Godson) contended that they were property in the strictest sense. The hon. member then proceeded to contend that slaves were property, and in support of his argument quoted the decision of Chief Justice Holt, and nine other judges, in reply to a demand from the King in Council, that “negroes were merchandise.” In 1760 the planters wished to get rid of the Slave Trade, but Great Britain said that she could not suffer them to put aside a traffic which was so generally lucrative to the empire. Thus it was evident that the principle of slavery had been fostered by the mother country. For his own part he was willing to admit that the system was wrong from the beginning to the end; but it was for those who had invested it with all the attributes of property to abolish it with safety and honesty. (Hear, hear.) He considered the plan proposed by the Government to be impracticable.’

‘After several other observations, which the *impatience of the House* rendered quite inaudible, the Hon. Gentleman proceeded to comment upon the money part of Mr. Stanley’s resolutions, which he thought would not be very palatable either to the colonists or the country. He thought that the colonists were entitled to receive a larger sum in compensation than the Right Hon. Secretary proposed to give them. The Right Hon. Secretary proposed to raise the duty on sugar from 24s. to 27s. per cwt. Now, that additional duty of 3s. would produce to the country a revenue of 600,000*l.*, and a penny a-pound on coffee would produce 100,000*l.* more. Now, ought not the House in common justice to give the West Indians, from whose property this revenue was to be raised, and whose estates would be rendered almost valueless by this plan, a sum equal to that which at 3 per cent. interest would produce 700,000*l.* annually? He contended that such a sum, which amounted to 20,000,000*l.*, ought to be given them as a compensation for the loss which they would sustain, and as an inducement to them not to resist the law which involved them in utter ruin. The resolution with which he intended to conclude would embrace four distinct proposition—First of all, it would grant immediate emancipation to the negro; secondly, it would enable your resolutions to work well in practice by conciliating the prejudices of the planters; thirdly, it would provide a fund for the raising of a capital of 20,000,000*l.*, which he would pay to the colonists as a compensation; and, fourthly, it would pledge the House to lend 10,000,000*l.* to the planters on the security of the Colonies themselves. The Hon. Gentleman then moved a resolution to the effect which we have just stated; *but we are sorry to state that the constant interruption which he met with in the course of his speech*, prevented us from collecting the precise words in which his resolution was couched.’

Mr. TANCRED followed; but it being then past eleven o’clock, and the House already wearied with the length of Mr. Godson’s speech,

which extended over two hours of time, from nine to eleven, the impatience manifested was so great, the conversation so loud, and the interruptions so frequent, that very little of what was said could be heard in the House. Though Mr. Tancred spoke for nearly an hour, the report of his speech in the papers is very brief; the *Times* saying, and saying truly, that "from the conversation in the House, as well as from the position of the Honourable Gentleman, they were unable to hear him distinctly." The chief aim of his speech was to shew that the Parliament had a right to interfere with colonial matters, and to defend the plan of the Ministers, as he considered the gradual emancipation of the slaves to be better than their immediate release, and the making them pay for their redemption by their own labour, day by day, better than giving them their freedom without cost.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM, who had risen several times during the preceding, as well as the present evening, without being so fortunate as to catch the Chairman's eye, was then called upon, and, on his rising, was met with the same signs of impatience as those which had been before so loudly manifested towards Mr. Godson and Mr. Tancred, and which, indeed, is now almost uniformly shown towards every person who rises at a late hour, or who is likely to oppose the Ministers, or protract the debate. After remaining for a moment or two standing, as if determined to wait until these murmurs had subsided before he began, attention was soon restored, and the speaker then proceeded.

'Mr. BUCKINGHAM said that if he had been in the habit of frequently addressing the House, or when addressing it, of trespassing on its time at any great length, there might be some reason for those symptoms of impatience. But the House, he was sure, would do him the justice to recollect that he was the only Member who had yet proposed to limit the length of Honourable Gentlemen's speeches, and bring them all within a moderate compass: and though his proposition had not been adopted, and a great waste of the public time had consequently been allowed to take place, yet he considered himself under a tacit pledge to enforce his precept by example, and to prove the sincerity of his advice by practising himself the conduct he would recommend to others. (Hear, hear.) In the lateness of the hour, he should feel an additional reason for condensation and brevity. But, as he intended to touch on a branch of the question hitherto undebated, and to shew the preference of an *immediate* over a *gradual* abolition of Slavery, he trusted that he might have the ear of the House for the short period to which he would confine his claims on their attention. (Hear, hear.)

'When the Government plan was so ably and fully developed by the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies, he felt that there were many parts of it extremely objectionable; and, if he had had an opportunity at an earlier period of the debate, to have explained the grounds of this feeling, he would have done so at some length. But, for the present, he would content himself with saying, that the two principal features to which he should object were these—namely, the protraction of the period of emancipation to twelve years, and the making the negro pay, by a portion of his daily labour during that time, for a liberty which ought never to have been taken from him, and which should be restored to him instantly and without cost. The latter part of the plan, he rejoiced to find, was to be

given up; and seeing that the Ministers had thus yielded to the popular opinion, in abandoning that part of their scheme, he confidently hoped that, by the amendment he should propose, and the discussion to which it would give rise, they might also be induced to relinquish the other part of the plan, and give freedom to the slave in the shortest possible period of time, instead of continuing his bondage for so long a period as that originally contemplated. It was in this hope, at least, that he had framed his amendment; and in this hope he would persevere with it to the end. (Hear, hear.)

‘He would not go over the ground already so fully occupied by the Hon. Member for Bristol (Sir R. Vyvyan), on a former evening, and by the Hon. Members for Kidderminster and Banbury (Mr. Godson and Mr. Tancred), on the present, as to the right of the Parliament to legislate for the Colonies at all. Neither would he advert to the evils or the horrors of Slavery in general; because, as all parties had now admitted that the system was bad, and that it must be abolished, he should deem it a waste of time, and an unnecessary irritation of the feelings of opposing parties, to say one word on the subject. The past should be now forgiven and forgotten, if we could only secure the blessings of freedom for the future: and to the attainment of this he would therefore strongly recommend that the exertions of all parties should be exclusively devoted.

‘The motives which had led to the almost universal demand throughout this country for the abolition of Slavery were three-fold. There were, first, those—by far the largest number, and the most zealous and uncompromising—who demanded it as enjoined by religion; who deemed Slavery sinful in the eyes of God, and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. There were, secondly, those who contended for freedom as a claim of justice, and who held Slavery to be inconsistent with the rights of man, as proclaimed and protected by the British Constitution. There were, thirdly, those who saw in Slavery a most degrading, impoverishing, unsafe, and costly system of subjection—and who, on grounds of policy alone, demanded its abolition. Now, every one of these three classes advocated immediate rather than gradual abolition: the religious class, because whatever was sinful ought, they contended, to be abandoned without a moment’s hesitation or delay; the philanthropical class, because they equally contended that injustice ought to be remedied at the earliest possible moment of time; and the political and commercial class, because they conceived that the longer the system of Slavery lasted, the greater would be the amount of evil to be redressed; and the greater the difficulty of restoring freedom to the enslaved. All these were, therefore, for immediate emancipation, without any further delay than was absolutely indispensable for the protection of the public peace: and this conclusion was indeed borne out by the fact, that out of the thousands of petitions presented on this subject, bearing the signatures of more than a million of persons, they nearly all prayed for *immediate* rather than gradual emancipation, and demanded that the freedom they claimed for the slave should be given him at once, and secured to him for ever. (Hear, hear.)

‘This demand, however, was opposed by the Ministers, as well as by the West Indians, on various grounds: the principal of which were these—first, That by Immediate Emancipation, there would be great danger of insurrection, which would lead to the murder of the whites and the loss of our Colonies entirely;—secondly, That if this did not take place, the natural indolence of the slaves was so great, that no stimulus but the whip would ever make them labour even for a bare subsistence;—thirdly, That as sugar could not be cultivated by free-labour, the Abolition of Slavery would

lead to the extinction of the growth of sugar in the West Indies;—and 4thly, That the Slave Colonies of other countries, thus becoming the only places in which sugar could be grown, we should be giving them a benefit at the sacrifice of our own possessions, and encouraging that very Slave Trade, which our aim was to abolish. These, he believed, were the principal objections raised to Immediate Emancipation, and he would answer each of them in detail.

‘First, then,—As to the danger of insurrection. The causes of insurrections generally were, a strong sense of wrong, and a determination to shake off some burthen or yoke. As long as Slavery was continued, call it by what name they might, whether apprenticeship or servitude, or by any other term, as long as forced subjection to an individual master, without power of removal, or of improving wages, remained, so long would there be danger of insurrection: for so long would there be powerful motives to rebel. But when freedom had been granted—when the yoke had been taken off—when every man might seek his own employer, and fix his own terms of reward; when the blacks were elevated to the same enjoyment of equal rights with the whites, what was there to rebel for? What greater good could they hope to attain? It was not the usual conduct of mankind to rebel against their benefactors, nor to break out into insurrection when freedom was accorded to them. In general the people of all countries were too happy to receive the smallest boon from the hands of their rulers: and it was only when rights were withheld, and justice denied, that insurrections or rebellions ever did take place. They were frequent in the West Indies now—they occurred often in the East—they happened perpetually in all the despotic states of Asia, and they took place occasionally in the worst governed countries of Europe—of which Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were examples. But there were no insurrections in America, and none in England: and if there were, they would not occur because rights were conceded, but because rights were denied. (Hear, hear.) The rule was universal, that men never rebelled because freedom was granted to them; and that the only danger of insurrection lay in a denial of rights which were justly due. But, as to the murder of the whites. What was to hinder that taking place now, if the hatred of the blacks was so strong? Nothing but military force. Let then such force be still further strengthened by a preventive police, and a body of independent Magistracy, until the change from slavery to freedom should be complete; and as the slaves would have no addition to their numbers or their force by being made free, while all the motives to rebellion or revenge would be greatly lessened, we could not, for a moment, apprehend insurrection as a consequence of their obtaining their immediate freedom, though we might dread it as the almost inevitable consequence which must and would ensue on that freedom being longer withheld.

‘Secondly,—As to the indolence of the slaves, and their incapacity or unwillingness to labour for their own support. It could not be denied that the love of ease was as common to the negro race as to every other. It was not necessary to resort to Africa to discover this propensity. All men dislike to labour more than was necessary to obtain for them the enjoyments of life: beyond this, they desired leisure, or at least the entire direction and control over the employment of their time. It was also true that, in warm climates, repose was a greater luxury than in colder ones. But notwithstanding this: how stood the fact? Was it not established by evidence the most varied and unimpeachable, that wherever the experiment had been tried, it had been found that the negroes, like other men, were beings made up of hopes and fears, and operated upon by the stimu-

lus of rewards and punishments ? (Hear, hear.) They had been granted, for their own use, in some cases, a day in each week ; in others, an hour in each day : and in both they had shown that in the hour or day devoted to their own use, and the produce of which was to be for their own benefit, they had done more than in twice or thrice the time employed for the benefit of others.

‘ Had he had the good fortune to have caught the Chairman’s eye in an earlier part of the night, he was prepared to establish this by evidence, which he had brought with him for that purpose ; but at this late hour, and under the pledge of brevity he had given, he would abstain from reading the evidence he had brought. He might direct, however, those who still entertained doubts on this subject, where it would be found ; and he would accordingly name the works he held in his hand. They were not anonymous, but each the productions of authors well known and highly esteemed, both in the political and the literary world. The first was Mr. Jeremie, for many years a resident in the West Indies, as President of the Council in the Island of St. Lucie, and subsequently appointed in an official capacity to the Mauritius. This gentleman, in his *Essays on Colonial Slavery*, presented a large mass of evidence to prove that the emancipated slaves were among the most industrious of men : that under every imaginable disadvantage they acquired property, and became industrious, frugal, and prosperous artisans and traders. He gave an interesting history of the town of Castries, in St. Lucie, where the great part of the population were free blacks, and people of colour, and by whom a large amount of property was held in houses, lands, ships, &c., many individuals possessing from 2000*l.* to 3000*l.* of value ; and all acquired entirely by their own exertions. The other work was one entitled “ *Wages or the Whip*,” drawn up by Mr. Conder, a well known author, in which was collected a body of evidence to satisfy the most sceptical of this great truth, that wherever coercion or force was applied to draw forth the exertions of the negro, he gave his labours unwillingly ; and it was consequently unproductive : but wherever the stimulus of hope and reward were offered, his vigour became redoubled, his industry was untiring, and his labour was rendered profitable both to the employer and the employed.

‘ There was not the slightest ground, therefore, for the assumption, that, if liberated, the negroes would fail to support themselves ; and the best proof, perhaps, that could be given, that the Ministers did not entertain this view of the case, and consider the negro a peculiarly indolent being, was this—that though they urged his natural unwillingness to work, as an argument against his immediate emancipation, and justified the keeping him in slavery for twelve years longer, on the ground that it was necessary to teach him habits of industry (as if the unfortunate slave had not been taught those habits, by being kept at hard labour all his life), yet they expected this “ indolent being,” who they alleged could not be induced to labour, by the stimulus of hunger and nakedness, to supply the want of food and raiment, which could only be thus obtained,—they expected him, when all his wants had been supplied by the seven hours and a half of labour for his master during the day, to labour the other two hours and a half, without the stimulus of hunger and nakedness, but with the prudent forethought and design of laying up a provision for a future day ! Now, both of these positions could not be true—the negro could not be at once the most indolent and improvident, and the most industrious and prudent of the human race ; though the Ministers assumed him to be either, as it best suited their purpose. The truth was, that he was in neither of these extremes ; but his character was that of the common average of humanity

under similar circumstances to his own: whatever was bad about him, was the result of his enslaved condition, and could only be eradicated by his being made free. Whatever was good about him was part of his human nature, and, as such, was capable of progressive improvement; the first step to which must be his emancipation. And, as all slaves hitherto made free had bettered their condition from the moment of their freedom being attained, there was no good reason for doubting but that all the slaves in future to be emancipated would run the same career of improvement, some faster and some slower than others, but all at least rising above that lowest point in the scale of existence, which now marks them the next link in creation to the beasts of the field, but which, being broken, they would rise, like other rational beings, to the enjoyment of all the privileges and all the virtues of manhood and humanity. (Hear, hear.)

‘Thirdly—As to the cessation of our supplies of sugar, which it is contended, can only be had from the West Indies, and only be cultivated by slaves. It was, certainly remarkable that such an argument as this should be advanced by any one pretending to geographical, or political, or commercial information; and yet it had been dwelt upon at great length. But could honourable Members be ignorant of the fact, that in our own immense empire of the East Indies, any quantity of sugar might be obtained, the entire produce of free labour; and even now, under all the disadvantages of its growth, so much cheaper than the sugar of the West, that, to protect this, a heavy extra duty had been placed on all the sugar imported from Bengal, without which the West India sugar, produced by slave labour, would, long ago, have been driven out of the market? (Hear, hear.) It was true, that at present, the East India sugar was inferior in strength and quality to that of the West: but when the same protection of person and property should be extended to residents in Bengal, as was now enjoyed by the inhabitants of all our other Colonies—when British capitalists should be permitted to hold lands in India, establish mills, and apply the capital, the science, and the skill, of Europe, to the cultivation of sugar in the East, as they now do in the West, there was no doubt, in the mind of any person who had resided in India, that its quality might be made quite equal to that of any sugar in the world; and, therefore, that all alarm on the subject of failure of supply in this necessary or luxury of life, was perfectly groundless.

‘Fourthly—As to the encouragement which would be given to Slavery in other Colonies, and the extension of the Slave Trade for their supply, by the cessation of Slavery in our own, he thought the remedy for this perfectly easy:—If, instead of the unjust preference which had hitherto been given to the produce of slave-labour over that of free industry, the Ministers would but reverse the rule, and tax heavily the produce of Slave Colonies, while they admitted the produce of free labour on easier terms, Slavery would then become so much more unprofitable than Freedom, even to the planters themselves, that it would not long be continued. And as to the Slave Trade, he contended, that if the Government of England would only be just enough, courageous enough, and virtuous enough, to declare the Slave Trade to be piracy, wherever practised, and by whomsoever carried on—and make some severe examples of those captured in its perpetration—it would soon be swept away, as it deserved to be, from the face of the earth. (Hear, hear, hear.) There was one remarkable inconsistency in the opinions held on Slavery and the Slave Trade, to which he must, for a moment, advert. All parties were now agreed to speak of the latter with detestation and horror, even those who saw nothing in Slavery itself so bad as to require its abolition. But, for himself, he deemed Slavery to be the

worst of the two: The Slave Trade consisted in the capture and conveyance of men from Africa to the West Indies, in a most inconvenient and uncomfortable manner, it was true (a laugh); but what was Slavery but a perpetuation of this state of suffering and wrong, for all the rest of the victim's life? It was a crime, no doubt, to seize the free man, and make him a slave: it was also a crime to transport him by force from his native home to a foreign shore: but was it not equally a crime to purchase this injured victim, and to keep him in cruel bondage all the rest of his days? For his own part, though he knew it was against the commonly received opinion, he considered the subsequent bondage of perpetuated Slavery to be even *worse* than the original capture and banishment of the Slave Trade, to which it gave rise. He thought that the subsequent Slavery, though coming after, in point of time, was, in reality, the parent of the Slave Trade itself; for had there been no receivers of stolen men, men would not continue to have been stolen: had there been no buyers of Slaves, there would soon have ceased to be sellers; and he therefore could not understand the philanthropy of those who affected such extreme horror at the Slave Trade, as the means by which the victims were procured, but had no indignation whatever towards those who kept those victims all their lives afterwards in bondage, subject to misery, to stripes, and to chains. (Hear, hear.) The time, he hoped, was arrived, when both Slavery and the Slave Trade were about to be extinguished together. Let England set the proud example first; and use all her great political and moral influence with other countries, to follow it; and he did not despair, even before he sunk into the grave himself, to see Slavery abolished in every colony of the West, whether British or Foreign; as well as in the United States of America, where it had too long been a blot on the free institutions for which that country was otherwise distinguished.

‘He had thus endeavoured, much more briefly than he could have wished, (hear, hear)—as, in deference to the convenience of the House at that late hour of the night, he had omitted many arguments on which, had he been earlier in the debate, he should have felt it his duty to dwell—to show that all the reasons alleged against immediate Emancipation were capable of being refuted: and that as such immediate Emancipation was more just, and not more dangerous, than any protracted scheme, it ought to have the preference of all parties, whether they wished the abolition of Slavery on the grounds of religion, justice, or policy,—all of which were opposed to any delay whatever, beyond the shortest possible period, within which adequate arrangements could be made to carry the Emancipation into effect.

‘In conclusion, he would say a few words on the prospects which such a measure as he advocated would open to the Colonies, as well as to the Mother Country. The Negroes being released from their present degraded and depressed condition, would become subject to new motives, animated by new hopes, and cheered by new enjoyments. The means of instruction being afforded them, their leisure would be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge. Religious and moral, as well as entertaining and useful instruction, would teach them that the wants of man could be best satisfied by industry and prudence; that next to the satisfaction of the physical wants, the attainment of knowledge was at once a duty and a pleasure. The developement of every new mental faculty would expand the desire for further intellectual attainment; and thus the now dormant powers of the negro mind would be brought out into progressively increasing exercise, till they became fitted for the highest enjoyment of all social and domestic pleasures. With increased intelligence, augmented wealth would be acquired. New desires would require new materials for satisfaction. The

further developement of the resources of their own industry would furnish the means of payment or exchange; and the demand which would thus be created for British manufactures of every sort and kind, would be the most ample, as well as the most satisfactory, repayment of any temporary sacrifice which we might now be called upon to make, to carry this great measure of immediate Emancipation into effect.

"If loss should actually accrue for the first few years, from the change from a system of slave labour to one of free industry in the cultivation of the soil, he should have no objection whatever to such loss being compensated; though he believed that the Planter as well as the Slave—the Colony as well as the Mother Country—would be benefited by the change."

"As his amendment was but the first of a series of Resolutions growing out of it, which he should be prepared, at the proper time, to submit to the House, he should, for the present, content himself with following the example of the Ministers, who, though they had laid four Resolutions on the Table of the House, were going to divide only on the first. He would therefore submit only the first of his Resolutions by way of amendment; and when the sense of the House had been taken on it, he would shape his course with respect to the others accordingly. His amendment was as follows:—

"That it is the opinion of this Committee that immediate and effectual measures should be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery in all the British possessions, without further delay than may be necessary to organize a body of Magistracy and Police, for the preservation of order and peace—and without subjecting the emancipated Slaves to any payment or burthen whatever as the price of their redemption."

As Mr. Buxton, during his speech, adverted to the 'peculiar situation' in which he should feel himself placed by voting against the amendment of Mr. Buckingham, in the terms proposed above, though he had formerly moved a resolution to nearly the same effect himself, we think it our duty to submit to the reader the exact words of Mr. Buxton's resolution, that he may be under no mistake as to the real points of resemblance or difference between the two. Mr. Buxton's resolution was as follows:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee that effectual measures be taken for the entire and immediate abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the Magistracy and Police as shall secure the provision of the public peace."

How it should happen that any individual could propose such a resolution as the last, when the voice of the country had not been so loudly expressed as to give more than a moderate degree of hope that it could be carried; and after this announce his intention to oppose such a resolution as the first, when that public has demanded, in a voice of thunder, from one extremity of the country to the other, the immediate and unconditional abolition for which it contends, it is not for us to say. But we state the facts from Mr. Buxton's own lips, as reported in his speech in the debate of Thursday night, in all the Papers of the day, in which he said that he expected he should oppose such an amendment; and we submit the two resolutions to which he there refers, for comparison with each other. The Public are the Jury to decide the cause, and to them we leave it to pronounce the verdict.

Colonel DAVIES was an advocate for the immediate abolition of negro slavery, but could not shut his eyes to the great danger and difficulty of hastily adopting such a resolution as that just proposed by Mr. Buckingham. The blood and misery which followed the precipitate measures of the National Convention in St. Domingo should be a warning to them to emancipate a being surrounded by the circumstances of the negro before he had gone through such a probation as would fit him for a state of entire and irresponsible freedom. He, however, did not thereby yield his unqualified sanction to the propositions of ministers. He conceived many of the objections of Lord Howick to their adoption to be unanswerable, and he particularly objected to the proposed increase of the duty on sugar. It was admitted on all hands that the West India interest required relief, and experience had shown that consumption was diminished as price as duty was increased; therefore to increase the duty on sugar would injure the West India interest still further by diminishing the consumption. It would be much more politic and beneficial to increase the consumption by diminishing the duty.

Mr. O'CONNELL moved that the debate be then (1 o'clock) adjourned till Monday next; which was agreed to.

The other orders of the day were then speedily disposed of, by being transferred to future dates, and the House adjourned about half-past one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—JUNE 3.

One of the London newspapers recently asked, "Can any one tell us what has become of the House of Lords?"—and being unable to discover that it had been doing any thing of late, either good or evil, it further asked, "Why not sell or let the house for what it will fetch, woolsack, benches, tapestry, and all?" Whether these questions had caught the eye of any noble personage or not, we cannot say: but, at all events, they have now answered the first of them for themselves—and shewn, not only that they are still in existence, but that the halcyon calm in which they have recently indulged, was but a prelude to the coming storm. They have appeared in the field, on a question which had been concocted in silence, and of which no one seemed to have any apprehension, and taking the House by surprise; the Opposition Lords having beaten the Ministers by a majority of 12, without calling for the proxies of the absent peers, which, if produced, would probably have made the majority still greater. One remarkable feature in the division is this, that out of nine Bishops present in the House, there was only one on the ministerial side, (Dr. Maltby, Bishop of Chichester.) We must content ourselves with stating the question, and the issue of the debate, as the speeches extend over a space that would fill our entire Number.

The Duke of WELLINGTON opened the debate, by arraigning that part of the foreign policy of Lord Grey's administration, which countenanced the struggle of Don Pedro against his brother Miguel, in Portugal. He gave an elaborate history of the negotiations and proceedings by which his allegations were supported; and, after adverting to the pledge of the King and his Ministers, that we should preserve

neutrality in the contest between these brothers—while in reality we had done all in our power to aid the one against the other—he moved the following Resolution :—

‘That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to entreat him that he would be graciously pleased to give such directions as were necessary to enforce the observance, by his subjects, of His Majesty’s declared neutrality, in the contest now going on in Portugal.’

Earl GREY followed the Noble Duke, and shewed successfully that Don Miguel had gone to Portugal under the protection of this country, after having made the most solemn oaths to support the rights of the young Queen, Donna Maria; but that he had been guilty of the grossest breach of faith, in turning against the very authority he had sworn to support. Accordingly, not merely England, but other European powers, had declared him an usurper, had supported the cause of the rightful Queen, Donna Maria, and regarded Miguel as having no claim on their recognition or communication. He contended that the British Government had, notwithstanding this, done every thing in its power to preserve the neutrality to which it stood pledged; and he should therefore meet the motion of the Noble Duke with a direct negative.

The Earl of ABERDEEN followed, in support of the views entertained by the Duke of Wellington, and complained of the Government encouraging revolutionary feelings in Spain, Portugal, and other countries.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE defended the conduct of the Administration, and the Earl of ELDON condemned it, adding, that he had felt it his duty to come down in person (instead of sending his proxy), to resist the insult offered to his Sovereign by the course of policy which Ministers were pursuing.

Lord BROUGHAM followed the Earl of Eldon, and ably justified the conduct of Government. We give the two most remarkable passages of his speech :—

‘It could not be forgotten by noble lords, that though German troops had been employed not only against the liberties of the Americans (and he, as an Englishman, was ashamed to say it), but against the French, their allies, yet no breach of neutrality had been then thought of. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The case was now different with reference to Don Miguel, the usurper, as he had been called by that side of the House on which he (the Lord Chancellor) then stood (the opposition side), and that of Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal and Algarves. (A laugh.) Noble lords might indulge in a smile, but he held in his hand a letter addressed to “My dear sister and cousin Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal and Algarves,” and signed “George Rex.” (Cheers.) It was unnecessary for him to read the contents of that letter, but it reflected the highest honour upon the monarch who addressed it, and the advisers on whose suggestion it was penned. (Hear, hear.) He had shown that assistance could be given by individual subjects, even under the eyes of Government, without a breach of neutrality, which would be effected by any interference by the Government itself, and therefore the Government had studiously, scrupulously, and carefully avoided even contributing either to Don Miguel, the usurper, or to Donna Maria,

the Queen of Portugal, even so much as a corporal's guard or the crew of a cock-boat of the fleet. In this, His Majesty's government, though often twitted with suiting their line of conduct to gain popularity, had followed a proper course in resisting the demands for assistance from both quarters; though there was scarcely an individual out of the lines of Don Miguel whose heart would not have rebounded if that assistance had been afforded.

'He did not hesitate to say, nay, he was fully persuaded, that such were the irrefragable sentiments of the people of England. (Hear, hear.) There could not have been any seeking of popularity in the course which had been pursued by His Majesty's government in the sense usually accepted. But the noble duke now came forward with a vote of censure upon the Government, without the means or evidence to prove whether the assertions put forth by the noble lords here, by hon. members in the other House, or by editors of newspapers, were true or false. However, the numbers now present looked like an effort, by the result of this discussion, to effect a change in His Majesty's councils. ("No, no," from the opposition benches.) He did not mean to attribute such a motive to the noble duke who had brought forward the motion, but many of their lordships might think the present a fitting opportunity of putting an end to an administration at present engaged in agitating the great questions of the Bank and East India Charters,—the *difficult* subject of Colonial Slavery,—the amendment and improvement of the Municipal Laws of the Country,—the Irish Church Establishment, and the Tithes, and Church of England. The vote of that night would, beyond all doubt, expose their lordships to the charge of being actuated by such motives. It, however, remained to be seen, whether any considerable portion of their lordships would pass a vote of censure upon the Government, when the facts on which that vote must be grounded were avowedly in dispute, and when the evidence to support them was not even called for.' (Loud cheers.)

Lord WYNFORD followed feebly, amidst loud cries of 'Question, question, question,' which rude sounds occasionally ruffle even the serenity of the House of Lords: and after a brief reply from the Duke of Wellington, the motion was put to the vote, when there appeared—For the motion, 80; against it, 68: majority against Ministers, 12.

Lord KENYON then moved that "the Lords, with white wands, should carry up the Address to the King," which was also put and carried, without a division.

The communication between the House of Lords and House of Commons being very easy and rapid, and several of the Ministerial as well as Opposition retainers being in attendance, to await the issue of the debate, they soon appeared, bringing down the tidings to their respective parties; and although the House was in full debate on the Slavery Question, the news excited a great sensation—the countenances of the opposite parties in the House strongly indicating the degree of triumph or disappointment, which the division in the Lords had occasioned to each. The general impression was, however, that as the Commons would express a very different opinion on the same subject, and carry it by a large majority, there would be nothing to apprehend for the stability of the Administration, from this decision: and that if the Peers continued to be refractory on other subjects, the only corrective would be, to make more Peers from the liberal Commoners, and so neutralize the old leaven that still remains.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 3.

The debate on Colonial Slavery was this evening resumed by Mr. O'CONNELL, who had moved the adjournment on the preceding evening. His speech was directed entirely to the support of Mr. Buckingham's amendment, which he intended to have seconded, had it been put to the vote on the preceding evening: and he showed, very forcibly, the superiority of immediate over gradual emancipation, on the score of justice, humanity, and policy, combined. We give the most striking passages of his speech.—

'Had he then made out a case in favour of the negroes? He contended that he had. In every instance where freedom had been extended to the blacks, he had shown that the experiment was attended with perfect safety. Those various cases proved not merely the propriety, but the necessity of emancipation. The freedom of the negro would, he contended be beneficial not only to him but to the proprietor also. (Hear, hear.) The negro, they all knew, worked hard under the infliction of the lash. Where was the proof, he should be glad to know, that he would not labour equally hard for wages? (Hear, hear.) Certainly they had not heard, from the friends of the existing system, any argument to prove that the negroes would not work if they were rewarded with wages, instead of being visited with stripes. The negro was composed of the same flesh, muscles, and bones, as those who claimed a right of property in him. The negro possessed the same immortal spirit—the negro was heir to the same futurity—the negro was redeemed by the same precious blood—as those who opposed him; why, then, should he not be emancipated? Why should he not be placed on the same footing with his fellow-men? How would those who supported this system like, if, having been sent to a distant country, they were told that they must labour at the will and for the gain of others? How would they like it, if they remonstrated, and said, "We are freemen, and we will not submit to this!" to be told, "No matter for that, there is a law here by which slavery is sanctioned!" And what would be their feelings if they were sentenced to receive 39 lashes for speaking common sense and common reason? (Hear, hear). But it was argued that these negroes were positive property. Let those who thus argued show him a law for it. When they advanced such a position, let them point out to him the statute on which they founded their assertion.

'The hon. member for Kidderminster (Mr. Godson) had said: "If I buy a slave in the West Indies, he is my property; I may do what I please with him. He is as much my property as a steam-engine purchased by me in Jamaica would be. That steam-engine I might either keep there, or take to this country." Now, this latter point made all the difference; because, let the negro be once landed on these shores, and he ceased to be a matter of property; he became a man, clothed with the glorious attribute of liberty. (Hear, hear). Let him once come here, and he was a slave no longer. (Hear, hear). If brought before the Court of King's Bench, and, in one half hour, nay, in one minute, he was a freeman. (Hear, hear). This was clearly decided by Lord Mansfield in the case of the negro Somerset. It was in that case decided that the negro was property, not by law, but by custom; and then the judge came back to the old English law, and declared that custom could not be pleaded against human liberty. The King's subjects every where were entitled to the protection of the law,

and, in his opinion, if the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench was called on at that moment to extend to the colonies the remedy of the *habeas corpus*, the case of Somerset might fairly be quoted in support of such a proceeding. Unfortunately, they extended not to the negro the shield of the law, as they were bound to do. That was the great and crying defect of the whole system. Political power was granted for the protection of personal rights; and the first and greatest of those rights—that which had been most iniquitously withheld from the negro—was human liberty.

‘If it were a crime here to deprive a man of that inestimable blessing, could it be less a crime in the West Indies? He knew perfectly well that this system had been supported by the legislature,—he knew perfectly well it had been fostered by them; he knew they were *participes criminis*. They had encouraged a great crime, but were they to continue that crime any longer? No, let them at once say, “These men shall have their liberty—this is a thing no longer to be tolerated—it must be immediately done away.” (Hear, hear.) The political hypocrites on the other side of the Atlantic began their quarrel with this country by declaring that all men were equal in the eye of Heaven, and yet they followed up that declaration by persisting in the system of Slavery, by perpetuating that horrible abomination. (Hear, hear.) He hoped, however, that the voice of humanity, of common sense, and of justice, would be wafted over the waves of the Atlantic, and would speedily cause the abandonment of this nefarious system. The British legislature, by putting an end to Slavery in the Colonies, would not only do good to their own country, but would prove themselves to be the benefactors of the human race over the whole world. (Hear, hear.) Let the freedom of the negro be proclaimed in the first instance, and let the question of compensation be afterwards considered, when a proper case was made out for the Parliament to legislate upon. He called on the House at once to give liberty to their fellow-creatures—he called on them to throw aside all interested, all selfish feelings—he called on them to take this step firmly and boldly—he called on them “to be just and fear not.” (Hear, hear.)

The speeches that followed this, were principally directed against immediate Emancipation: and as we took notes of all the strongest arguments urged by each of the speakers in support of their position, that the emancipation should be slow and gradual, for the purpose of answering them, if an opportunity should be permitted, either upon moving the amendment, or any future period,—we will confine ourselves here to the statement of their objections only, so as to give to their cause the full force of all their arguments combined, and reserve our comment on them till the opportunity which we still hope to enjoy, shall arrive.

LORD DALMENY admitted that Emancipation could no longer be denied, but he objected to its being immediate, or within a shorter period than that fixed by the plan of the Ministers, namely, twelve years, because the negroes were ignorant and vindictive; and, therefore, unfit for liberty, until they should be instructed and prepared.

LORD SANDON also admitted that Emancipation was inevitable. But it behoved the Ministers to effect it with the greatest caution. He said the experiment was dangerous, as it might have the effect of losing us the Colonies altogether; in which case the following evils

would happen :—The loss of a large market, for the sale of our manufactures, the loss of employment for many thousand tons of shipping, and the consequent ruin of our trade and revenue from all those branches. He said also, that as sugar was now a necessary of life, its increase of price would be an evil to all classes ;—that an enlarged humanity ought not only to think of the sufferings of the slave, but also of the other sufferings which might be occasioned by the slave being let free. He regretted it as a misfortune that there was no precedent for such a large grant of freedom as was here demanded : and he thought that the transition from even political slavery to political freedom, in all countries in which it had yet taken place, was far from encouraging. He argued that nothing could be done in the affair, without the consent of the Colonial Proprietors ; and, therefore, to ensure their co-operation, he should propose that a gift of twenty millions should be made to them as the purchase-money for their slaves ; and a further loan of ten millions be granted on Colonial property, to enable them to work their estates on the free labour system. He did not mean to take a division on his resolutions, but would cordially support the plan of Government, on the understanding that if this support were given by the West India body, these improvements, and extensions of pecuniary aid, should be accorded to them.

Admiral FLEMING made a short but very valuable speech, coming, as it did, from one who was personally acquainted with the West Indies, from long service ; who had given his evidence before the Parliamentary Committees ; and who was a valuable witness, as well as an advocate, in favour of the superiority of free labour over slave labour in the estates on which the difference had been tried. We give the following passages of his speech :—

‘ Admiral FLEMING said he could speak from his own experience as to Venezuela, to which the Noble Lord had referred, and that upon the authority of the Bishop there, he could state, that in the Caraccas and Caraboo, the sugar-estates were worked by labourers, two-thirds of whom were free negroes. There were no estates there on which there were slaves but those belonging to Englishmen. (Hear.) He could state as a fact of which he had cognizance, that rum had been exported from the Caraccas to Jamaica. So much for the arguments of those who maintained that indolence and indisposition to work formed the characteristics of freed negroes. With regard to the Colonial Legislatures, he would say this of them, that if that House had required reformation, they required it in a double degree. There could not, in fact, be a greater mockery of representation than those colonial assemblies. The colonial assembly of Jamaica consisted of forty-seven members, upwards of thirty of whom had no property in the island whatever. There were amongst them needy lawyers, bankrupt attorneys, and such like characters, who were constantly keeping their eyes directed to the Government-house, the source of patronage and promotion. There might be four or five respectable men in that assembly, but he was told, at the time he was there, that if the whole of their property was sold it would not pay 10s. in the pound of their debts. The charters of those assemblies had been obtained by corruption and were maintained by fraud. This country had, upon every ground, a just right to resume the powers which had been granted to them, and he, for one, hoped to see the charters of all

those colonial legislatures in the West Indies suspended until the emancipation of the slave was fully effected.

‘It was said that the abolition of Slavery would increase the importation of negroes from Africa. Now, he firmly believed that from the moment Slavery was abolished, another African would not be imported into the West Indies. They had heard a great deal in this debate about the revolution in St. Domingo, and no doubt it was a dreadful one. But it was not commenced by the blacks. The white and mulatto population commenced it, and used the blacks as their instruments. After the dreadful convulsions through which that island had passed, they had now one Government established there, and it was daily and hourly increasing in prosperity and civilization. He would state that he saw neither indolence nor barbarism amongst the population in that island. He saw negro schools in operation—negro education in progress—negro judges presiding in the Courts of Justice, and, in fact, every thing that betokened the establishment of civilization and good order.’

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE followed Admiral Fleming. The avowed object of his rising was to refute some allegations made by Lord Howick, with respect to the management of one of his father's estates in Demarara, where it was said an increase of sugar, an increase of punishments, and a decrease of life had gone hand in hand together: as well as to contradict some statements of Mr. Buxton relative to the decline of negro population, from severe treatment. This amiable object, the defence of a father's reputation by a son, obtained for Mr. Gladstone, from the first moment of his rising, a strong personal sympathy and corresponding attention. But he soon proved himself worthy of this on other and higher grounds. For when he had disposed of what might be called the personal part of the question, he availed himself of the opportunity of being in possession of the House, and having its favourable ear, to enter on the general topic of Slavery, its abolition, and the terms on which it could alone be effected. There were one or two fallacies in his speech, quite natural to one who belonged to a West India family, and who would inherit West India property. But on the whole, in matter and manner, it was one of the best conceived and best delivered speeches on that side of the question. The thoughts were consecutive and well arranged, the language was chaste and even elegant, the manner was modest and gentlemanly in the highest degree; and all seemed to feel, that as a first effort for a very young Member, (Mr. Gladstone being, we should suppose, not more than twenty-five) it was one of the most successful that has been witnessed during the present session. It must be admitted, that almost every concurring circumstance was favorable: he was up very early in the evening—he was a young son, defending an absent father from imputations affecting his humanity—he was one of the party to be deeply affected by the question at issue—and he was not known as a holder of extreme or strong opinions on politics generally—so that, while he enjoyed the good-will of his own friends, he had never said anything to provoke the opposition of enemies. He concluded, by admitting Emancipation to be inevitable, recommended its being speedy, and hoped the House would enlist the alliance of the Colonial Legislatures, and the Proprietors, by awarding a full compensation.

Lord HOWICK and Mr. BUXTON each spoke for a short time ; but as they addressed themselves only to the points on which Mr. Gladstone had asserted them to be in error, the controversy did not last long, nor greatly affect the merits of the general question.

Sir ROBERT PEEL rose about a quarter before eleven, and spoke till a quarter before one—or fully two hours. He began with a degree of fierceness rather than earnestness, which did not harmonize with his solemn asseverations as to the awfulness of the subject he was about to approach ; and which was clearly above the standard of the real tone and temper of his mind, as he broke away into comparative tameness soon afterwards, and then alternated between the impassioned and the indifferent, the affectation of philosophising and the simplicity of common-place. In this large space of time, he went over the whole question, from beginning to end ; but though we sat on the same bench, next but one to the right hon. baronet, and watched, with paper and pencil in hand, every sentence that fell from his lips, the following were the only arguments we could glean for our note-book, as at all bearing against immediate Emancipation, to the denunciation of which all his force was directed.

He said, there were physical causes as well as moral ones, in operation in the West Indies, which prevented the amalgamation of the races, and prevented the equalizing the condition of the blacks and the whites. The natural indolence of the African, and the ease with which, by a very little labour, he could obtain ample subsistence, would effectually prevent the emancipated slave from becoming industrious. He objected to the terms of the first resolution, where *immediate* and effectual measures for the entire abolition of Slavery, were deemed expedient ; and as he thought that even the measures to be taken, should not be immediate, and Slavery itself be only gradually and ultimately abolished, he would propose the word “immediate” to be wholly omitted. He did not propose any plan himself, because of his utter ignorance of the Colonies, and their localities, for which reason he thought it would be best for the House to declare the principle, and leave the execution to the local Legislatures, by whom those localities would be so much better understood. He said the slaves were now too ignorant to be entrusted with the privileges of free men ; and ought to be only slowly emancipated, and that after due preparation. Another reason why he thought the local Legislatures ought to arrange all the details of the plan was, that he understood, the value and condition and treatment of the slaves, was so different in the different Colonies, that no general law passed here could apply equally well to all. He thought the making them work out their own freedom the safest and the best mode of release. The exercise of an enlarged humanity, however, would not be content with merely relieving the sufferings of the slaves : it would look to other consequences. Sugar, he said, was now a necessary of life : and if it failed to be produced in our own Colonies, by the emancipated negroes, it must be had from other Colonies of foreign countries ; the consequence of which would be, that to raise the requisite supply, the slaves in those Colonies would be much

more severely worked than before, and the Slave Trade would be put into active operation, to supply the loss of life which this increased cruelty would occasion. Before he concluded, he would warn the House of the dangers of immediate Emancipation, by referring to the history of the debate in the National Convention of France, on the abolition of Slavery in St. Domingo, which is expressed in the following extract of his speech.

‘The Right Hon. Baronet here read a description of the discussion which took place on that occasion, when, after a discussion, for the close of which the assembly had manifested great impatience, the vote for the Emancipation of the Negro was carried by acclamation. The coloured deputies from St. Domingo were introduced, and received the fraternal kiss, (laughter) first from the president, and afterwards from the other members, and at the close Danton made a speech, in which he predicted the universal spread of freedom, and the downfall of England. (Hear, hear.) How had all the results that had been anticipated from that vote of the assembly been realized? He would not go to St. Domingo, and he wished that others had abstained from any allusion to it; but he would take the island of Guadaloupe. The Right Hon. Baronet here gave an affecting description of ruin and devastation brought upon the white owners of property in that island, by the horrible excesses of the liberated negroes, which not all the efforts of General de Fourncau could prevent; nor were they wholly abolished until Slavery was again restored, which continued to the present day. (Hear.) He implored the House to consider the awful responsibility of what they were about to do, and not to omit from their consideration that, in the attempt to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in our own colonies, they might greatly aggravate the miseries of those of other countries. (Cheers.)’

Sir ROBERT PEEL has always a sarcasm ready to be levelled at anything that betokens a true love of liberty: and hence his introduction of the fraternal kiss in the French National Convention. He has also an abundant store of affecting narratives, when he wishes to move the House in favour of tyranny: and hence his heart-rending stories, told in support of the Irish Coercion Bill, and his moving descriptions of ruin and devastation, in support of Negro Slavery. If the Right Hon. Baronet wished to find subjects, either for sarcasm, for horror, or for indignation, he might be abundantly supplied with materials, from Irish and from West India sufferings, and such as might, in his hands, be made to awaken sympathy for the wrongs of both. But his bowels of compassion are not moved toward the destitute Irish peasant, or the lacerated African slave. His pity is so exhausted for the oppressors, that he has none left to bestow upon the oppressed.

LORD ALTHORP made a brief reply, when strangers were ordered to withdraw, in order to put the resolution to the vote.

MR. HUME then suggested to Mr. Godson, whose amendment came first in order of time, to withdraw it, in order to let the first Resolution pass unanimously, to which he assented.

MR. STANLEY said, that as the Hon. Member had consented to withdraw his amendment, and as they were not likely to divide on the first resolution, he felt it right to admit that they should have the co-

operation of the colonial legislatures to carry this measure into effect; but still it was right that the imperial legislature should have the initiative, for it was now admitted on all hands that the thing could not be longer deferred, for if the principle of emancipation were not now adopted, it must come at last, and perhaps with consequences the most ruinous. We should therefore now take the initiative; and the colonial legislatures would have the detail. He concurred with the Right Hon. Baronet that we had not time to go into all the details in the present Session. The Right Hon. Baronet would be satisfied with a resolution declaratory of the principle; but he (Mr. Stanley) would go a step further, and make a beginning at once, and leave the details to be filled up by the colonial legislatures; but he would have even a provisional execution of those measures, that was, that if the colonial legislatures did not fill up the outline which we drew by a day to be named, we should in the next Session, however much time it might take up, or with whatever trouble or danger it might be attended, go through the whole of the details, and take immediate measures for carrying them into execution. In conclusion, and now that the principal resolution was about to be adopted, he could not but congratulate the House and the country, and the friends of humanity in general, that the fiat of Emancipation was gone forth from the British House of Commons, and that all that now remained to be settled, was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. (Loud cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL said he would move, to mark his opinion of the impolicy of immediate abolition, that the word "immediate" be omitted from the first resolution, and also that for the word "entire" the word "ultimate" be substituted; but he would not divide the House on either, from his wish of having unanimity on the first resolution.

These amendments were then put and negatived.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM then rose to put his amendment; and regretted that the lateness of the hour (then half-past one o'clock) prevented him from replying to those arguments against immediate emancipation, which had formed the chief topic of the night. With the minds of honourable members still under the impression of all that they had heard against that immediate emancipation which his amendment was intended to claim and secure, it was highly disadvantageous to him to have to place his motion at once into the Chairman's hands without such reply. But he felt so strongly the necessity of having some shorter limit fixed to the duration of Slavery than the twelve years contemplated by the Government plan, that as a matter of duty to his own conscience, to his constituents, and to the slaves, he felt bound to press his amendment, which was then read, in the terms already given.

Lord HOWICK begged the indulgence of the House for a single moment, while he entreated the Honourable Member for Sheffield to postpone his amendment for a short period at least. In the spirit and in the terms of that amendment he entirely concurred, and would give it his cordial support at a future stage of the proceedings. But, for the present, he thought it of the highest importance to let the first

resolution of the Government, and the Committee, determining on the entire abolition of Slavery, go forth as the unanimous opinion of the whole House: and on that ground, and on that alone, he entreated the Honourable Member to defer his amendment to a future stage of the proceedings.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said he was not disposed to throw the smallest obstacle in the way of that unanimity which all parties seemed to think so important, to give effect to the declaration contained in the first Resolution of the Committee, now about to be put to the vote. (Hear, hear.) He concurred entirely in every word it contained; and his only objection to it was, that it did not go far enough, because it did not fix a period at which Slavery should cease, but left the term of its duration still undetermined. If, however, the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the House, would give him the distinct understanding that the pressing his amendment was merely to be deferred, but not withdrawn, and that it should be open to him to bring it forward at some future period, so as to fix the House to some specific time, and distinguish between the speedy and the tardy Abolitionists, he would readily consent to its postponement. And he was the more disposed to this, from the promised support of the Noble Lord (Howick) whose views were so strongly in favour of that immediate emancipation which the amendment went to enforce, and whose co-operation was so strongly tendered in its support. With this distinct understanding, therefore, he would postpone his motion to a future stage. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. STANLEY's first resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this Committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors," was then put and carried unanimously, amidst loud cheers, and the House adjourned at two o'clock; which afforded many of the members broad day-light by which to retire to their beds.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—JUNE 4.

The Tory party in the House of Lords, encouraged by the victory of last night, mustered again this evening in considerable strength—though the only business before the House was the presentation of petitions. The first of any great public interest presented was by the Earl St. Vincent, against the Government plan of emancipation, on behalf of the West India proprietors, in whose views he concurred, and to whose allegations and arguments the Earl of Ripon briefly replied.

Lord SUFFIELD, on presenting a petition for the abolition of Negro Slavery from Cork, signed by 6,000 persons, contended that the right of property of man in man was contrary to the law of nature, to reason, and revealed religion. The negro had an immortal soul, and as such was responsible in a future state of existence; and he appealed to the Right

Reverend Bishops, whether free agency was not a necessary condition of this responsibility. He also appealed to them, whether a black's soul was not as dear to God Almighty as the soul of any of their Lordships. The fact was, Slavery was destructive of the interests of religion, as well as of the physical comforts of the negro,—witness the diminution of 52,000 negroes, out of an aggregate number in 11 years. The Noble Lord having quoted Blackstone, in order to show that Slavery was opposed to the free principles of the British Constitution, and the opinion of Chief Justice Holt, to the effect, that even Parliament did not possess the power of declaring, by enactment, that Slavery should be established in the British dominions, proceeded to cite a case mentioned in Mr. Jeremie's "Essays on Colonial Slavery," which showed that not later than 1815 a slave boy was in Martinique hanged for running away from his master, while his mother, who harboured him, was, after being compelled to witness his execution, condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Now, in this horrible case, what was the crime? Was the negro property? If so, he must be at best stolen goods. To whom did his body and its use belong by the law of nature but to himself? From whom, therefore, in running away, did he take anything? Surely only his own body, which belonged to himself alone. He need not dwell upon the argument of custom or usage, which had been set up in justification of the present system of Negro Slavery, as Lord Mansfield had clearly over-ruled it, that such a custom was a *malus usus* which the law could not sanction.'

The Duke of WELLINGTON presented a petition from the London bankers, merchants, ship-owners, and others, emanating from the great West India Meeting at the City of London Tavern, about a fortnight since, and signed by nearly 2,000 persons, against the Government plan for emancipating the slaves. The Noble Duke was answered in a very feeble strain by the LORD CHANCELLOR, whose moderated tone on the subject of Slavery was so striking, in contrast with the language he held before he was elevated to the woolsack, that we cannot avoid putting them in juxtaposition. The following is an extract from his speech in the House of Lords:—

'He could not but express his satisfaction at the calm and liberal tone of the noble lord who had presented the first petition on the subject (Lord St. Vincent.) He felt confident that the advice which that noble lord gave to the colonial interests was worthy of him to give, and of them to receive; he trusted it would be acted on. He entirely agreed with the noble duke, that the more the colonists could be brought to co-operate with the Legislature, and the further they could be carried along with it, the better; but he did not concur in what the noble duke might probably consider a corollary on that proposition,—namely, that unless the colonial Legislatures consented to act, and till they did act, it was impossible for the British Government to perform that great and important duty to which it stood pledged to the slave, to the master, and to the country. He trusted that the colonists would listen to the *sound, judicious, and temperate advice* of those *West India proprietors* who resided in this country, now that Parliament was disposed—nay determined to have the question settled on just grounds, but *within a reasonable time*—in point of fact, as speedily as possible. The mere sending out of such a resolution as had happily passed the Commons last night without a division, would be of the greatest use, by impressing the colonists with a sense of the unanimity that prevailed on the subject; but so long as a hope or fancy was indulged that the House of Lords would oppose itself to a settlement of the question (which expectation he trusted

their lordships would speedily put an end to), he was aware that a satisfactory conclusion could not be arrived at with the concurrence of the colonial Legislatures. The noble and learned lord then presented petitions for the total and *speedy* abolition of Slavery, from females of Bradford, from Beverley, and forty-two other places.¹ The noble and learned lord also presented a petition from the corporation of merchants of Glasgow, praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill for establishing a new court of bankruptcy; also for an alteration of the jurisdiction of sheriffs in cases of bankruptcy.²

The peculiarities of this address are—first, the great admiration expressed at the *calmness of tone* which pervaded the speech of Lord St. Vincent:—secondly, the great deference shown to the sound, judicious, and temperate advice of the *West India proprietors*:—and, thirdly, the substitution of the word *speedy* for *immediate*, which was the phrase used in the petitions presented; as if to give still greater effect to the term, *within a reasonable time*, which though subsequently interpreted as meaning “as speedily as possible,” is yet, taken in conjunction with the advocacy of the Government Plan, a period of twelve years! which is neither speedy nor immediate. Let us contrast this with the language of Henry Brougham, the Member for Yorkshire, in his speech delivered in the House of Commons, in the month of July, 1830. On that occasion he said:—

‘I trust, that at length the time is come, when Parliament will no longer bear to be told, that slave owners are the best lawgivers on Slavery: no longer suffer our voice to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times. Such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes:—such it is at this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man. And by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law, and of treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not, assuredly, by Parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their Assemblies beware—let the Government at home beware—let the Parliament beware! The same country is once more awake—awake to the condition of Negro Slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the Slave Trade; and if it shall descend again, they on whom its crash

may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them : but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God !'

Had such a speech as this been delivered from the woolsack by Lord Chancellor Brougham, in June, 1833, what a weight it would have carried with it to every corner of the empire ! But no ; before he attained to power he was the eloquent, uncompromising, and indignant advocate of immediate and complete Emancipation. Now that he has attained to power, he is the admirer of a calmer tone in others, and the utterer of softer tones himself : he wishes the advice of West Indians, as sound, judicious, and temperate, to be adopted, and all things to be done in a reasonable time : and with more rapidity than he would substitute Freedom for Slavery, he passes on to petitions on the subject of bankruptcy and other matters, as if to escape from the former subject, and wear away its impression by dwelling on others.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 4.

There being a ballot expected for a Committee on the Stafford Election, the House was well attended at four o'clock, there being nearly 200 Members in their places at prayers. The counsel and parties not appearing, however, when called, the business proceeded in the ordinary way, beginning with private bills, reports, &c. and passing on to petitions. The only one of these that gave rise to any discussion, was that of Mr. Beamish, a clerk discharged from a public office, while able and willing to work, and placed on the superannuation list, while another was appointed to fill his place, by which the petitioner lost his salary, and the public were not benefitted, as they had no better services, and were charged with increased cost, having only one servant to do the duty, but two persons to pay—the one a salary, and the other a pension of superannuation. Sir THOMAS FREEMANTLE stated the case, and Mr. POULETT THOMSON answered it ; and the only result obtained was, not any redress beyond that of the petition being laid upon the table.

The next subject touched on, excited the deepest interest. A rumour had been spread, which was generally believed in the House, that in consequence of the defeat of Ministers in the House of Lords last night, Earl Grey had gone down to Windsor, to tender his resignation to the King. The greatest anxiety prevailed, therefore, to know whether this were true or not ; and as it could be only ascertained publicly, by some indirect question to some member of the Administration then in the House, the following enquiry and reply took place.

'Lord EBRINGTON.—I wish to put a question to my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to what occurred last night in another place. I wish to ask him whether it is in the contemplation of His Majesty's government to make any change in the foreign policy of this country with regard to its relations with Portugal ? I am aware that our relations with that country will be regularly brought before the house

on an early night by my hon. and gallant friend the member for Worcester (Colonel Davies); but I think it essential that the house should receive from my noble friend (the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) an assurance that no steps will be taken by His Majesty's government to change its foreign policy, in consequence of what has taken place elsewhere, until this house, which has as good a right to express its opinion with respect to our foreign relations as the other house of Parliament (loud cries of "Hear"), and whose sentiments I believe to be diametrically in opposition to those expressed in another place (still louder cries of "Hear"), has had an opportunity of making known its opinion upon that policy. (Hear, hear). I consider it essential, I say, that we should receive an assurance from my noble friend that no change will be made in our foreign relations, until that opportunity is afforded us (hear, hear); for I believe that the sentiments not only of a large majority of this house, but also of a large majority of those whose representatives we are (hear, hear), are at variance with the sentiments of the House of Lords, not only upon that question, but also upon many other questions which will shortly come before it, involving the best interests, and even the tranquillity of the country.' (Loud cries of "Hear.")

'Lord PALMERSTON.—In reply to the question which has just been put to me by my noble friend, I have only to say, that during the period which my hon. colleagues and myself have had the honour to be the advisers of the Crown, we have, with respect to the affairs of Portugal, and, indeed, of every other foreign country, pursued that course, and acted upon those principles, which in our consciences we thought most conducive to the interests of the country, and to the honour and dignity of the Crown (loud cries of "Hear"); and I can assure my noble friend, and, along with my noble friend, the house at large, that so long as we have the honour of advising the Crown, and the task of directing its counsels, we shall not depart from the course which we have hitherto pursued, nor swerve from those principles by which we have hitherto been guided.' (Loud cheers).

The anxiety of Members as to the present position of the Ministers, being satisfied, (as from this answer it was inferred that neither resignation nor change of policy was intended) more than half the number present left the House; the noise and confusion of which was so great that, though Sir George Staunton rose to bring forward his resolutions on the Trade with China, he was obliged to stand, for five minutes at least, before he could even begin. When he did begin, however, the low tone in which he spoke—the confused nature of his sentences, and the embarrassment of his delivery, was such, that, though we sat within a few feet of the Honourable Member, we could not comprehend even the drift or general tenor of his observations. The consequence of this was, that out of the 100 Members left in the House, about 50 gradually stole away, and the remaining 50 kept up such a conversation with each other, that the united murmurs of their voices completely drowned the single effort of Sir George Staunton; and ultimately we could not hear one word in ten that fell from him. We give the report of the proceeding, which is very accurate, from the Times:—

'Sir G. STAUNTON rose to submit the resolutions respecting the trade with China, of which he had given notice, and copies of which had been so long in the hands of Members. The Hon. Member then proceeded to address the House, but in such a low indistinct tone that, though he spoke for nearly

an hour, it was utterly impossible to collect even the general import of his speech. Some of his sentences were commenced in a clear and distinct tone, but almost invariably his voice fell before the conclusion, and the latter part was lost. The only remarks which we were enabled to collect entire were—an expression of his regret at having had his Resolutions so long in the hands of Members without being able to bring the subject forward, so as to give some explanation to the House of the grounds on which the Resolutions stood. He felt the disadvantage of the position in which he now stood in urging the case at this particular moment, when the House were anxious to proceed with the consideration of another very important subject; but he could not, considering the importance of this question and the period of the Session, consent to any further delay. Besides, he thought that he should be consulting the interest of the public better by bringing the subject forward while the question between the Government and the East India Company was yet *sub judice*, rather than defer it to a period when the plans of Government should be fully matured. There were circumstances which fully justified the Government to take a general review of the China Trade. The first of these was the great extent of the private trade. The Hon. Member was proceeding, when

‘Mr. Sheriff HUMPHERY (we believe) moved that the House be counted.

‘Strangers were now ordered to withdraw, and the gallery was cleared; but on counting the House, it was found that 40 Members were present.

‘The Gallery was re-opened, and on our return to it we found

‘Sir G. STAUNTON still addressing the House. He continued to do so for about a quarter of an hour, when (the House having in the interim become very thin)

‘Mr. Sheriff HUMPHERY again moved that the House be counted.

‘The gallery was again cleared, and, on counting, 40 Members not being present, the House adjourned to the following day.’

It was subsequently stated to us, that the Speaker was unwell: and that after the first counting of the House, several Members had been privately requested to withdraw, for the purpose of reducing the number down below forty, that there might by that means be a good assignable reason for the adjournment. This was corroborated by the fact, that on our returning, by the Long Gallery, from the House of Lords, where we had gone, with Mr. Stanley, Mr. Buxton, Mr. O’Connell, and a number of other Members interested in the Slave Question, to hear the Duke of Wellington, Lord Suffield, and Lord Brougham on the subject of the West India Petitions, we found the lobby of the House of Commons full of Members instead of strangers, as if there were a division going on; when, on enquiring, we found they were Members who had come out purposely to thin the House down below forty; and that while some were continually coming out, none could get in, till at length, on the second counting of the House, the number was found to be below forty as stated, and the adjournment took place, of course. Whether the real cause of this was the desire of Ministers not to proceed with the Colonial Question, or any other of importance, till the King had been consulted, as to their still retaining office, as believed by some,—or the illness of the Speaker, as alleged by others, we could not precisely ascertain: as both might have operated together. But we can safely assert that it was from

some other than the apparent or avowed cause, as there were enough of Members crowded together in the lobby to have counted an hundred, with those inside, if it had been desired. That the Speaker should be really ill, could be matter of wonder to no one, considering the continued attendance he is obliged to give, early and late, to his duties. But even if this were true, it seems a monstrous defect, that the public business should be suspended on that account. In the House of Lords, where there is not a tenth part of the business to get through, there is a Deputy Speaker, who, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, takes the Woolsack. In the House of Commons, which is overwhelmed with business, there is no Deputy Speaker, nor any one that can be appointed, even temporarily to fill the Chair: nor is it according to Parliamentary usage, to move an adjournment of the House on account of the Speaker's illness, or inability to attend, though that would be a rational cause. But, instead of this, a fiction, or rather a falsehood, for in spirit it is one, is resorted to; 100 Members are actually present, and by private canvassing 50, are persuaded to withdraw into the lobby. The gallery is cleared; another piece of absurdity, which is wholly unnecessary—and the House is counted—when there being more than 40 present, it resumes and proceeds: a quarter of an hour more is suffered to elapse, for the sake of preserving a decent appearance, and in the interim twenty more Members are induced to withdraw—the gallery is cleared a second time—a second counting takes place, and there is only thirty Members—the House adjourns. Now, all this, supposing either of the alleged causes to be the true one, might have been very simply done: first, by one of the Ministers moving, that as it would be inconvenient to proceed with the public business, until certain matters connected with the vote of the preceding evening were finally adjusted, the House should adjourn: or, secondly, by some other person moving that, as the Speaker was, from indisposition, unable to preside, the House should be adjourned; either of which propositions would have been assented to instantly. But, as fiction seems to be preferred to truth, in the greater part of the forms of proceeding in the most *honourable* House, where the wisdom of our ancestors so long prevailed,—so the crooked mode is resorted to instead of the strait, and the public are left to wonder why 40 Members cannot be got together out of 658, at so reasonable an hour as four o'clock in the afternoon, and to discuss such important questions as the Trade with China, the Abolition of Slavery, Reform in the Irish Church, and twenty other important questions, which stood on the Order List of the night: and any one of which would have been sufficient to engage their serious and earnest attention. In short, the House still wants reforming altogether, externally and internally: and it would be useless to have a new building, unless there be also new materials to fill it with, and new rules and regulations for their conduct.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 5.

Three concurring causes, each sufficiently powerful of itself to prevent the formation of a House, happened to-day to operate all together:—namely, first, indisposition of mind in the Ministers; secondly, indisposition of body in the Speaker; and, though last, not least, the attraction of Ascot Races. Accordingly, in addition to some twenty dropped notices and dropped orders of the preceding night, were now to be added another twenty of this evening: all of which would have to be fixed for other days at some distant date. The simple process of doing one thing at a time, and not beginning on the succeeding subject till the one immediately preceding it, had been disposed of, would prevent all this confusion: but now, such is the state of the order-book, and such the repeated transfers and postponements, that no man can tell when any motion of which he has given notice, is even likely to come on; or whether he shall be able to bring it forward during the present session, or not.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Leave of Absence.

To Mr. Townley a fortnight.

New Members Sworn.

George Poulett Scrope, Esq. for Stroud.

James Kennedy, Esq. for Tiverton.

Reports brought up.

Privy Council Bill.—Allowance to Judges.—Resolution reported;

“That two retired Judges who may have held the office of Judge in the East Indies, or any of His Majesty’s Dominions Abroad, and who being named by His Majesty for that purpose, shall attend the Sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as Members thereof, shall be entitled to receive the sum of £400 out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for every year of such attendance.”

Resolution agreed to;—Instruction to Committee on Privy Council Bill to make provision accordingly.

Notices of Motion.

Colonel Davies.—On reading Order for going into Committee of Supply, to move, That a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the Military and Colonial Expenditure of the Country [*deferred* from Monday 3d June till Monday 10th June.]

Mr. Rotch.—Bill to alter the Law of Forfeiture, with a view to deprive Sheriffs of the power of seizing the goods of convicted felons, whereby indigent families are often brought to utter ruin, and thrown upon their parishes for relief. [*Tuesday 11th June.*]

Sir Robert Heron.—Bill to prevent the necessity of a Member vacating his Seat in Parliament on accepting an Office under the Crown. [*Thursday 13th June.*]

Mr. Fryer. — Bill to alter and amend Act 9 Geo. 4, c. 60, commonly called the Corn Law. [*Tuesday 18th June.*]

Mr. Charles Buller.—Resolutions declaring the necessity of continued and extensive reductions in all the public establishments [*deferred from Friday 7th June till Thursday 20th June.*]

Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.—On the general state of our Establishments, Pensions, and Dead Weight, with a view to effect a greater simplification in our Accounts, and all practicable reduction in our Expenditure. [*Tuesday 25th June.*]

Mr. Hume.—To take into consideration the Report of the Committee on the expediency of erecting a new House of Commons [*deferred from Tuesday 4th June till Tuesday 25th June.*]

Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer.—Resolutions, 1. That one main cause of whatever distress or immorality may exist among the working classes of this Country is to be found in the present administration of the Poor Laws.—2. That the best mode of removing the abuses of the Poor Laws will be in the appointment of a Central Board, aided by Subordinate Commissioners [*deferred from Tuesday 6th June till Thursday 4th July.*]

Mr. Barron.—To move, in Committee on Carrickfergus Disfranchisement Bill, that the Town of Carrick on-Suir, and its suburbs, extending two miles on every side, be empowered to return one Member to Parliament.

Mr. Rotch.—Select Committee to consider the present state of the Hackney Carriages, Stage Coaches, and Omnibuses of the Metropolis. [*Tuesday 11th June.*]

Sir Andrew Agnew.—Bill or Bills to amend the Laws relating to the Observance of the Lord's Day in Scotland. [*Tuesday 18th June.*]

Mr. Colquhoun.—Bill to regulate the Patronage of Churches in Scotland erected by voluntary contributions. [*Tuesday 18th June.*]

Mr. Halcomb.—To call the attention of the House to the present state of the English Poor Laws, and for leave to bring in Bills for amending the same. [*Thursday 27th June.*]

Mr. Wolryche Whitmore.—Select Committee, to consider the propriety of promoting and extending a system of Emigration, through the means of funds arising from the sale of waste lands in the Colonies in North America and Australia [*deferred from Tuesday 4th June till Tuesday 16th July.*]

. From the manner in which the Committee on Colonial Slavery has become one of the dropped orders of the day, there is no saying when it will again come on for discussion. We are happy to find, however, that though Mr. Buxton in his speech spoke of his intended opposition to the Amendment proposed by Mr. Buckingham, on the first Resolution of the Committee, he has given notice of the following, as an Amendment on the Third Resolution, which he intends to move, and which, being in substance the same as that of Mr. Buckingham, will have his cordial support; and prove Mr. Buxton to be an Immediate Abolitionist after all, notwithstanding his threatened opposition to the motion for that Immediate Emancipation while it was in Mr. Buckingham's hand. We copy the following from the Order Book:—

‘Mr. Fowell Buxton,—To move, in place of the Third Resolution on Colonial Slavery, That all persons now Slaves be entitled to be registered, and to acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of labouring for wages, during a period not exceeding one year, for their present masters.’

THE COMMERCIAL ENQUIRER.

OPENING OF THE TRADE WITH CHINA—OVERLAND TRADE THROUGH RUSSIA.

THE developement of the Ministerial plan for the future government of India, and commerce with China, is to be made to the House of Commons on Tuesday next. Rapidly, therefore, as we have endeavoured to put our readers in possession of our opinions, by an article on some branch of this subject almost every week, we have not yet been rapid enough to put them in possession of all the information requisite to give them a complete view of a question so vast in all its bearings, and so necessarily extensive in all its details. We shall continue, however, from week to week, during the continuance of the Session at least, to follow up the subject, by other articles, in reference to other branches of it, until all the most important facts and arguments that are necessary to enable them to form their own conclusions are fairly before them.

The nearer that we approach to the moment of deliberation on the policy and justice of the measures on which the Legislature must soon determine, the more do we find it difficult to narrow our contemplation of the extensive consequences, good or evil, to which its determination must lead. Those who attempt to review the complicated course of government, commerce, religion, and law, which the misrule of fifty years has established in the richest regions of the earth, must expand their minds to the capacity of so vast an object, and prepare themselves, by much study and meditation, to wind into its intricate details. It gives us great pleasure to acknowledge that the people of Liverpool, distinguished as they are by the energy and enterprise which have raised their town, with unprecedented rapidity, to its present state of opulent magnificence, have not been seduced, by the habit of their occupations, or the suggestions of their interest, to degrade this rare opportunity of doing incalculable good to so many millions of their fellow-creatures in India and in England, into a mere calculation of commercial gain; but that the East India Association of that town has directed its attention to other branches also of this great question. Fortunately, however, the interests of trade, of human happiness, and social improvement, are inseparably intertwined; and the inhabitants of all the great trading towns in England have no method so sure of improving the condition of their fellow-subjects in Asia and in Europe, as by a diligent and persevering attention to their own private interests in the Eastern trade.

We have, of course, been for a long time very well aware that the

evils of the monopoly against which we have so long contended, had been productive of more soreness and impatience at Liverpool than in any other city of the empire. Devoted almost exclusively to the pursuits of commerce, in immediate contiguity with the great marts of our staple manufactures, and connected, by an infinite variety of relations, with every quarter of the globe, it was to be expected that its opulent and enterprising inhabitants should avail themselves of every opportunity to claim for their trade, in firm and energetic language, a full, free, and unrestricted participation of the advantages of British connection, power, and influence, wherever they might extend. They could not fail to have observed that their prosperity was fast linked to the prosperity of Leeds, and Sheffield, and Birmingham, and Manchester; that every new market opened to the manufactures of these towns gave a fresh impulse to their own active and adventurous spirit; that, whenever the industry of the interior drooped, the vessels with 'Liverpool' at their stern 'reposed upon their shadows;' and that the same breeze which wafted the cheerful noise of the shuttle and the loom, relieved the silence at their arsenals, gave life and activity to their port, and innumerable sails to the western ocean.

Thus obviously interested in any measure from which an extension of the faculties of trade might be expected to result, we knew very well that our endeavours to abridge the duration of the evils consequent upon the Eastern Monopoly would be supported and encouraged by a large proportion of the wealth, intelligence, and respectability of that great community. But in Lancashire and Yorkshire this subject goes home to men's businesses and bosoms; and, accordingly, we find in the resolutions adopted by the East India Associations of these two great counties, not vague, general, undefined protests against the Monopoly of the Company, but, resting on the evidence of indisputable facts and figures, well considered, well arranged, and eloquent exposures of the folly of depriving this country of the advantages to be derived from commercial intercourse with the richest portion of the known world, by confining it to a single port, and to a body of men in no wise interested in its prosperity or extension. Of the trade with India, both of export and of import, as well as of the circuitous trade in the Eastern Seas, we have already spoken at great length. The trade with China will naturally follow.

In estimating the probable value of the China Trade, when relieved from the trammels of the Company's Monopoly, we have not, as in the case of India, the opportunity of comparison between two periods, one of complete, the other of limited restraint. To the free merchants, all intercourse with China, at present, is strictly and absolutely prohibited; and, as a consequence of this prohibition, the trade with Cochin China, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, the Philippines, and the Moluccas, is lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

The Celestial Empire, lying between the 20th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and the 100th and 125th of east longitude, extends 2,000 miles from north to south, and 1,300 from east to west. It is

divided into fifteen provinces, containing, besides innumerable villages and towns, 4,402 walled cities; and, according to Lord Macartney and Sir George Staunton, is inhabited by a population of 333,000,000 of souls. The Chinese are not a race of untutored, undisciplined barbarians, as some of their northern neighbours, nor poor naked dependent slaves, like the unfortunate Hindoos, but cultivated, according to their mode, in all the arts of civilized life, and distinguished for their superior industry, civilization, and wealth, over all the rest of Asia. Of the skill of their workmen, some estimate may be formed from the fact that the labour of a Chinese is worth four times as much in our Indian territories as that of a native artisan. Of their riches there can be no better criterion than the royal revenue, which, paid by a people living in the midst of comfort and abundance, amounts, according to Sir George Staunton, to the prodigious sum of sixty-six millions sterling. The facilities of internal commerce in this country exceed those of every other empire in the world. Stretching from the capital of Peking to Canton, a distance of 1,400 miles, a magnificent canal and a few rivers affords a cheap and easy communication between the northern and southern provinces. Innumerable channels and aqueducts, natural and artificial, as well as prodigious lakes, branching from this canal, extend the opportunities of water-carriage through every department of the empire. There is, of course, in so vast an extent of country, an endless variety of soil and climate; and the wants of the people, and their commerce, and productions, are proportionably diversified. The Chinese are represented by all who have had opportunities of observation, to entertain no antipathies of habit or religion to the use of foreign commodities; but they are, in this respect, as free as any other people in the world. Their dress, in the southern provinces at least, is chiefly of cotton and silk of their own manufacture. In the north, a warmer clothing is required, and furs and woollens are in great request.

It is well known, that by the jealous policy of this empire, all intercourse with strangers is confined to the port of Canton. An association of merchants, called the Hong, consisting of eleven or twelve individuals, is licensed by the Government to barter the productions of China for the commodities of other countries, and is made responsible for the conduct of foreigners during their stay. The East India Company, to the utter exclusion of the rest of the King's subjects, have long maintained an expensive factory at this port; and appear, from their own accounts, by a systematic adherence to a conciliatory, fair, and honourable dealing with the Hong, to have obtained the confidence and respect of the Chinese authorities. To the superior officers of this establishment, all the servants of the Company residing at Canton, are subject; and we are told, that the exercise of the power entrusted to them, has been such as to secure a course of friendly communication almost uninterrupted for many years. Misunderstandings have, however, once or twice arisen; and the difficulties which have occurred in their adjustment, and the total cessation of intercourse by the arbitrary prohibition of the Government, have convinced the Company that the tenure of their factory is very precarious,

and, that, in fact, they only retain their footing '*quandiu se bene gesserint*.' They assert that the lawless habits of English sailors, subject to no control but such as the master of a merchantman could exert, would speedily disturb the harmony subsisting between the Company and the Chinese; and that, as no efficient check could be contrived for their license and irregularity, the resort of free shipping to Canton would immediately sever the connection between England and China, to the serious detriment of the people of this country and the inevitable ruin of the Company's trade. This is the substance of their case, as explained by Mr. Grant, Messrs. Reed and Robinson, Sir George Staunton, and Mr. Robarts, in their evidence before the Parliamentary Committees. Beyond all question, great attention is due to the opinion and experience of individuals of so much personal respectability; and, if we had no counteracting testimony to oppose to such authorities, it might be reasonable to defer to their urgent representations. We shall find, however, when we come to consider the relations of the Americans at Canton, that, if these alarms be not groundless, they are at least exaggerated, and that they furnish no colour for upholding the unreasonable pretensions of the East India Company.

Our readers will remember that in the struggle to maintain their exclusive privileges of trade to the Continent of India, Mr. Grant, the spokesman of the Hon. Company, employed two sorts of objection to the projected enlargement of the India Trade; the one peremptory, the other dissuasive. First he insisted on the danger, then on the inutility, of free intercourse between the English and Hindoos; and his tactics were precisely similar with reference to the Chinese Trade.

Inverting this order, for the convenience of this and future articles on the same subject, we shall apply ourselves first to the second objection, and examine what ground there is for contending, that, if Free Trade with China could exist with safety, it could not be pursued with advantage.

We wish to state the case of the East India Company in its most favourable light, and to give to it every advantage which the evidence of the most able and most intelligent of its advocates can suggest. We have accordingly referred to the published tables or statements of their exports to China for a series of years; and we find that from the year 1793 to the present time, on a very large annual exportation of British woollens and manufactured metals, a regular and almost unvaried loss has been sustained. How great must be the admiration of our friends in Liverpool and Leeds, of the principles by which the Company are actuated, when they are told that this immense deficit has been submitted to with resignation, not to say alacrity, in a spirit of pure disinterested patriotic encouragement of the trade and manufactures of Great Britain! Why such partial kindness is shown to our woollen manufactures, to the exclusion of cotton goods, does not appear; but, on the evidence of Messrs. Goddard, Crawford, Mitchell, and others conversant with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, in all of which there is a large though fluctuating Chinese population, we have every reason to believe that our cotton manufac-

tures would, under circumstances of fair competition, speedily supersede those of the Chinese. From the account of the trade between Russia and China, by M. Klaproth, it is apparent that the whole ground of the preference once enjoyed by the Russians at the Court of Pekin, was the utility of their imports into China as compared with those of the English at Canton; and we have abundant evidence to demonstrate that, so far from consulting the interests of British manufacturers in their intercourse with the Hóng, the East India Company have, by the extravagance of the charges by which their scanty imports were burthened, and their utter carelessness in adapting them to the wants and usages of the Chinese, compelled that people to reject them altogether, and to resort to channels of provision infinitely more circuitous and expensive. As to the advantage taken by our transatlantic friends, of this churlish policy of the Company, we reserve it for the distinct consideration which we purpose to take of the American trade; but we cannot defer the curious details of the overland expeditions through Siberia and Tartary, which exhibit in glaring colours the deceitfulness and fraud of the Company's statements, and justify the most encouraging anticipations from unfettered intercourse with the Chinese Empire.

The following is from the evidence of Mr. Tate before the Committee of the House of Commons:—

‘A trade of barter, upon a very limited scale, had, during many years, been carried on between some merchants of Moscow, and a few individuals of Chinese Tartary. This rude traffic increased with such rapidity, that about the year 1800, the Chinese and Russian Governments were induced to turn their attention to it. In consequence, a kind of commercial treaty was then formed, a table of duties was agreed upon, and Kiachta (a small town in Tartary, on the frontiers of the two empires) was fixed on as the exclusive market of that trade. In consequence, the town of Kiachta, which was originally a poor village in Tartary, and situated 6,538 versts, or 4,337 English miles, distant from St. Petersburg, has become a large place, and is daily increasing in wealth and importance.

‘All the native merchants of Russia, who pay the patent of the first class, are permitted to trade thither; but the Chinese are limited to a fixed number of individuals, whose powers and character seem to be similar to those of the Hong merchants of Canton.

‘The Russians barter the following articles at Kiachta:—juffts, (a kind of half-tanned leather, of Russian manufacture,) furs, (viz. sable, fox, beaver, otter, and seal skins,) Saxon cloth, some coarse Russian manufactured cottons and chintzes, and, since about the year 1811, a variety of British manufactures, which have latterly had a preference over most other wares, and now absorb a large share of the trade, of which I shall hereafter give some details.

‘The British manufactures which were sold at Kiachta, during one year, consisted of the following articles:—Woollen cloth, in imitation of Saxon cloth, 400,000 yards.—Camblets—Bombasets.—Chintzes, (which were smuggled through Russia)—Imitation Bandana handkerchiefs, also smuggled through Russia:—of these two latter articles the quantities are uncertain.—Sundry muslins and white cottons, 200,000 yards.—Manchester velveteens, 120,000 yards.—Manchester velveretts, 40,000 yards.

‘And the whole amount of manufactures of different European countries,

bartered at Kiachta in that period, appear to have been in value one million sterling.

‘In exchange for these goods, teas, silks, &c. &c. were received from the Chinese. Of the former, 40,000 chests, in one year, were forwarded from Kiachta into the interior of Russia. The teas are chiefly black, and of a quality in flavour much superior to what are sent from Canton and sold in London.

‘The goods received from China are sent from Kiachta to Irkutsk, one of the capitals of Siberia, which is situated 5,777 versts, or 3,832 $\frac{1}{4}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg; from Irkutsk to Tobolsk, also in Siberia, situated 3,118 versts, or, 2,110 $\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg; from Tobolsk they are forwarded direct to Nishney Novogorod on the Volga, which is 1,118 versts, or 741 $\frac{3}{4}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg, where a very large annual fair is held in the month of August. It was formerly held at Alakarief, on the same river; but, owing to the inundations which take place, it has been removed to Nishney Novogorod.

‘The extent and value of the commercial operations which take place at Nishney Novogorod, during the annual fair, are but little known in this country. If the Russian official statements are entitled to credit, they amount to many millions of pounds sterling, per annum.

‘The duties and other charges on most articles of British manufacture are enormous; yet the prices procured for them cover all these expenses, and leave a large profit for the Tartar merchants. The article of Manchester velveteen, (a particular description of cotton velvet) which in London sold for about 2s. or 2s. 2d. per yard, was resold to the Chinese at Kiachta in barter, at a value equal to 8s. 6d. or 9s. sterling per yard.

‘In the month of June, 785 carts, laden with Chinese merchandize, arrived at Maimachin, from the interior of China; these performed the journey from Peking to that place in fifty-one days, and brought 943 chests of tea, 589 bales of nankeens, exclusive of manufactured silks, sugar-candy, &c. &c.

‘Goods to nearly a similar value arrived at Kiachta from the interior of Russia; of these about three-eighths were British manufactures, consisting chiefly of Manchester velvets, and a few muslins. The others were furs, Russian leather, woollen cloths, and horses: Russian horses find a ready market in the northern provinces of China; and, in spite of every obstacle, they have found their way to that distant country, by an overland journey of upwards of 5,000 miles, a part of which is through regions where there are neither roads nor inhabitants.’

Upon this, our readers will make their own reflection. If, in spite of every obstacle of distance and expense, the superior qualities and cheaper prices of British goods have thus forced themselves across an immense tract of country, to the remotest parts of China, what may we not expect when the opening of that Trade shall give us the more rapid and cheaper passage by sea; and when the improvements in machinery, and other causes, have contributed, year after year, to lessen the cost, and improve the quality of almost every description of article produced by British industry and skill. The field that it opens to just and reasonable anticipation is more vast than we can find words to express: but, not to weary our readers, by extending to too great a length, an article on a subject that we shall revert to again and again, in succession, we leave them to reflect on the facts we have already stated; and shall resume their continuation at an early opportunity.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

SUPERIOR VALUE AND PRODUCTIVENESS OF FREE INDUSTRY OVER SLAVE LABOUR.

THE lateness of the hour at which we had the first opportunity of addressing the House of Commons on Friday evening, on the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, having rendered it impossible for us to read the evidence which, had it been earlier in the evening, it was our intention to have adduced, in order to prove the most important question at issue, namely, that the industry of free men is more productive of profit than the labour of slaves, and that, therefore, no pecuniary loss can ultimately arise to any party from substituting the former for the latter; we take the present opportunity, while the subject is still fresh on the attention of the public, to supply that deficiency. by giving, in this supplementary article, the principal portions of the evidence then intended to have been read, with such comments on it as the occasion may suggest. The first Work from which we shall quote is an admirable one, entitled, "Wages or the Whip?" being an Essay on the comparative cost and productiveness of free and slave labour, drawn up by Mr. Josiah Conder, author of the "Modern Traveller." The second will be the Work of Mr. Jeremie, the late President of Council in St. Lucia, and present Judge of the King's Court in the Mauritius—both publications of recent date, of unquestionable accuracy, and, consequently, of very high authority with all parties.

'In estimating the comparative expensiveness of the two descriptions of labour, there are three elements which enter into the computation: first, the amount expended in obtaining the labour, either in wages, or in rearing and maintenance; secondly, the quantity and quality of the work produced by the labourer; and thirdly, the ultimate economical effects of the two systems of cultivation.

'The actual expense of slave labour resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and of support in old age, if he survive the capacity for labour, together with interest and the sum annually expended in his maintenance. Now, although the expense of free labour really includes the same elements, (since the wages of labour must be such as will enable the labourer to bring up his family so as to perpetuate the supply,) the West India planters are, at this moment, complaining of part of this necessary cost of slave labour, as their peculiar burden, and one cause of the admitted de-

pression and distress. "The West India colonist," is said,* "is subject to a burden peculiar to himself; that of maintaining, be his profits what they may, the whole body of labourers, and of their families existing upon his land." The cost of raising children in the British Colonies under the present system, is alleged to be so great, that even the old system of importation, if we may believe the West Indians, is cheaper; and it is actually made the ground of complaint, that the slave-trading of the Brazilians gives them an advantage over the British Colonies. This is contrary to fact; and Mr. Cropper has shewn that, on the contrary, the great loss which the Brazilians sustain by the system of importation, is one chief means of enabling the British Colonies to compete with them.† In fact, in Virginia, slaves are reared for exportation to the southern and western states; which must be taken as affording some proof that those who purchase them, pay a price that covers both the cost of rearing them, and a profit upon the cost. Still ridiculous as may be the exaggerations of the West Indians, as to the comparative cheapness of rearing slaves and of importing them, it appears from their own shewing, that the cost of raising slaves is far greater than that at which the free labourer is enabled by wages to bring up his family. "The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave," remarks Adam Smith, "is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the freemen, is managed by the freeman himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former: the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in those of the latter." This may in some measure explain the fact, which is established by well attested experience. Mr. Adam Hodgson states, that, according to an estimate made in one of the slave districts of the United States, "taking the purchase-money, or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate his first cost, his labour will be about twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts."‡

But labour is cheap or dear, not merely as it is more or less costly, but as it is more or less productive. What is the result of the comparison between free and slave labour in this respect? Upon this point, we find ready to our hand, some testimonies cited by Mr.

* Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons, ordered to be printed, April 13, 1832.

† "Not only are the newly imported slaves less effective than the Creoles, but this system of importation is dearer by 7s. 1d. per cwt. than the American, and 4s. 2d. per cwt. than that of the British colonies." Review of Report, p. 7.

‡ Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 2. See also Minutes of Evidence before the Lords' Committee, p. 838. According to an elaborate calculation furnished by John Innes, Esq. a West Indian, each negro child costs the sum of 226*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*, by the time it comes to the age of fourteen; to justify which expense, there must be profit on sugar five hundred times as great as at present!

Hodgson* from different writers, which we shall transcribe. The first is that of the Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, and who gives the result of his observations in the following terms:—

“The slave, working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion; he becomes a machine, often very obstinate and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can: this is an acknowledged truth which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free labourer work by the day, he will be indolent: pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave.

“Whilst the ancient Romans cultivated their lands themselves, Italy was renowned for fertility and abundance; but agriculture declined when abandoned to slaves. Then, the land, instead of being brought under the plough, was transformed into meadows, and the inhabitants of that fine country became dependent for their subsistence on provinces situated beyond the sea. The small proprietors and farmers disappeared, and the same country which had formerly presented the smiling aspect of a crowd of villages, peopled with free men in easy circumstances, became a vast solitude, in which were scattered, here and there, some magnificent palaces, which formed the most striking contrast with those miserable cabins and subterranean dens in which the slaves are shut up. These facts, related by the Roman historians, are attested and explained by Pliny, Columella, and Varro. “What was the cause of these abundant harvests?” asks Pliny, speaking of the early periods of the republic. “It is, that at that time, men of consular dignity devoted themselves to the cultivation of their fields, which are now abandoned to wretches loaded with irons, and bearing on their forehead the brand of their degraded condition.” The superiority of free over slave labourers, is even acknowledged by the masters, when they have sufficient intelligence to judge of the difference, and sufficient honesty to avow their sentiments. Recollect on this subject the passage of Columella, which I have already quoted, and in which he depicts the negligence and perverseness of slave labourers. In the same chapter, he advances as a fundamental principle, that, whatever be the nature of the cultivation, the labour of the free cultivator is always to be preferred to that of the slave. Pliny is of the same opinion.

“Observe, that this testimony in favour of free labour, is given by Romans, who were at once proprietors of slaves, and the most eminent writers on agriculture of their time. In manufactures, the superiority of the free labourer over the slave, is still more obvious than in agriculture. The more manufactures extend in Russia, the more people begin to feel the truth of this remark. In 1805, M. Panteleyef, a manufacturer in the district of Moscow, gave liberty to all his workmen who were slaves, the number of whom amounted to 84. The same year, M. Milioutin did the same.”

“If slave labour were cheaper than free labour,” remarks Mr. Hodgson, “we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but the

* See Hodgson's Letter to Say, 1823.

presumption is contradicted by experience. 'A few Polish nobles,' (observes Coxe, in his travels in Poland,) 'of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shewn this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that, in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.'

"The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the state of vassalage, Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with food, horses, and ploughs, and every implement of agriculture: since their enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expense, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. *By these means, the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.*"

'The following additional testimonies are cited by Mr. Hodgson. The first is taken from the elaborate treatise on Colonial Policy, by the present Lord Chancellor.

"It requires very little argument to prove,' remarks Mr. Brougham, 'that the quantity of work which may be obtained from a labourer or drudge, is liable to be affected as much by the injurious treatment he receives, as by the idleness in which he may be permitted to indulge. When this drudge is a slave, no motive but fear can operate on his diligence and attention. A constant inspection is, therefore, absolutely necessary, and a perpetual terror of the lash, the only prevention of indolence. But there are certain bounds prescribed, even to the power of the lash. It may force the unhappy victim to move, because the line of distinction between motion and rest, action and repose, is definite; but no punishment can compel the labourer to strenuous exertions, because there is no measure or standard of activity. A state of despair, and not of industry, is the never failing consequence of severe chastisement; and the constant repetition of the torture only serves to blunt the sensibility of the nerves, and to disarm punishment of its terrors. The body is injured, and the mind becomes as little willing as the limbs are able to exert.'

"Hume remarks: 'I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a free man.'

"Burke observes, in his treatise on European Settlements: 'I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgencies, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours, the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk.'

"That the proprietors of West India estates,' observes Dr. Beattie, 'would be in any respect materially injured by employing free servants (if these could be had) in their several manufactures, is highly improbable,

and has, indeed, been absolutely denied by those who were well informed on this subject. A clergyman of Virginia assured me, that a white man does double the work of a slave; which will not seem wonderful, if we consider that the former works for himself, and the latter for another; that by the law, one is protected, the other oppressed; and that in the articles of food and clothing, relaxation and rest, the free man has innumerable advantages. It may, therefore, be presumed, that if all those who serve in the Colonies were free, the same work would be performed by half the number, which is now performed by the whole. The very soil becomes more fertile under the hands of free men. So says an intelligent French author, (Le Poivre,) who, after observing that the products of Cochin China are the same in kind with those of the West Indies, but of better quality, and in greater abundance, gives for a reason, that 'the former are cultivated by free men, and the latter by slaves;' and therefore argues, 'that the negroes beyond the Atlantic ought to be made free.' 'The earth,' says he, 'which multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave.'

" 'It is an ill-grounded opinion,' says Franklin, in his *Essay on the Peopling of Countries*, 'that by the labour of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Great Britain. The labour of slaves can never be so cheap here, as the labour of working men is in Great Britain. Any one may compute it. Reckon, then, the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk on his life, his clothing and diet, expenses in his sickness and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, (neglect which is natural to the man who is not to be benefitted by his own care or diligence,) expense of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, (almost every slave being, from the nature of slavery, a thief,) and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool, in England; you will see that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here.'

" Koster, in his *Travels in the Brazils*, observes: 'The slave-trade impolitic, on the broad principle, that a man in a state of bondage, will not be so serviceable to the community, as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which, by regular means, adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indisputable fact must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour. The indifference and extreme slowness of every movement, plainly point out the trifling interest which they have in the advancement of the work. I have watched two parties labouring in the same field, one of free persons, the other of slaves; which occasionally, though very seldom, occurs. The former are singing, joking, and laughing, and are always actively turning hand and foot; whilst the latter are silent, and if they are viewed from a little distance, their movements are scarcely to be perceived.'

" Hall, adverting to the pernicious effects of slavery on the southern states of North America, observes: 'Experience shows that the quantity of labour performed by slaves, is much below that of an equal number of free cultivators.'

" An intelligent American gentleman, to whom queries on this subject were sent, remarks: 'I have in one of my answers exposed the effect of slave cultivation on the soil of our country and on the value of real estate. I will here further observe, that, independently of this, there is no fact more certainly believed by every sound mind in this country, than that slave labour is abstractedly in itself, as it regards us, a great deal dearer than labour performed by freemen: this is susceptible of clear proof.'

"Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbados as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes, in a letter published in his valuable work, on the Mitigation of Slavery: "You need not be informed, that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of free men."—"The arguments which support this conclusion, as applicable to modern Colonial Slavery, were long ago assented to and exemplified by men intimately acquainted with and interested in the subject." In another letter in the same work, he gives "calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who for many years conducted extensive military works both in France and the West Indies, and has published the result of his observations." From this he infers, 'that field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what those very slaves would do, if urged by their own interest, instead of brute force, as Mr. Steele experienced.' In speaking of Mr. Steele's experience in another place, he remarks: 'He has ascertained as a fact, what was before known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox, *That the paying of slaves for their labour, does actually produce a very great profit to their owners.*' Again, this able and experienced writer observes: 'The planters do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force, where they should apply moral motives, and punishments alone, where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. And yet, strange to tell, those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do more work for himself in an afternoon, than he can be made to do for his owner in a whole day or more. Now what is the plain inference? Mr. Steele, though a stranger in the West Indies, saw it at once, and resolved to turn it to account. He saw that the negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests, in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried rewards, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in regular wages, which the industry he had excited among his whole gang, enabled him to pay. Here was a natural, efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented; his mind was freed from that perpetual vexation, and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system; and in *little better than four years, the annual net clearance of his property was more than tripled.*'

"I must additionally refer," remarks the same intelligent writer in another place, 'to an excellent pamphlet, entitled *Observations on Slavery*, (published in 1788, and now out of print,) by my late worthy friend Dr. James Anderson, who shows that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a free man. Taking another case, he demonstrates, that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the free men, who wrought other coal mines in the same country, and thrice as dear as common day labour.'

"'Slave labour,' remarks President Cooper, of South Carolina, '*is, undoubtedly, the dearest kind of labour*: it is all forced: and forced, too, from a class of human beings who, of all others, have the least propensity to voluntary labour, even when it is to benefit themselves alone.

"What is the value of a negro at the full age of twenty-one? From birth to fifteen years of age, including food, clothing, life insurance, and

medicine, he will be an expense. From fifteen to twenty-one, his labour may be made to pay the cost of his insurance, attendance, maintenance, and clothing. The work he can do from birth to fifteen years of age will scarcely compensate the insurance of his life, and the medicine and attendance he may need . . . I think, all hazards included, and all earnings deducted, the lowest cost of a negro of twenty-one, to the person who raises him will, on an average, be five hundred dollars.

“ *The usual work of a field hand is barely two thirds of what a white day-labourer at usual wages would perform. This is the outside!* ”

‘ In the work on East India sugar, extracts are given from a letter addressed to the Hon. the Court of Directors by William Fitzmaurice, Esq., dated Calcutta, February 6, 1793. This gentleman, having lived in Jamaica sixteen years, during which he had been employed in the cultivation and management of sugar estates on both sides of the island, must be regarded as thoroughly competent to form a decisive opinion respecting the comparative advantages of the two countries ; and he expresses that opinion in the following terms :—“ From the luxuriant fertility of this country, I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugars ; and that *even the West India planters themselves might import them from hence on much easier terms than they can afford to sell sugars in the curing-houses upon the plantations* . . . The cultivation of the cane will employ thousands of poor people that are to be seen in all parts of this country in real want ; and inasmuch as the cultivation of the sugar-cane destroys annually, in the West, thousands of men, women, and children by incessant toil, it will save the lives of thousands in the East, by giving them employment and sustenance.”

‘ The evidence of Mr. Botham, printed in the “ Report of the Committee of the Lords of the Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Plantations, March 28, 1789,” is too important to be omitted. This gentleman, after passing two years in the English and French West India islands, was employed in conducting some sugar-estates in the East Indies ; and he offers his evidence in proof that sugar of a superior quality, and an inferior price to that grown in the West India islands, is produced in the East Indies, where the culture of the cane, as well as the manufacture of the sugar and arrack, is carried on, he says, by free people. “ China, Bengal, the Coast of Malabar, all,” he proceeds, “ produce quantities of sugar and spirits ; but the most considerable growth of the cane is carried on near Batavia.” He then describes the improved manner in which sugar-estates were then conducted by Chinese husbandmen and manufacturers on the estates of Dutch proprietors, explaining its superiority over the West India mode of cultivation ; and states, “ that, having experienced *the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force*,” he “ can assert that the savings by the former are very considerable.”

‘ Let it be considered how much labour is lost by the persons necessary to oversee the forced labourer, all of which is saved when he works for his own profit. I have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact. *The sugar estates can be worked cheaper by*

free persons than by slaves. Whether the African slave-trade can be abolished, and the blacks in the West Indies emancipated, is for the consideration of the Legislature. As far as my judgment goes, these desirable purposes can be effected without materially injuring the West India planter. He has but to improve his culture, and lessen human labour, and the progeny of the present blacks in our colonies will answer every purpose of working the West India estates.*

‘Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, in his History of Java, gives some interesting details relating to the cultivation of the cane, by the natives, to be eaten as a sweetmeat, but by the Chinese for the juice. “The quality of the sugar made in Java is considered to be equal,” he says, “to that of Manilla and the West Indies. Considerable quantities are sent to the Malabar coast, but the principal exportation is to Japan and Europe.” Mr. Crawford, in his History of the Indian Archipelago, has given a long account of the husbandry of the sugar-cane, and furnishes the following estimate of its comparative market value.

“The quality of Java sugar will be best ascertained from comparing it with other sugars in the market in which it is best known. When a pound of Java sugar, mixed brown and white, sells in the market of Rotterdam for 10½ groats,

Bengal sells for 9 groats.	Brazil sells for 10 groats.
British West India 9½	Havannah . 14
Surinam . . . 9¼	Manilla . . 10

It may be observed, in respect to the quality of these sugars, that those of Manilla, Java, and the Brazils, are nearly equal.

“Edwards has estimated the price of growing sugar in Jamaica, at 18s.9d. per cwt. By the estimate I have furnished, this is 125 per cent. dearer than Java sugar.†

‘Not only in Java, but both in Cochin China and in China, the cane is cultivated, and sugar manufactured with success, according to the testimonies of Sir George Staunton, Mr. Abel, Mr. Barrow, and M. de Guignes, and other travellers of note and authority. In fact, an attempt was made to plant a colony of Chinese in the Mauritius, for the purpose of trying the experiment of cultivating sugar there by free labour. But it was found, that Freedom and Slavery could not simultaneously exist. “This,” says Mr. Buxton, “is a point established by all the information that has been collected on the subject; that there must be a pure system of Slavery, or a pure system of Freedom;—that they cannot be united together.”‡

‘Strange to say, the produce of free labour has been discouraged

* Report, &c. pp. 867---9. Mr. Botham for some time conducted some sugar-works at Bencoolen by free labourers. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra, highly commends his management, and states, that the expenses, *particularly of the slaves*, had frustrated many former attempts of the English to cultivate the sugar-cane profitably at that place.

† Cited in Report of Lord’s Committee, p. 867.

‡ Report, p. 869.

by our Legislature, in order to protect that which involves the perpetuation of crime and misery. The cane is virtually forbidden to grow in its indigenous soil, where God has planted it, that we may force its cultivation in another hemisphere, by means which His word condemns;—by holding thousands and hundreds of thousands of our fellow-men in the most abject and degrading bondage. We have first transplanted the cane itself, and then have transported Africans across the Atlantic, to cultivate it with tears and blood; while, in India, there were already provided to our hand, the plant, the soil, and the free labour. Or we might have taken the cane to Africa, and there have established our colonies in regions not more pestilential than Demerara or the Antilles. Instead of this, we have compromised the interests of both India and Africa for the sake of the West India monopoly.

‘Nor is this the whole amount of the sacrifice. We speak not now of the cost of life which the maintenance of this system has rendered necessary; although the conquest of India itself, which has placed under the British supremacy more than an eighth part of the human race, might be shown to have cost fewer lives than have been sacrificed at the blood-stained altars of the Kali of the Western world, Colonial Slavery. “Of the crowds who yearly and daily emigrate from their houses to those possessions,” remarks Mr. Jeremie, (late first President of the Royal Court of St. Lucia) how many return? Of the military, what hundreds of thousands have not perished there!*

* ‘The loss of money, be it ever so great, cannot compare with the cruel waste of life occasioned by sending our soldiers to those pestilential regions, whose very atmosphere is, in many cases, death to the uninured whites, and certain loss of health to all. In 1826, of the eighty-three regiments then in the British service, twenty were placed in the West Indies, being only three less than the number of those which were then stationed in distracted Ireland, (excluding the reserve corps,) and only six less than are in Ireland at this present eventful crisis.

‘In June, 1829, when Parliament ordered the returns to be laid before them of the mortality of our army in the West Indies, those returns were withheld; and Parliament acquiesced in the non-production of them, on the implied understanding that they contained details too horrible to meet the public eye.

‘The then Secretary of War, Sir Henry Hardinge, was reported to have said, that the inspection of these returns would ‘be too horrifying for the public.’ What then are we to think of the iron nerves of those rulers who can calmly surrender their fellow citizens to evils too horrible to be contemplated?

‘Will the Secretary of War exult in having nerves to execute that, which the body of the nation are not supposed to have nerves to bear the recital of? But has Britain much reason to rejoice in rulers who possess so extraordinary a pre-eminence above their fellow-citizens, in the intrepidity with which they can contemplate human life unprofitably squandered away? Anxiously, however, as they were concealed, a part of those horrors have transpired. The then Secretary of War is understood to have allowed that, out of three regiments, consisting of 2,700 men, sent to one of the islands, one-third had perished in one season! If the choice had been offered to those unfortunate regiments to decline the duty, on condition of having every third man of them shot upon the spot, they would have been gainers had they preferred the horrible alternative. They would have been spared the previous pangs of wasting sickness; they would have died in their own land, and in the sight of their friends, bedewed with their tears, and been buried by their hands,

insurrection of 1796 in St. Lucia, cost Great Britain, of regulars alone, 4,000 men. More blood has been spilt in that small island, in warfare, within the last half century, than in any part of the world, except Belgium. With reference to the life of the slave, during the continuance of the Slave Trade, and *now in Martinique*, if a newly purchased slave lasted *five years*, the speculation was a good one. In thirteen years, the whole labouring population was said to be renewed. On the other hand, in all the Duke of Wellington's continental wars, commencing with his landing in Spain, and concluding with Waterloo, the killed in action, it is said, did not amount to one-fifth of the number systematically consumed, since the peace, in the small island of Martinique. Nor do they equal half the decrease in our own colonies within the last ten years."

"And what for?" continues Mr. Jeremie. "To change the very face of nature. Columbus and the earlier navigators have described these older colonies as they stood clothed in the most brilliant verdure: they are now arid, parched, and exhausted. Cultivation elsewhere converts deserts into gardens; here, gardens into a desert. How comes it that St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Demerara are still so rich and fertile? Because they are but recently inhabited. And why but recently inhabited? Because those very parched and exhausted colonies originally presented greater inducements."

'So well aware is the merchant that sugar-planting by slave-labour is a losing game, that he prefers, for the most part, the risk of losing his money, to the greater risk of becoming the proprietor of the mortgaged plantation! Such is the predicament to which the sugar planter has been brought by an infatuated adherence to a barbarous system of cultivation; a condition to which he could not have been reduced, had he employed free-labour. He is himself a bondsman to a system which is to him, if we may be allowed the expression, as "a law of sin and death." Because he must grow sugar, he must have slaves; and because he has slaves, he must grow sugar. Within this vicious circle, his ideas and arguments move round, spell-bound, or rather mortgage-bound. His capital—his living capital, is diminishing year by year, while his necessities are consequently requiring more and more produce to be extorted from an impoverished soil by more and more labour. Is this an overcharged description? Hear what Bryan Edwards, the great champion of the West India colonists, says upon this point:

"The produce of these islands, though of such value to the mother-country, is raised at an expense to the cultivator, which, perhaps, is not equalled in any other pursuit, in any other country of the globe. It is an expense, too, that is permanent and certain; while the returns are more variable and fluctuating than any other, owing to calamities to which these countries are exposed both from the hands of God and man; and it is mournful to add, that the selfish or mistaken policy of man is sometimes more destructive than even the anger of Omnipotence.*

"The existence of severe commercial distress," remarks Viscount

* Edwards's Hist. of the W. Indies, 5th ed. vol. i. p. 513.

Goderich, (now Earl of Ripon) in his despatch of Nov. 5, "amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies, is, unhappily, but too evident: yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not that the body should yield to despair, but that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has led to so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the *great and permanent source of that distress* which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in *the institution of Slavery*. It is vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support, in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward.....I cannot but regard *the system itself* as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just."

'Lord Belmore holds similar language. On the eve of his departure from the Colony, he tells the Jamaica House of Assembly—
"The cause of your present distress results from that policy by which Slavery was originally established; and this fine island can never develop the abundance of its resources while Slavery continues."

'It is an important fact, mentioned by Mr. Cropper, that "though the American cultivation of cotton by Slavery, has almost wholly superseded its growth in our Colonies, and greatly checked its increase in the Brazils, yet, the Carolinians themselves have been driven out of the cultivation of indigo, in consequence of its still cheaper production by free labour in the East Indies."

This Evidence might be multiplied to a large volume; but we hope we have adduced enough to show that Free Labour is more profitable because more productive than Slave Labour; and that it is, therefore, perfectly safe to pledge the National Funds, to make full compensation for any loss that may be actually proved, within a reasonable period (say five years) to arise to any individual planter, from the abolition of Slavery; which, if this pledge be made, the planters themselves will consent to allow to take place at the earliest practicable moment; they being as well convinced as we are, that there is no real ground for apprehending danger from such an event: and therefore they are quite prepared to allow it to take place, if they can only be assured of compensation for actual loss of value in the estates, which we would most willingly guarantee them. We fervently hope, therefore, that all parties may now soon be reconciled, and that we shall live to see the most ardent wish of our heart fully realised, in the immediate abolition of Slavery throughout the whole of the British dominions.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

PERIODICAL CRITICISM—THE QUARTERLY REVIEW ON MISS MARTINEAU.

SIR,

North Wales, May 1833.

As if to afford to the public an additional proof of the necessity of setting up a new standard for the periodical press, of which you have set an example, the last number of the Quarterly Review contains a violent, not to say virulent and malignant, attack on Miss Martineau's *Illustrations on Political Economy*, whose crime it is to be of opinion that ignorance is our great besetting sin, and that if information and knowledge be generally diffused, virtue and truth will follow. To fair criticism and argument there not only can be no well grounded objection, but every real friend to the best interests of humanity must delight in their exercise and spread, as among the surest and safest means of arriving at the great and only legitimate object of all human enquiry,—TRUTH. It is not, therefore, because the Quarterly Reviewer attempts to controvert the principles of political economy which Miss Martineau endeavours to illustrate,—that we complain. It is not because he differs from most of her conclusions, that we express our regret—but it is because he has done this in an unfair way; and what is of still more consequence to the public at large, than even to the party assailed, he has degraded the dignity and usefulness of criticism and argument, by pressing into his service, after his accustomed manner, certain auxiliaries, of which, it seems, he thinks in this case he has particular need, by appealing to disgraceful prejudice, through the medium of sly insinuation, and that infallible test—not of truth, but of a consciousness of weakness—coarse and vulgar ridicule.

We have no other knowledge of Miss Martineau than what we have acquired from reading her highly-talented works; from which, however, we have no hesitation in avowing our belief, that so different is the construction of that lady's mind, and so opposite her principles to those of her reviewer, that she would not only scorn any disgraceful or even indirect method of vindication, under the foulest attack, but would be open to conviction from the result of fair dispassionate arguments, and thankfully embrace the truth, from whatever quarter it might come. In fact, it is evident that Miss Martineau's great object is to disseminate the truth; and though we may differ from several of her conclusions as widely as the Quarterly Review, yet we respect and admire the methods she has taken to impart her convictions to others. It is the great *forte* of the Quarterly, (*that* which has had great effect upon the public mind in those days of ignorance and delusion which are now we trust fast passing away), it is, we repeat, the great *forte* of the Quarterly, previously to his taking any fair ground of attack, to endeavour to rouse some national or personal prejudice against his antagonist: he cannot enter the field of controversy, till he has endeavoured to weaken the effect of his adversary's arguments, by mainly insinuating that there is some defect in his character or principles:—in short, he endeavours to poison justice at its very source.

Thus, he commences his attack by calling the *Illustrations*, novels; and with indescribable meanness, well knowing that vulgar prejudice has been rife against such as deviate from the commonly received notions in matters of religious faith, sneers at the authoress for having, moreover, "the high recommendation" of being an Unitarian. What has that to do, every well constituted mind will enquire, with Miss Martineau's principles of Political Economy? According to the Reviewer himself, she has adopted them from Malthus, a clergyman of the Church of England; from M'Culloch, a member of the Church of Scotland; and from others, none of them professing Unitarian principles of religion. But supposing them to have been *all* Unitarians, what on earth has that to do with the argument, except in the hands of designing men, to avail themselves of popular prejudice, to prejudice the truth. And on this point, we would ask the Reviewer himself whether there is really any thing deserving of reprobation, in believing with the Apostle Paul, that "there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus"?*

The Reviewer may believe either more or less than this, and be more or less right; we blame him not on that account, in case either his belief or unbelief is sincere; neither will we be guilty of the monstrous injustice and absurdity of making it the subject of sneer and derision, and still less of slyly insinuating it in derogation of his opinions on Political Economy, or any other subject of literature, science, or politics, to which he may advance pretensions. No! no! in the estimation of the honest and upright part of the public, these objects of human attainment must stand or fall by their own merits or demerits. Who now-a-days, except perchance a Quarterly Reviewer, thinks the worse of Milton's immortal *Paradise Lost*, of Newton's *Principia*, or Locke's *Dissertation on Government*, because their authors were Unitarians, or *who* feels the less horror at the cold-blooded murder of Servetus, because Calvin was a Trinitarian? The fact is, that the Quarterly Reviewer is no fool, and thinks of these things, in reality, so every person of common sense now thinks of them;—he knows that an honest man cannot believe what he *would*, but what, after impartial investigation, conviction of the truth (as it presents itself to his mind) *compels him to believe*,—and therefore, to whatever conclusions enquiry may lead him, they are not the proper objects of scorn or ridicule.

But there is another point with which perhaps the Quarterly Reviewer is still better, because practically acquainted; he knows as well as any man living that the darling maxim of despotic power, is, *divide et impera*. Often has it been asked, why do the people, nineteen-twentieths of the population of whole countries, suffer a few individuals, comparatively speaking, to dictate to, and plunder them? Why is there a monopoly of wealth and worldly enjoyments in the hands of statesmen and churchmen, whilst privation, poverty, and abject, almost unmitigated misery, are the lot of millions? The answer is clear, and beginning to be understood. Because, like the old man's sons in the fable, they have not been aware how weak they are when divided into sects and parties, or how strong they are when bound together in one common bond of union. Split into parties, and divided by factions, the people are like the individual sticks of the old man's faggot, when untied and separated, easily broken; but when bound together by the bonds of their common interest, they are like the great bundle of sticks, the strength of which is too great for man to break.

The writer in the Quarterly, writhing under the infliction of the Reform Act, which was brought about by the union of all the people, is well

* See St. Paul's 1st Epistle to Timothy, chap. ii. ver. 5.

aware that this is but the first act in the political drama of the present day. He knows as well as possible that the abuses by which his patrons thrive, and through which they are enabled to bestow retaining fees, which it requires some strength and purity of principle to resist, are about to be assailed by the giant strength of the people; he is well aware that the system of mis-rule which he has in his vocation so long supported, has produced effects which are nearly unbearable; and, therefore, he has recourse to the old state trick of divide and conquer.

In the same number of the Quarterly Review as contains the attack upon Miss Martineau, the writer deplores the check which the Reform Act has given to party; he laments the good old times when one party might be played off against another party in the state and in the House of Commons, and when both might be occasionally opposed to the only party which ought to exist, the party of the people; on those rare occasions, when the conservatives of both parties had reason to fear that the interests of the people would prevail.

In another article, also in the same number, entitled 'the Church and the Landlords,' the writer ingenuously acknowledges that the craft is in danger, he therefore seeks to disunite the lay-reformers, by endeavouring to alarm and detach the landlords from their tenants, and to sow the seeds of disunion between the different denominations of Dissenters, who have at length found out, good honest souls! that nothing short of the infliction of actual personal suffering, can be more unjust and unchristian-like, than to compel people to pay for a religion they do not profess, and to contribute to the support of a church which they never enter.

It may be very well for the Quarterly Review to defend all manner of abominations in high places; it is his vocation so to do; but it is the people's own fault if they are deceived by it to their loss and injury; no persons, excepting the high and low vulgar, the most gullible of all his readers, will, however, be found to patronize coarse, unmanly, and personal attacks on a woman, when the legitimate business of a critic is merely with the subject matter of her publications; and it is no excuse to say he is one

" Whose soul, moreover, of such sort is,
With so much acrimony it o'erflows,
As makes him, whereso'er he goes,
A walking thumb-bottle of *Aqua fortis*."—PINDAR.

IMPROVED NOMENCLATURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES.— CON-SERVATIVES OR SELF-SERVATIVES?

SIR,

Worcester, June 1, 1833.

Toryism having now become odious, the champions of privilege and abuse have, with their usual adroitness, adopted a generic title, well calculated to impose on simple-minded men; and as there is a good deal in a name, much blame is attachable to the liberal press for having fallen into so impudent a perversion of terms.

The Tories now call themselves *Conservatives*, but I submit, as their maxim is "non mundo sed sibi," that the word *Self-servative* would be a much more appropriate description of the animal. Henceforward then, let the liberal journals use the word *Self-servative*.

AN OBSERVER.

NECESSITY OF AN INCOME & PROPERTY TAX TO AVERT ANARCHY AND REVOLUTION.

SIR,

Dublin, May 28, 1833.

Good Policy in State Affairs is necessity anticipated, as necessity is policy deprived of all its advantages: I regret the latter should be the favourite principle of acting in the present day. That it has been so heretofore, both with the present and late Ministry, the proofs are too recent to insist upon, and the principle seems still too much cherished, to be readily relinquished. There is scarcely a man who has considered the subject at all, not one who has entertained it without prejudice, if not selfish and malignant hostility, but feels the *necessity* of resorting sooner or later to an INCOME or PROPERTY TAX, in lieu of those which now press on Poverty and Industry, but which *Poverty and Industry can no longer continue to pay*.

This conviction is coming home to those who never contemplated the subject abstractedly; it is becoming universal; it is no longer to be reasoned on; it is felt. When any conviction thus comes home to the breasts and business of all, the truth of the axiom is recognized, 'Vox populi vox Dei.' But this voice, pride, prejudice, interest, conspire to repress; its first murmur was heard on the occasion of the vote for the reduction of the malt duty; with a vacillation unparalleled in the annals of Parliamentary venality, that vote was rescinded, ere the ink was dry which recorded it, and treason to the very first important expression of the popular will in the House triumphed over it.

That triumph, in the very nature of things, must be short: assuredly that step will, ere long, be retraced; and that popular will, thus repulsed in its every moderate requisition, collect a head that will overbear all restraint, and, in bursting the barriers opposed to it by *Injustice*, sweep those land-marks, which every honest man would desire to preserve, to one general destruction with it.

The most dangerous hopes at this moment exist of the overthrow of the monarchy and of all fixed institutions; these wicked hopes, these desperate designs, are limited perhaps at present to but few; but, if we pursue the policy which we have pursued, which we are now pursuing, I do indeed tremble for the result. *Necessity*, pressed into organisation, will form a wedge, and a power, that no frame of society will be able to resist; and, when thus burst asunder, remedy and repentance will be alike too late.

May Heaven avert the calamities, which I cannot but fear, are approaching! and I see no way by which they can be averted, but by yielding readily to the popular will when justice dictates it, else the popular will may dictate to justice, when it is deprived of the power to repel.

N. T. H.

TO THE MORNING STAR.

ALONE, from the dim watches of the night,
 And the o'erpowering charm of thought intense,
 I wander forth, beneath thy radiant light,
 Thou glory of the world's magnificence!
 While heaven and earth are sleeping, and the still
 Light of unnumbered stars sleeps on the hill.
 The hour is holy—man is not awake;
 And none but angels may behold me now;
 Oh! it is rapture thus alone to make
 Our home in heaven; upon my pallid brow
 The cool gale breathes, and o'er my thirsting soul
 Fresh tides of light and heavenly beauty roll.
 The quivering waters of the woodland brook
 Flow musical; the trees in dewy sheen
 Wave gently murmuring; and the star-light look
 Of the blue summer skies, o'er all the scene
 Throws such an eloquence as Eden showed
 When the first man first 'mid its wild flowers trode.
 The sea's soft waves along the pebbled beach
 Roll in glad music 'neath the starry light,
 And, with their quietness delusive, teach
 The mariner to dread their stormy might,
 When from its depths the ocean swells on high,
 And drowns the victim's last despairing cry.
 Through the grey vapours of the morning loom
 The gallant ships of merchandise and war—
 How many hearts there think not of their doom!
 How few will e'er return from climes afar!
 Climes where the pestilence at noon-day slays,
 And Mammon gloats o'er blood—oh, evil days!
 How many eyes will see their home no more!
 How fast they sail before the morning wind!
 The white cliffs fade—their much-lov'd island's shore—
 All the heart loves or hopes is left behind;
 Farewell! by Burrampooter's eastern wave
 Mysterious hands dig many a soldier's grave!
 Dim grows the Eastern fleet; on, on to death!
 Ye seek ye know not what in foreign lands;
 Haste and resign your honours and your breath,
 And call it glory!—o'er the yellow sands
 They vanish! the horizon, darkly blue,
 Reveals no more the mighty fleet to view.
 Nor ever will; but now, again, farewell!—
 The glorious sun breaks on the world in light,
 And glittering vapours o'er the upland swell,
 And melt away far in the azure bright.
 Thus sighs the Bard in Eastern climes afar,
 While lov'd ones watch thy light, bright Morning Star!

L.F.

THE
PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW
And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 6.

IN the morning sitting, petitions were presented as usual; and these becoming now less numerous than at an earlier period of the Session, the whole were soon despatched, and the Speaker left the Chair soon after 2 o'clock.

At 5 o'clock the evening sitting was resumed, and a conversation respecting Tithes, and another respecting the Factory Commission, occupied a short period of time. The great topic of the evening, however, was the debate on the policy pursued by the Ministers with respect to Portugal. By the vote of the Lords, on the evening of the 3rd, a censure was cast upon the existing Government for their conduct in this respect; and the object of the present debate was to counteract the tendency of this vote of the Lords, by opposing to it a much larger majority of the Commons, in approbation of that very policy which the Lords had condemned. The House was therefore very full: and as it was the only occasion that had yet occurred in the Session, where the opposition to the Ministers would be of a purely Tory composition, without the slightest admixture of Radical or reforming materials, great curiosity was manifested to know the probable numbers of the minority.

As to the real question of debate, it lay in a very small compass; and might have been stated in two speeches, of half an hour each, from either side. But it being an affair of party politics—a battle between two factions, where the subject matter of alleged contention was regarded with real indifference by both, and where the issue alone was looked to as a matter of party triumph or defeat—the discussion was prolonged from 6 o'clock until 12.

Colonel DAVIES, after announcing the object he had in view—namely, to counteract the vote given by the Lords, and passing in review the impartial conduct of the Government, in permitting the struggle between Don Pedro and Don Miguel to go on without interference on either side, concluded thus:—

‘Under all the circumstances, he conceived His Majesty’s Government
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had not taken an improper part, and therefore he was anxious that they should be supported by the vote of that House. He felt convinced that if the decision of the other branch of the Legislature were not quickly met by an opposite vote, emanating from that House, twenty-four hours would not elapse after the declaration made in another place was known, before a Spanish army would cross the Portuguese frontier. (Hear, hear.) Surely, therefore, they ought to stand forward in order to prevent such a catastrophe—a catastrophe that might be the means of plunging this country and all Europe into war. In 1826 Mr. Canning had said, that if a single Spanish column passed the Portuguese frontier, this country was bound immediately to interfere; and, assuredly, if the principle were a just one at that time, it was no less just and politic now. At the present moment they saw the Russian eagle hovering over Constantinople, after having beaten down unhappy Poland—they saw the Austrians oppressing Italy—and they saw Prussia only seeking for an opportunity to put down all free institutions; would they, would the people of England, at such a moment, lend their aid to crush the spark of liberty which had been suddenly ignited in a little corner, in a little nook of Europe? (Hear, hear.) He hoped they would not lend themselves to any such object, and that they would have the satisfaction of feeling, that if they had not assisted the struggling Portuguese, at least they had not been guilty of opposing their efforts in the cause of freedom. (Hear, hear.) The Gallant Member concluded by moving, in effect, “That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, expressing the regret of that House at the protracted hostilities in Portugal, and, at the same time, thanking His Majesty for the judicious policy which he had pursued with respect to the affairs of that country.” (Hear, hear.)

LORD MORPETH, in a speech of great spirit as well as elegance, seconded the motion of Colonel Davies; and, in the course of his address, gave the following description of the atrocities of Don Miguel, followed by a too gentle censure on the conduct of the Bishops in the House of Lords, eight of whom, out of the nine then present, gave their votes in favour of this pattern of princes, whom they conceived we ought to cherish and protect:—

‘They had heard much of Don Miguel being the choice of the people and the delight of the Portuguese. It had been published in 1831, that upon a calculation it was found there were in the prisons and hulks of Portugal, or transported as convicts, 27,000 individuals; of those emigrating to avoid his vengeance there were no less than 13,000; and in hiding-places in Portugal there were between 4,000 and 5,000. Thus it appeared that out of a population not exceeding 2,600,000, there were not less than 45,000 victims of political resentment, whom, no doubt, these partizans of Don Miguel would, perhaps, include amongst those who, as they alleged, testified universal acquiescence in the dominion of the usurper. Perhaps it would not be improper for him to read the following extract from Young’s work, who visited Portugal about that time, to acquaint the House what was the real state of society there. He relates—“The streets of Lisbon were crowded with soldiers, day and night, authorizing the mob to insult whoever they pleased, and those who made any resistance to be conveyed to prison. Each police soldier had *anginlos* (little angels or thumb-screws) in his pocket, and I saw about this time several respectable-looking people escorted to prison with these instruments of torture affixed to them. They often screwed them till the blood started from under the nails; I have heard them crying with agony as they went along.” He might, indeed, be stained with rebellion, usurpation, tyranny,

and murder. He might combine all that we read, and all that we could imagine, of the most detestable models in ancient history—the sullen perfidy of Tiberius, with the sanguinary sportiveness of Commodus; but no matter; somehow or other, despite of this world of charges and accusations, he represented the Conservative interests in Portugal. (Loud laughter and cheers.) And further, he reflected, it would seem, those interests in Spain. In him were centred the hopes of Absolutists, and the perpetuity of priestcraft. (Hear.)

“His birth, his titles, crowds and courts confess,
Chaste matrons praise him, and grave bishops bless.”

(Immoderate laughter.) Grave bishops! He would say one word on that subject. He trusted, indeed he knew, he was by no means wanting in attachment and fidelity to the establishment of which he was a Christian member, and he had not hesitated to profess that attachment, as well as respect and forbearance, towards the heads of that church, in places and at times when it was not very convenient or easy for him to do so; but when he found that those Right Reverend persons, who had declared to the other house that it would not be discreet in them to legislate for the better observance of the Sabbath—he it observed he did not quarrel with them for that opinion so delivered, still less with the very eminent person from whom it proceeded; whilst at the same moment a portion of that Right Rev. bench—happy was he to say but a portion, and that not headed by their natural leaders as their brightest ornaments—did not find it beyond their praise or beneath their care, not merely to interpose on a nice, a complicated question of worldly policy, but to inculcate greater forbearance on the part of Britain towards a cause built upon the disregard of every obligation, and stained by the commission of every crime, he might ask, what infatuation induced them to convert the support of those who are not ready to proffer it into coldness and alienation?

Sir HENRY HARDINGE condemned the conduct of the Ministry, as being neither neutral nor impartial: and Mr. ROBINSON condemned the bringing forward such a motion as the present, as being likely to lead to a collision with the other House.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL defended both; first, by shewing that it was perfectly consistent with the law and usages of nations to let the subjects of the State give what aid they thought proper to foreign belligerents, if the State itself abstained from interference on either side, and removed its own servants from office who did so; and next, by shewing that the opinion of the Commons ought to be as firmly expressed on this subject as that of the Lords. He concluded thus:—

‘But whether the sentiments of the majority of the house coincided with those of one hon. Member or of the other, it was not fair to say that that house, in carrying up its sentiments to the Throne, could be considered as at all interfering with the other House of Parliament. He denied that in doing so they would be seeking to provoke a collision with the House of Lords. His (Lord J. Russell’s) object—the same had been the object of all his colleagues, but he had been more prominently forward in regard to the measures to which he was about to refer—in all his former conduct had been to prevent the chance of such a collision; and if in certain measures he had confined himself within certain restrictions,—if he had abstained from pressing forward opinions which were deeply seated in his breast,—if he had abstained in that instance from carrying into effect views and opinions which the more he considered them the more he was convinced of their

being most essential to the happiness, prosperity, and welfare of this country, let the house, let hon. gentlemen be assured that he did not decline then urging those views in consequence of any change that had taken place in his opinions, or in consequence of any wish to preserve office or place, but because he saw there was no chance of then carrying them into effect without bringing into collision the two branches of the legislature—a result which he thought they should not wantonly bring on, (loud cheers from the ministerial benches, responded to by similar cheers from the opposition benches) and for the bringing on of which any men who ever took office in this country would be most deeply responsible. (Cries of “Hear, hear.”) These were the reasons that, in that instance, had guided his conduct and that of his Majesty’s ministers. He did not think that, upon this occasion, they at least could be reproached with having done anything that was likely to bring into collision the two branches of the legislature. They had pursued that course of policy with regard to Portugal which they thought conducive to the best interests of the empire,—they had acted so as to preserve unstained the honour of the country, and they now cheerfully and fearlessly appealed to the vote of that house to prove that they had been right. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O’Connell, Lord Palmerston, and Sir Robert Peel, each spoke after this—as well as Captain Yorke and Colonel Evans; but nothing sufficiently striking or sufficiently new was said by either to produce a strong impression, or to turn the fate of the discussion. Sir Robert Peel and Captain Yorke espoused the Tory side of the question—their sympathies lying on the side of Don Miguel,—Lord Palmerston defending the policy of the Administration, of which he was a member, and Mr. O’Connell and Colonel Evans evincing their attachment to the cause of Don Pedro, and the constitutional party of which he was the head.

The House divided about 12 o’clock, when the numbers were—For the motion of Colonel Davies, 361; against it, 98. The result of the division was received with loud cheers.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—JUNE 6.

The following pithy report of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the same evening as that on which the vote of the Commons was so unequivocally expressed, will shew that on the subject of the policy pursued towards Portugal, at least, the Ministers are still able to command the King’s approbation; and that the Address of the Lords had not moved him in the slightest degree as intended:—

‘The Marquis WELLESLEY (Lord Steward of the King’s Household) said, “I have presented to His Majesty the Address agreed to by your Lordships on Monday last, and to that Address His Majesty has been pleased to return this gracious answer:—

“I had already taken all such measures as appeared to me to be necessary for maintaining the neutrality which I have determined to observe in the contest now carrying on in Portugal.”’

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 7.

The House met at twelve o'clock, as usual, for Petitions : and there were about thirty Members present at the opening. After a short discussion on a Turnpike Bill, and serious complaints of the power exercised by Lord Shaftesbury in the Upper House, in impeding the passing of Bills, unless they contained a variety of unnecessary clauses, which it was alleged were enforced chiefly for the fees payable on their insertion, the presentation of Petitions went on for half an hour, when there being no Minister present, and no attention whatever paying to the subject-matter of the Petitions presenting,—

‘Mr. F. O’CONNOR said he was resolved to adhere to the determination he had expressed of counting out the House when so much negligence was manifested in the attendance of Hon. Members on the presentation of Petitions.

‘Mr. HOWARD suggested the inutility of such a proceeding, as there were evidently more than twenty Members present.

‘The SPEAKER remarked, that although twenty Members were sufficient to constitute a House at the early sitting, there must be forty to keep it.

‘The House was then counted, and there appearing to be but thirty Members present, the House was accordingly adjourned.

We were one of the unlucky thirty thus dismissed, and perhaps, therefore, felt more forcibly than we should otherwise have done, the extreme absurdity of such a rule as this, that twenty Members can form a House, but that it requires forty to keep it : because, by this rule, any Member has only to move, as soon the twenty forming the House have taken their seats, to have them counted, and the adjournment becomes inevitable. In the days of Pitt and Dundas, there was such a thing as seeing double, as recorded in the celebrated epigram which describes these worthies, on reeling into the House tipsey, after a three-bottle bout, in the following dialogue :—

“PITT.—I can't see the Speaker, dear Harry ; can you ?

DUNDAS.—What ! not see the Speaker ? why I can see two !”

If it had been an evening sitting instead of a morning one, and intemperance were as prevalent now as at the period referred to, the Speaker might be supposed capable, in cases of need, of magnifying the twenty into forty, by the faculty of seeing double like Harry Dundas, but on no other principle than that of such a power being exercised when required, can we account for the monstrous absurdity of making twenty sufficient to form a House, but requiring forty to keep it. The rules, however, are so full of fiction and folly, from beginning to end, that one ceases to wonder at any new absurdity, when so many old ones have been consecrated by time, and are now rendered venerable by their antiquity.

In the evening a long conversation arose about the arrears of business before the House, and the difficulty of getting on with the public business, some passages of which are sufficiently edifying to be extracted.

‘MR. A. BARING deprecated the practice of entering into discussion of matters which were not regularly before the House, but he must say that much of this irrelevant discussion was occasioned by the bad arrangement of the public business in that House on the part of His Majesty’s Ministers. No person knew when the most important matters for discussion were to be brought forward. Here was the great question of Irish Tithes, about which the people in Ireland were meeting in arms, and yet there was the Noble Lord opposite sitting quietly at his ease (a laugh), and no man knew what course he meant to take with respect to it; yet the Noble Lord had an order of the day on the book for the second reading of a Bill for the Commutation of Tithes in England, where the people were not fighting on the subject, where the bill would do little good one way or the other, and where he believed the people cared nothing at all about it. That measure could therefore be very safely kept till the next year. Would it not be much better now, in nearly the middle of June, to bring forward a measure which was much more pressing, and which must take up much time, rather than urge one which, though few persons cared anything about it, would also occupy the time of the House at some length?’

‘LORD ALTHORP said, that the Hon. Member (Mr. Baring) complained of the arrangement of public business in that House by Ministers, but if the Hon. Member would consider what had been done in the House, and the state of the order-book, he would see that it was impossible for Ministers to get on with the public business faster than they had done. When the long discussions into which the House had been so constantly led on matters which tended to no practical result, were taken into consideration, and when it was also considered that Ministers had only two days to bring on the public business, so as to have the precedence of the other business on the paper, it would be seen that the fault of not going on faster with the business was not theirs.

‘MR. GOULBURN agreed with the Noble Lord as to the great inconvenience of the interminable discussions, by which the time of the House was taken up on matters which led to no practical result; but he must say that many of those discussions were occasioned by the manner in which some of the measures of Government were introduced. Some of these seemed to have had so very little previous consideration, that the discussion of them led almost necessarily to endless amendments.

‘SIR R. PEEL thought that the present state of business on the paper was almost a disgrace to the House. It was utterly impossible that it could be gone through in the present Session. He was aware that the Noble Lord had no control over the business brought forward by others, but he had over the business of Government; and he hoped, therefore, that he would not allow any new business to be brought in until at least there was some prospect of disposing of what they had already before them. He should wish that the Noble Lord would take two or three days to consider the actual state of the public business, and then decide on what should be submitted to the consideration of the House, for what, with the attendance at the early sittings of the House, the attendance in Committees up stairs, and the late sittings in the House at night, and allowing some short time for attention to domestic affairs, it was impossible that Members could get through the business which now stood on the book; and yet, in the midst of this pressure, he was not a little surprised to hear the Solicitor-General give notice of a Bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt. There should, he repeated, be some understanding with Government as to the business which was to be pressed on the attention of the House.

‘COLONEL DAVIES thought that Government were not to blame for the mul-

tiplicity of the notices on the book, but he thought they were to blame in not enforcing more strictly the regulations which the House had agreed upon for the despatch of business.

‘Mr. R. WASON thought that the great evil with respect to the business of the House was that of not allowing notices to take precedence of motions on all days. Whole nights were taken up in the discussion of motions which, though they led to no practical result as related to the objects of the motions themselves, deferred the more important business of the Session.

‘Sir M. W. RIDLEY said, he knew not how the House was to get through the multiplication of business that was brought (and in some instances he would say most unnecessarily) before it. At Easter there were no less than 112 notices of motion on the order book; and at Whitsuntide there were 99 notices of motion, independent of the various orders of the day. Some of these notices were fixed for the 16th, and some for a period so late as the 18th of July.’ (Hear, hear.)

We again ask our readers, whether the propositions which we made for the dispatch of public business, at the very opening of this session, by shortening the speeches of Members, and thus putting a check on those interminable discussions now so universally complained of, were not rational,—and whether the predictions in which we then indulged, that without some such check, the public business would fall into confusion and arrear, have not been fully confirmed? And yet the proposition, now proved to be so reasonable, was met with cries of “Oh! oh! oh!” and looked upon as a rash and dangerous innovation, by those whose short-sightedness disables them from seeing at all into futurity; and who because they cannot, from the imperfection of their vision, perceive a distant evil themselves, conceive, in the blindness of their stupidity, that no one else can see so far as they can.

At about seven o’clock the debate on Colonial Slavery commenced, by the House resolving itself into a Committee of the whole House, Mr. BERNAL in the Chair, when the second resolution, for the emancipation of all children born after the passing of the Act, and under six years of age at that period, being read,—

Mr. HUME rose to address the House. It had long been known that Mr. Hume was unfavorable to immediate emancipation, and that he was a great advocate for the full compensation of the Planters: but it being also known, that he was a constant advocate of liberty and liberal principles, it was always believed that he would concur in the general views of the Government, and approve of gradual abolition, (for their plan goes no further than this) if he did not act with the more speedy abolitionists, for immediate emancipation. What then must have been the astonishment of those who had habitually regarded Mr. Hume as the champion of freedom in every land, (our own was beyond expression great) to hear him deprecate the slow and gradual plan of the Government as too precipitate, and to move for the re-appointment of the Committees to collect further evidence on the subject, before proceeding further!! Not a single West Indian in the House had ventured to ask as much: all had agreed that Emancipa-

tion should take place, and Mr. Hume himself had given his vote for that; when he now came down to the House to ask for further delay, on the ground that the evidence already obtained was not sufficient to warrant the course which the Government had intimated their intention to pursue!—On this head, Mr. Hume spoke for more than two hours and a half; and though we have heard, since we have had a seat in the House, many loose, desultory, wandering, illogical, and inefficient speeches on various topics, we certainly do not remember one which spread itself over so large a portion of time, and contained so little worthy of being recorded or remembered, as this of Mr. Hume. We have always said, and we repeat it again, that there is no one individual in Parliament, who, in our estimation, has more faithfully discharged his duties as a Member, and a friend of the people, than Mr. Hume: but we regret to be obliged to express our serious apprehensions that this speech will do more to lessen his reputation as a true friend of liberty, with the people of the country generally, than any thing that could be said or done towards him by his enemies; and we lament this as an event of public injury, as well as one of private pain. But what is spoken, cannot be unsaid: and we fear the evil,—however much we may lament it,—is irremediable. He concluded thus:—

‘Emancipation was not to be taken as to comprehend a cessation from labour, but should be effected so as to promote industrious habits and an improved situation of the slaves themselves; and therefore it was that he should conclude with moving an amendment, under the wish, though he had been misrepresented elsewhere, to do justice to all parties. The hon. Member then moved an amendment upon the resolution, to the effect that “It was the opinion of the Committee that further information was required relative to the efficiency of free labour, upon which the future beneficial cultivation of the Colonies must materially depend, and without which, neither the welfare of the negroes, nor the interests of the planters, could be secured; and that it was, therefore, desirable that the inquiries should be renewed before Committees of both Houses of Parliament, immediately to commence, with a view to examine persons recently arrived from the Colonies, and others practically acquainted with the various points upon which so many discordant opinions had been stated in this Committee.”

Admiral FLEMING followed, to repeat some of his assertions made on a former night, and called in question by Mr. Hume, and the truth of which he stated he was ready to prove if required. He alluded to the late President of Venezuela, who, he said, was then sitting under the gallery of the House, as an evidence in support of his allegations; and concluded thus:—

‘He was unconnected with any party on the slave question, but when his own evidence had been attacked, he had felt it due to himself to make this statement to the House. (Hear.) He could only add that if hon. Members on the other side of the House would contend for that which was false in principle, nothing but bloodshed, insurrection, and misery would ensue; and to them he would say as a caution, do not drive your plans too far. The moment the proposition of the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for the Colonies was received in Jamaica, he felt satisfied that the Government could not retract an inch from that proposition. (Hear.)

MR. BUCKINGHAM followed Admiral Fleming; and as his speech embraces replies to all the objections raised against *immediate* Emancipation, by each of the speakers who opposed his amendment to that effect in a previous stage of the debate; and as it is confined strictly to that part of the subject, now the most important—as the general question of Emancipation is unanimously settled—it has been thought right to give it at some length; though, like all the rest, it is in a much more abridged form, than if reported verbatim.

‘MR. BUCKINGHAM said, in rising to offer a few observations on the subject before the House, he could not refrain from expressing his surprise and regret at the course pursued by his honorable friend the Member for Middlesex, whose objections came too late, for his proposition was to delay that declaration of Emancipation which the House had solemnly pronounced by the unanimous vote on the first resolution which had already passed; it was perfectly useless, therefore, now to propose a Committee for further evidence, as the fiat had gone forth, to declare that Slavery *should* be abolished, and our only remaining task now was to determine the when and the how. (hear, hear.) The hon. Member had deprecated our legislating in ignorance of the actual circumstances of the Colonies, of which he assumed that we knew nothing, compared with the individuals who resided in them, and he asked whether the inhabitants of Japan were not likely to understand what was passing in their own country better than the people of England. The illustration was not a happy one, for the cases were not parallel. There was no intercourse whatever between the people of England and the people of Japan, and there was not a single Japanese to be found, perhaps, in all the British islands; whereas the intercourse between England and the West Indies was frequent and extensive. Hundreds of persons who had passed the greatest portion of their lives in the Colonies, resided among us, and some were even Members of that House. He, himself, (Mr. Buckingham) had visited the West Indies, twenty-five years ago, commencing with the island of Trinidad; he had subsequently visited many other islands in a maritime capacity; he had afterwards passed some time in Virginia, the greatest slave-holding state in America; and since then he had seen Slavery in all its varied modifications, in the Eastern world, from the severest to the mildest form in which it existed or was known. He might be considered, therefore, as not altogether destitute of experience on this head; and if this experience could give any weight to the testimony he should bear on the subject, he should rejoice in having the present opportunity of declaring that, from the first moment he ever saw a slave, until the present time, his conviction had been, not merely that Slavery was sinful, cruel, impolitic, and unprofitable, but that it might be abolished with perfect ease and entire safety, not gradually, but immediately, not in one spot only,—but throughout the globe,—and that all parties would be ultimately benefitted by such a step. (hear, hear, hear.)

‘He would now advert to the principal objections that had been urged against his view of the case, by those who thought the immediate Emancipation of the Slaves would be attended with danger, or difficulty, or loss; and as briefly as he possibly could, he would pass in review what had fallen from those hon. Members who had opposed his amendment on the last evening of the debate; in doing which, he might find it practicable also to convince the hon. Member for Middlesex that a much larger body of evidence than he seemed to contemplate, could be cited, to *prove* the superiority of free labour over slave labour, in every experiment that had yet been tried. (hear, hear.)

'He would begin then with the objections to immediate emancipation, which were raised by the noble lord, the Member for Stirling, (Lord Dalmeu) which embraced the three following assertions:—That the slaves were too ignorant to be admitted at once to the enjoyment of freedom. That they had treasured up vindictive feelings for all the cruelties inflicted on them, and could not be made free with safety. That it therefore required the greatest caution and prudence to release them gradually, and above all, to prepare them for their freedom before that blessing was conferred upon them. He would advert to each of these in succession.

'First,—As to ignorance. If it were intended to confer at once upon the negro the enjoyment of political rights, the trust of the elective franchise, or elevation to judicial or other stations of civil or political authority, he confessed, that with all his love of liberty, and advocacy of extended rights, he should pause before he assented to such a measure. But all that was intended, by the freedom of the negro, in the present instance, was to give him the liberty to take his labour, the only property he had, to the best market, to select his own employer, to negotiate for his own wages, to earn his own bread, and to enjoy the fruits of his labour unmolested. Surely the most ignorant people in existence might be safely entrusted with so much freedom as this, and this was all that was asked for the slaves. If ignorance were a disqualification for that extent of freedom, then ought the great bulk of the population in every country upon earth to be kept in a state of slavery. But if, as was undoubtedly the case at present, the most ignorant inhabitants of every nation in Europe were as free in this particular as the wisest, and no inconvenience was felt from that equality of rights in this respect—the right to dispose of their labour freely, and no more was asked,—it must be equally safe to admit the full enjoyment of the right contended for to every slave, whatever the degree of ignorance in which it might be his misfortune to be found.

'Secondly,—As to vindictiveness. It might be true, and none could wonder at the fact, that the severe and continued oppressions which these unhappy beings had so long suffered, might inspire them with feelings of anger, and even of revenge towards their oppressors. But what was the best remedy for this—to keep them still longer enslaved, or to let them go free? (Hear, hear.) By the former course, every cause for vindictiveness would be aggravated and prolonged, and whenever the moment for executing the long treasured purpose of revenge should arrive, the arrear to be wiped off by this terrible process would be the heavier, and the vengeance the more signal and complete. But, by releasing them from bondage, we should at least prevent any addition to their reasons for vindictiveness; and before the load became intolerable they might be relieved of their burthen with greater ease than at any deferred or protracted period. He had himself witnessed the arrival of ships from foreign stations, at the close of the last war, when many thousands of seamen were paid off, discharged, and sent forth into a state of freedom, suddenly and without previous preparation, though, from the severe restraint under which they had been kept, and the punishment of the lash to which they had been subjected, their feelings towards their officers were such, that any favourable moment for mutiny would have been seized, had they been kept longer in the bondage in which they were. But from the moment they were let loose from their floating prisons, they were far too happy to think of anything but the delights of freedom; whatever feelings of vindictiveness they might have cherished, instantly disappeared; and no further cause for anger and ill-will existing, the feeling became extinguished, and they would have hastened to shower blessings on the very heads that they would have loaded with curses but a day or two before.

‘Thirdly,—As to caution in proceeding, and preparation of the slave. The first had been exercised to so great an extent already, that it was unreasonable to ask for more, unless its exercise was to be eternal. We had been proceeding with so much caution, and had taken our steps so very gradually, that after thirty years of continued efforts for the abolition of Slavery up to the present time, the slaves were no more free now than they were then, and any improvement in their condition was so slight as to be scarcely perceptible. We never could prepare them for freedom, but by making them partake of its enjoyment. Until the first step, of admitting them to the rights of free labourers should be taken, they never could be prepared to take the second, or be qualified to enjoy the rights of free citizens, or free men. Emancipation, therefore, must precede improvement, or it would never come at all: and if prudence and caution were requisite, as he admitted with the Noble Lord it was, those qualities would be best evinced, by beginning the work of abolition at once, and effecting it by legal and peaceful means, to avert the otherwise certain catastrophe of the slaves themselves achieving their own deliverance, and wresting their freedom by violence, as a right, from those who might have bestowed it with gentleness, as a boon. (Hear, hear.)

‘He would now venture to trouble the House with the proofs, which were ample and authentic, of the perfect practicability and entire safety of the immediate transition from slavery to freedom, and of the superior productiveness and efficiency of free labour over slave labour wherever it had been tried. Mr. Buckingham here quoted several passages from the pamphlet written by Mr. Josiah Conder, entitled, “Wages or the Whip,” to establish his positions: and adduced from its pages a large mass of evidence in support of all the assertions made.*

‘Let him, however, advert to what had fallen from the Noble Lord, the Member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon,) who spoke next in the debate. That Noble Lord had given an enumeration of the various classes interested in this issue of the great question—the West India planters, the British merchants, the ship-owners, the manufacturers, and the labourers of every kind now employed in supplying materials for the West India trade: assuming, as it were, that by the emancipation of the slaves, the Colonies would either become independent, or extinct, or pass into other hands, and that in either case all those great interests would suffer a total loss of all the occupation and the profit which our present relations afford them. Should this be the case, it would undoubtedly be felt as a great calamity, and might well make us pause. Not only, however, did the ordinary application of principles, and the exercise of reason and reflection, go to shew the probability of a different issue—but the whole testimony of history and experience pointed to an entirely opposite result. If free labour were more productive than slave labour (as by the evidence read he had abundantly shewn), it must then follow that both masters and slaves would be enriched thereby,—and the desire for increased enjoyments naturally following, we should no longer be engaged in sending out to the West Indies the miserable and scanty supply of salt herrings for the negroes’ food, a few shirts and caps for their raiment, and an occasional addition to the implements and machinery of husbandry and manufacture for their use; but the freed men, having accumulated means of purchase and payment, increased supplies of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of every kind, would be required;

* This admirable pamphlet having been reviewed, with copious extracts, in the preceding and present number of this Review, the passages here read need not be repeated.

and all the arts and elegancies of life would progressively be substituted for the rude materials now in use among them. America furnished a striking illustration of the effects of such a change. While appended to England as a mere colonial possession, the cost of governing her was great, and her returns in trade were few. But once emancipated and independent, her demands for the manufactures of this country progressively increased; augmented supplies were sent from that country in payment for such supplies; and it was far within the limits of truth to say that, at the present moment, the commerce between free America and England was twenty times as great as it ever had been between those countries previous to her emancipation, and the improvements consequent thereon. So would it be with the West Indies. Whether they remained as appendages of England after they were cultivated by free men instead of slaves, whether they became independent, or passed into other hands, so long as their tropical produce could not be grown in England, we should be disposed to resort for it there; so long as we were consumers of this, we should pay for it in British goods; and therefore, in either case, the West India proprietors would be enriched by a larger demand for their produce; the merchant would have larger gains from the increased amounts over which his connexions would extend---the manufacturer would have increased vent for his articles of every kind;---the ship-owner would have freights for an increased number of vessels to convey the interchanging products of each;---and the seamen and artizans of the country would find increased employment in the augmentation of reciprocally beneficial trade. The fears, therefore, of the Noble Lord, were perfectly groundless; and the very reverse of what he seemed to anticipate would be likely to follow from the change. (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘He would now pass to the speech of the Hon. Member for Newark---a speech to which it was impossible to allude but in terms of eulogy, for the tone, temper, manner, and matter, by which it was characterized, and which occasioned it to be listened to with pleasure by all parties, whether they concurred in the views it advocated or not. That Hon. Member had contended that sugar cultivation, which was said to destroy so many lives annually, was not so destructive an occupation as many trades practised in England, among which he enumerated the steel-grinders, who were subject to diseases occasioned by their occupation, most fatal to life, and destroying the constitution in comparatively a few years. The Hon. Member had overlooked the fact, however, that it was not so much the mere cultivation of sugar which led to excessive destruction of life, as its cultivation on a system of forced labour, which exacted continued work, with too great severity, and for too scanty a reward. In every community there must be occupations more or less dangerous and more or less disagreeable. But, provided the labourers were free to choose whichever they preferred, it would happen that the timid and the indolent would choose the easiest and the pleasantest, and the number of applicants for this would reduce the wages to a low scale; while the boldest and the most reckless would choose the dangerous and the difficult, not for the danger and the difficulties, but for the high rewards attached to their performance; for the very destructiveness of their nature would narrow the circle of competitors, and the wages would accordingly be high. It was thus in the instance of the steel-grinders, to which the Hon. Member had adverted. There were many of these employed at Sheffield (the town he had the honor to represent), and he believed that the wages of this class of artizans was so high, as that with three or four days labour in the week, as much might be earned as at any of the less destructive occupations in six. But this made all the difference. Let the sugar-cultivators of the Colonies be as free to choose their occupations as the steel-grinders of Sheffield, and there would be no just ground of complaint: high wages would follow dangerous and difficult employ-

ments, and low wages safe and easy trades. The source of discontent was, that the negroes were *compelled* to labour excessively, by coercion and terror of the whip, and were badly fed and badly clothed, though they laboured in crop-time eighteen hours out of the twenty-four: while the grinders of Sheffield were not compelled to labour, and, with eight hours work per day throughout the whole week, could secure their being well fed, well clothed, and have some surplus left for enjoyment besides. The army, it was well known, was, in war time especially, a service abundantly destructive of human life; the navy still more so, for in addition to the risks of battle, the risks of shipwreck must be incurred. Certain stations of service in both were also more dangerous than others, from climate and other causes. But these were often *preferred* to more healthy and more pacific spots; because in these the chances of gain, honour, promotion, and prize-money, were increased; and he (Mr. Buckingham) had himself heard drunk as a toast, in the gun-room mess of a man-of-war in the West Indies, "a destructive war and a sickly season;" the proposer justifying his wish, by the observation that promotion was the desire of all, that this could not be quickened without vacancies, and the consolation of all was, that when these vacancies were occasioned by the two causes named, all parties were satisfied, as those who lived obtained promotion, and those who died did not require it. (Laughter.) Where perfect freedom of choice was allowed, every man would suit his own disposition or his own taste in the selection of the labour or the service in which he proposed to engage: and when the slaves in the Colonies should be allowed that freedom of choice, he thought all complaints as the destructiveness of any branch of labour would be at an end. (Hear, hear.)

'The last speaker whose arguments he felt called upon to notice, was the Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth (Sir R. Peel), and he thought it the more necessary to do this, from the powerful impression they had made in the House at the time of their delivery on the last night of the debate. Knowing as he did the great importance attached to the opinions of the Right Hon. Baronet, as the acknowledged and distinguished leader of a political section or party in the state—aware as he was of the talent and skill with which his views were always developed and enforced—and witnessing as he had done the impression made by him upon the House, and, through it, no doubt, upon a large portion of the country, he (Mr. Buckingham) thought it of the utmost importance to notice those portions of the Right Hon. Baronet's speech which enumerated his objections to immediate emancipation.

'The first of these was, the observation that, in addition to the moral causes which were in operation in the West Indies, there were physical causes equally powerful, to prevent the due amalgamation of the European and African races; and these causes being permanent in their nature, could not be overcome by any legislation. Now, in answer to this, he (Mr. Buckingham) would observe, that the only reason why the African race was looked upon with such feelings of contempt for its inferiority by the European race, both in the West Indies and in America, was the constant association of the condition of Slavery with the sight of men of colour; and the actual inferiority of their *condition* led to the constant assumption of their inferiority of blood or nature. But the testimony of all history, whether ancient or modern, and the evidence of all experience; went to show, that in countries where no such idea of Slavery was associated with darkness of colour, these physical causes were not at all in operation, and consequently these obstacles to amalgamation did not exist. Were it not likely to be thought pedantic, he might cite particular instances in proof of this; but he would content himself with saying generally—that in Egypt, and throughout Turkey and Persia, as well as in India, persons

of African origin mingled freely with persons of European and Asiatic nativity;* and that many of the civil and military officers of rank in the State were held by absolute negroes of pure African birth, without the slightest objection being taken to their fitness, on account of their complexion or blood : and after the lapse of a short time subsequent to the emancipation of slaves in our colonies, he doubted not but that the existing prejudices in America and the West Indies, would all disappear.

‘ It was said, also, by the right hon. baronet, that the love of repose, arising from the warmth of the climate, and the abundance of food, which could be procured with great ease by very little labour, would indispose the negroes to work; and that we should, therefore, lose the benefit of their labour. Now, suppose the fact were so, (though the evidence he had already cited, proved quite the reverse) surely we had no right to interfere for the purpose of making them labour beyond that limit of necessity for the supply of their own wants. The only legitimate object of Government was the happiness of the people :—suppose, then, a whole nation, or any number of individuals in it, were so fortunately circumstanced by locality, or by any other cause, as to be enabled to procure, with very little labour, or with none at all, a full supply of all their physical wants,—should we be justified in compelling them to labour over and above the amount necessary for this purpose? He must say, that he should regard this as a tyranny of the most unjustifiable kind. Why, how many persons were there in England, who, were able, without labour, to procure all they desired, from having other sources of income, which rendered labour on their parts unnecessary: and would it be borne that such persons should be forced to labour for their subsistence, when they could obtain all they needed without such occupation? The State was, undoubtedly, bound to see that idlers were not pensioned on the public purse, and that paupers were not maintained by the nation, when they did nothing to support themselves: but beyond this, the State had no right to interfere; and if skilful persons in this country, could, by one day’s labour, acquire the means of subsistence for a month, or an easily contented negro in the West Indies, could, by one day’s labour obtain food enough for himself and children for all the rest of the week—why should we compel either of these happy and fortunate parties to labour more than would suit their own pleasure, after the purpose of their own subsistence, independently of any public aid, should be secured? But, what was the real fact? why, invariably this: that in both cases, the desire of gain was so much more powerful than the love of repose, that neither party stopped short in their exertions when their necessities were satisfied, but all pursued the same career of accumulation, adding as much as possible to that which they already possessed; love of accumulation generally becoming more and more intense in proportion to the amount of the property possessed. As a proof, however, of the great activity of

* The reference here was to the alliance of Solomon with one of the daughters of Pharaoh, whose language in the Canticles is expressive of her colour and her race. “I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.” The testimony of Herodotus is decisive as to the colour of the old Egyptians. In describing a Colony at Colehis, he expresses his belief that they were of Egyptian origin, because, like the Egyptians, they had thick lips, black complexions, and crisped hair—an exact description of the negroes of the present day. The history of Sheba, the queen of Abyssinia—of Cleopatra the queen of Egypt—as well as of the Carthaginians, Numidians, and other African nations, prove incontestibly the power of their easy amalgamation with the other races of mankind; while the varied shades of complexion in India, and the intermarriages from which they spring, must convince every reflecting person, that the difference in condition, rather than in the colour of these races, is the cause of the feeling or prejudice alluded to, wherever it exists.

which the negroes were capable, and of the powerful influence of rewards to stimulate and quicken their exertions, he would mention a single fact which fell within his own observation. Some years ago, being stationed on board a ship in the Chesapeake, an occasion arose in which it became necessary for the dispatch of outfit, to employ a gang of riggers from the port in which the ship lay. On inquiry, it was ascertained that there was a negro gang of this description at Norfolk, who were all slaves, belonging to a Virginian proprietor, to whom they paid half the amount of their earnings, as his profit or interest of the capital sunk in their purchase, and lived upon the remainder. Their average earnings, when employed in time-work, was about a Spanish dollar each, per day. The foreman of the gang was sent for, and the quantity of labour to be done was pointed out: it was then asked, in what period of time, the gang, about 25 in number, would be able to accomplish the work, and it was said, in about a week, which all parties agreed in thinking to be a reasonable period: it was observed, however, that if the job should be given as a task, and the same amount of remuneration paid, in whatever time it might be accomplished, it could probably be finished sooner. This was assented to, as despatch was a most important object; and the consequence was, that by great exertions, working by spells, day and night, the good week's labour was completed in three days and a half, and all parties were abundantly satisfied. The negroes made each nearly two dollars a day; and, paying one to their master, had still ample wages for themselves: but had they not been allowed to receive these wages, or had they been stimulated only by the whip, they would not have accomplished in a fortnight, what they here executed, in the best as well as most expeditious manner, in the short period of less than four days. (Hear, hear, hear.)

'This fact was a striking illustration of the truth of the sentiment expressed by Burke; and, as the Right Hon. Baronet had quoted the language of that celebrated statesman to shew the difficulties of immediate emancipation, it would be perfectly fair to quote the same authority in favor of the superiority of free industry over slave labour. In his "Treatise on European Settlements," Burke expressly said, "I am the more convinced of the necessity of those indulgences, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues under which he would otherwise have sunk." (Hear, hear.)

'The right hon. Baronet had dwelt with great force on the position, that if we emancipated the slaves, the sugar cultivation in our own Colonies would cease; in which case, we should be driven to the necessity of adopting either the one or the other of these alternatives; namely, that we must do without sugar altogether, to which he thought the people of England would not consent; or we must obtain it from foreign colonies, and thereby increase the labours of the slaves in these, and give new activity to the slave trade by which these colonies would be still supplied. It was impossible that a person of such extensive information on all topics of public interest as the right hon. Baronet, could be ignorant of the fact that sugar was a production of the East Indies as well as of the West; but it was very remarkable that he should not advert to that fact. It became then the more necessary that he (Mr. Buckingham) should offer evidence to prove, not only that this article could be had in any quantity required, from our possessions in the East, but that it could be had much cheaper than from the West. The proof was this:—

"In the work on East India sugar, from which this is taken, extracts are given from a letter addressed to the Hon. the Court of Directors, by William Fitzmaurice, Esq. dated, Calcutta, Feb. 6, 1793. This gentleman, having lived in Jamaica sixteen years, during which he had been employed in the cultivation and management of sugar estates on both sides of the island, must be regarded as thoroughly competent to form a decisive opinion respecting the comparative advantages of the two countries; and he expresses that opinion in the following terms:—"From the luxuriant fertility of the country, I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugars; and that even the West Indian planters themselves might import them from thence on much easier terms than they can afford to sell sugars in the curing-houses upon the plantations. The cultivation of the cane will employ thousands of poor people that are to be seen in all parts of this country in real want; and inasmuch as the cultivation of the sugar-cane destroys annually, in the West, thousands of men, women and children, by incessant toil, it will save the lives of thousands in the East, by giving them employment and sustenance."

Again, Bryan Edwards, the well known author of the History of the West Indies, and the apologist for the Slave System, admitted that the price of growing sugar in Jamaica was 18s. 9d. per cwt., which compared with the price of growing sugar in Java was just 125 per cent dearer than the same article might be grown for in the East. (hear, hear.) He conceived, therefore, that if the whole of the West India islands were to be submerged beneath the sea and utterly annihilated, we need not resort to Slave Colonies for our supplies, for that our own possessions in the East were capable of furnishing an adequate supply of sugar, not merely for the consumption of Great Britain, but for all Europe if required.

'He had now, he hoped, disposed of all the most important objections raised by the several speakers who had preceded him, against immediate emancipation, and shewn that this was not only just, but practicable and safe. Indeed he concurred with the honourable and gallant admiral opposite, (Admiral Fleming) that the greatest danger lay in procrastination or delay. The decree had gone forth that Slavery was to be abolished; the slaves, therefore, would not be content to wait long before their bonds should be broken, even if we were disposed to do so; and unless we followed up our declaration, by giving them actual freedom at the earliest possible period, they would do the work for themselves, and leave us to repentance when it was too late.

'In conclusion, therefore, he would conjure the House not to accede to the motion of the Hon. Member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume,) who wished for delay; nor to be moved by the arguments of the Right Hon. Member for Tamworth, (Sir Robert Peel) which he had shown to be groundless; nor to yield to the demand of the Government for twelve years of further bondage;—but, for the sake of religion, of justice, of humanity, and of sound policy, to concur with him in the amendment he should now move, to follow immediately after the first which had already been passed by an unanimous vote. It was this:—

"That as the only delay required for the safe and satisfactory commencement of this great act of national justice, will be such a period of time as may admit the due preparation of measures, for the preservation of order and peace, it is the opinion of this Committee that, at the termination of one year, from the date on which the first Act of Parliament for the entire Abolition of Colonial Slavery may receive the Royal Assent, every slave in the British Dominions should be declared free, and become entitled to the legal protection of person and property as an emancipated British subject, without the exaction of any payment, either in labour or money, as the price of such restoration to the enjoyment of natural rights."

Dr. LUSHINGTON followed, and directed his observations principally in reply to Mr. Hume. He expressed (as well he might) his utter astonishment at the course pursued by his honourable friend, the Member for Middlesex; and refuting many of the allegations brought forward, he continued thus:—

‘It was twenty-six years since he first addressed the House on the subject of the Slave Trade, and he remembered that the same pretences for delay which were now put forth were then urged to prevent the abolition of that horrid traffic. Since that period the question of the Abolition of Slavery had been kept almost constantly before Parliament, and they were now perfectly prepared to come to a decision respecting it. He trusted that the house would now set a noble example to foreign nations, and that ere a year had passed over their heads they would have to congratulate themselves, first, on the success of the great experiment; secondly, on the advantage arising from it to the commercial and manufacturing interests; and, thirdly, on the fact of foreign states having struck the fetters from the slave, and allowed the sun of liberty to shine over the universal globe.’ (Cheers)

Mr. BARING next rose to address the House, and not having been present at the commencement of the debate, (having, in short, come down to the House about eleven o'clock, after a dinner party) he got on the wrong scent, and began to argue against immediate emancipation, as though it were the plan of the Government, while their plan was for keeping the slaves for twelve years longer in their bondage. He said, that during the progress of the Reform Bill, he had been accused of being a ‘bit-by-bit’ reformer: and he confessed that, in this instance, he was so too. He would, therefore, recommend that the experiment of Emancipation should be tried upon one island first, and then upon another; and if it succeeded in two or three instances, it might be followed up in all. He would not vote for Mr. Hume’s amendment, as the question of Emancipation was settled; but he could not, at the same time, vote for any measure of compensation beyond what strict justice required.

Mr. P. M. STEWART would neither vote for the motion of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, nor for that of the Hon. Member for Sheffield, as the one was too slow, and the other too quick. But he was instructed, on behalf of the West India body, to move certain amendments; the most striking feature of which were—first, that the Colonial Legislature should have the power of carrying the whole plan into effect, under the authority of the Supreme Legislature,—and secondly, that the sum of twenty millions should be paid as compensation in the first instance, and a loan of ten millions be superadded afterwards.

‘Lord Howick said that the Committee were placed in some embarrassment by the various amendments before it. If the question was put according to form, “that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question,” the supporters of all the four amendments must vote against the resolution of his right hon. friend, which was not fair. But, according to the forms of the house, if the second and third resolutions were not carried, the bill need not be altered in a single line. The noble lord then shortly recapitulated his objections to the resolutions. With respect to the apprentice-

ship plan, no necessity for it now existed. The original principle of the measure was, that, taking the whole value of the slave population at 15,000,000*l.*, the house should advance that sum by loan to the planters, as an equivalent for one-fourth of the labour of the slave, and at the end of twelve years the principal would be discharged by the labour of the slave. But this was now altered; the slave was not to pay anything to the planter, nor the planter anything to the country. The sum originally intended as a loan was to be a free gift. If so, and we were to pay for the liberty of the slave, let us have it at once, and not wait for twelve years. (Hear.) There was another alteration equally fatal to the whole notion of apprenticeship. His right hon. friend now proposed to leave the filling up of the plan to the colonial legislatures. But the effect of the apprenticeship system depended altogether upon the details, and could he leave to the colonial legislatures the task of regulating the manner in which compulsory labour should be exercised? If that principle were observed, he should object to no system of discipline, however strict, which might be enforced by the colonies. He only asked his right hon. friend not to call upon the house to pledge itself to adopt this part of the plan until it knew how it was to be carried into effect. He did not say "Give up the plan of apprenticeship," but he did say, "Do not ask us at present to pledge ourselves to it." To two of his right hon. friend's resolutions he felt insurmountable objection. He was most anxious to avoid coming to a vote opposed to the plan of his right hon. friend. He was afraid, however, that it would come to that at last; but he hoped that that unfortunate moment would be deferred as long as possible. He, therefore, asked his right hon. friend not to take a vote on those two resolutions at present. He did not, as his right hon. friend well knew, altogether approve either of the amount of the compensation, or of the manner of granting it. He would wave, however, his opposition on those points, and would support his right hon. friend's other resolutions, if he were sure that they would effect the great object which the house had in view. He likewise expressed his hope that the hon. member for Sheffield would not press his amendment. The hon. member on a former night had acceded to his suggestion, and he would now tell him that when the proper time arrived he would not object to vote for his (Mr. Buckingham's) measure, which he considered to be a measure of justice to the slave. He concluded by expressing a hope, that when his right hon. friend introduced his bill, with the necessary details for the protection of the master and the slave, he would see the necessity of making a still greater change than that which he (Lord Howick) had now proposed.

Mr. STANLEY followed, but as it was past one o'clock when he rose, he professed his desire to confine himself to a few points only. He unravelled the sophistries of Mr. Hume's speech in a very masterly manner, and showed that of all men in the House, Mr. Hume ought to have been the last to ask for delay. He then stated that Mr. Burnley, the deputy from Trinidad, was the brother-in-law of Mr. Hume, and had all his fortune invested in Colonial property, which might perhaps account for the honourable Member's singular obliquity of purpose on West India Slavery and Negro Emancipation. After dispatching this, Mr. Stanley said:—

"He now came to the consideration of the amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Sheffield. Believing that the practicability of free labour was a problem still to be solved,—feeling certain that if you fling off at once all the restraints of Slavery, and leave to the slave the choice of labouring from morning to night, or of labouring only to obtain the mere

necessaries of life, he will prefer a life of idleness to a life of industry: he was bound to say that he could not acquiesce in his (Mr. Buckingham's) amendment, which tended to convert the slave into an unrestricted free labourer. (Hear.) The hon. Member for Sheffield, in defending his amendment, had laid down many principles which were valuable in the abstract, but which were not at all applicable to such a state of society as existed at present in Jamaica. The question is not whether you can obtain free labour at all, but whether you can obtain it so as to keep up the same state of society as exists at present in our West India Colonies. (Hear.) For himself, he had no hesitation in saying, that he thought that the effect of Emancipation without any restriction, would be attended with the complete and certain ruin of the planter. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Member for Essex also said, that whatever the hon. Member for Weymouth required, the Government to do, that the Government was found most anxious to do. Now, upon this very question, the Government was at issue with his hon. friend, the Member for Weymouth; for his hon. friend wanted the Government to give the negroes that which the Government could not consent to give them—namely, immediate and unrestricted emancipation. The hon. Member also protested against the rashness of Government in proposing a plan which must throw the West Indies into a state of confusion, and called upon the Administration to adopt a moderate and gradual scheme of emancipation. The hon. Member for Essex had also accused him (Mr. Stanley) of presumption in bringing forward this question. Now he had brought it forward under a full knowledge of his own inability to deal with it as its importance merited, from want of information on Colonial subjects; but he would ask, was not the consideration of the question forced upon the Government by the almost unanimous voice of the people of England? and, being so forced upon it, was he from mock-humility to shrink from coming forward as the organ of Government, to support a plan which was not his plan so much as the plan of Government? (Great cheering.)

It was with great pleasure that we subsequently heard from Mr. Buxton a declaration of his intention not to oppose the amendment for immediate Emancipation, which, in his first speech, he said he anticipated he should be obliged to do; but a determination to demand that immediate Emancipation as the only course safe or proper to be pursued. We give the report of his speech entire.

‘Mr. F. Buxton said he did not rise to detain the House for any length of time at that period of the night; but he wished to declare his opinion that if once they abolished the despotism of the whip, they must supply its place by a system of encouragement, or they would fail in their object. If they did not hold out an inducement for labour, they would have no labour: there was no medium between the system of the whip and a system of wages. He should undoubtedly feel it to be his duty to oppose that part of the plan which established apprenticeship. He would cheerfully vote for any sum of money as compensation, provided he obtained for it substantial freedom for the slave; but he would not vote a single farthing if it was determined to enact that the slave should be bound to an apprenticeship of twelve years. He would, on Monday next move a resolution embodying his views on this subject; and he should feel it his duty to press it to a division.’

Sir ROBERT PEEL subsequently expressed a wish to have the vote on the second resolution deferred, as the debate of the evening had turned wholly on the third resolution instead of the second.

Lord HOWICK said that he still hoped the vote on the second and third resolution might be deferred. The Ministers, if they thought proper, might bring in their Bill on the first resolution, without pressing the other to a vote, and he thought that would be the best course. The resolution, as now worded, voted the emancipation of all children under six years of age. Now, this virtually implied that all above six years of age were not to be emancipated; else why the distinction? For that reason, he could not conscientiously vote for the second resolution as it stood. He hoped the hon. Member for Sheffield would therefore defer his amendment till the third resolution should be put, and then we should divide on a great principle; namely, whether the slave should be continued in bondage for twelve years longer, or released at the end of some shorter period.

Mr. Hume's amendment was then put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said, that after the appeal of the Noble Lord (Howick), and the desire expressed by the friends by whom he was surrounded, he should defer the division upon his amendment to Monday.

Mr. STANLEY said it was hardly fair to the House to bring forward an amendment, and then to defer a division on it to another day, so as to have the opportunity of discussing it a second time.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said he had no wish to discuss it further; he was for less *debating* and more prompt *acting*, as the only way in which the business of the country could be got through.

Mr. STANLEY said he was aware that the Hon. Member for Sheffield had laid down a very salutary doctrine with respect to the abridgment of speeches; and he must do him the justice to say, that in practice he had himself conformed to the doctrine he had laid down—and had therefore given a valuable example to the House; but then the Hon. Member could not answer for others, and therefore he thought it desirable that his amendment should be put to the vote at once.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM persisted, however, in deferring it, in conformity to the wishes of those most friendly to the speedy emancipation that he desired.

Mr. P. M. Stewart's amendments were then put and negatived; as was one of Sir Robert Peel's, suggesting some verbal alterations; when the original resolution (the second of the Ministerial series) was put, and carried unanimously—namely:—

'That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.'

Some other matters were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past three.

To give some idea of the severe labour of a parliamentary life, we may mention the history of this single day as to time. We rose at 8, breakfasted at 9, and read the papers of the day, and the parliamentary documents printed by order of the House, till 11, when we left home, and were at the House of Commons at a quarter before 12. We continued there until the House was counted out, about 2—returned home and wrote until 4—dined at that hour, and was at the House again at 5—sat in the same place from 5 till 3 o'clock—ten consecutive hours—having been previously occupied from 8 to 5, which is nine consecutive hours, including therefore eighteen hours labour out of the twenty-four! and one for the two meals taken during that time. Though the House adjourned however at half-past three, we did not get to bed till 5, when all the early risers were up and in motion. If this be not a laborious life, we know not what is.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 10.

In the morning sitting a petition was presented by Mr. COBBETT, from the electors of Sandwich, charging Sir Thomas Troubridge, the sitting member for that borough, with an act of felony, in having imposed upon the Lords of the Admiralty by a false registry of his baptism, and obtained promotion and emoluments through this fraudulent misrepresentation of his real age; and calling upon the House, on these grounds, to expel him from his seat. After a recitation of the various allegations contained in the petition, Mr. Cobbett concluded by saying that he knew nothing of the *truth* of the allegations, and acquitting himself of all responsibility; leaving it in the hands of a reformed Parliament to deal with it as it pleased.

We must enter our protest against such a proceeding as this; for if it were followed up, the character of the purest man in existence might be sacrificed, by such arraignments, not merely without proof, but professedly without knowledge, of whether there was the least foundation for the serious charges alleged or not.

Sir Thomas Troubridge, Sir James Graham, and Sir Edward Codrington, each spoke in reply; the former defending himself ably and successfully, and the two latter moving and seconding that the petition should be rejected; when the hour of three o'clock being arrived, the Speaker left the Chair, and the petition was consequently not received.

In the evening sitting, Lord Althorp appeared at the bar with the answer of His Majesty to the address of the House respecting the affairs of Portugal. His Lordship read the answer, which was to the following effect:—

'I have received with great satisfaction the expression of your concurrence in the policy which I have pursued with reference to the affairs of Portugal; and you may be assured that I shall use all my influence to put an end to the differences now existing in that unhappy country.'

This reply was received by loud and general cheers, which testified the pleasure of those who heard it.

About six o'clock, the House resumed its sitting as a Committee, to continue the debate on Colonial Slavery, when the third resolution was moved by Mr. Stanley, and read by the Chairman in the following terms:—

‘That all persons now slaves be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen; subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.’

Mr. BUXTON then rose, and began by acknowledging the large debt of gratitude which was due to the present Government for having done more to advance the cause of slave emancipation than all former Governments put together. This circumstance made him feel the more reluctant to oppose their present plan: but he felt bound by an imperative sense of duty to say, that he could not support the resolution now proposed. He then went over the various topics adverted to by former speakers, and adduced proofs and arguments in favour of immediate rather than gradual emancipation, and concluded thus:—

‘Reverting to the resolution of the right hon. Gentleman, and to the plan which that resolution embodied, he begged to say that, as an inducement to labour and exertion, hope was in a tenfold degree a more powerful agent than fear. All the evidence which they had with regard to the negroes in this respect went to prove that they would work night and day if they had anything to hope for from the exercise of their industry. The hon. Member for Sheffield had the other night quoted the statement of Mr. Burke, that a slave would not work as well as a freeman, as mind went a great way towards the continued and successful exercise of human industry. He (Mr. Buxton) might refer to an equally high authority on the same subject—that of Mr. Pitt, who emphatically stated, that if you raised the slave from his degraded situation, and placed him upon an equality with the rest of the human species, he would labour with all the energy that belonged to man. He thought that the plan of the right hon. Gentleman as to those apprenticed labourers must fail altogether. He could not understand how they could be coerced to work. If he was to be told that this was but a continuance of their present slavery under a different name, then he had the greatest objection to it; but if that was not to be the case, if slavery and its accompaniment—the whip, were to be done away with entirely, if fear and compulsion were to cease, and if the hope of wages was not to be substituted, he for one did not see how those apprentices would be induced to work. If any one could show him that the right hon. Gentleman’s plan in this respect was practicable, he should be most happy to adopt it; but as he considered it altogether impracticable, he would vote against the third resolution. He had intended to move an amendment, specifying more particularly his views upon the subject; but upon further consideration, he thought that that mode of proceeding would be surrounded with so many difficulties, and would be so likely to disunite the friends of the cause with whom he acted, that it appeared to him that the best plan was to move simply that the third resolution should be rejected. Such a course of proceeding, if adopted, would not compromise His Majesty’s Government, and would enable them to give some further consideration to the

question, as to what plan it would be best to adopt. He would therefore move that the resolution be rejected.'

MR. FRANKLAND LEWIS followed, and complained of the high and dictatorial tone assumed by Mr. Buxton, as the great leader or organ of a party that assumed to itself the office of dictating to the Government, and prescribing rules for the State. Mr. Lewis, however, himself, committed as great an error, in repeating, for the tenth time at least, arguments that had been refuted over and over again; but which he put forth as though they had never been adverted to before.

'Mr. HILL said, that as to the immediate emancipation of the negroes, he would honestly avow that he had felt the greatest difficulty in the consideration of that subject, for though he had approached it under the impression that, as slavery left its marks not only on the body but on the mind, some preliminary steps were required previous to the complete emancipation of the negroes, yet, on further consideration, he found that gradual emancipation had to the full extent its dangers as well as immediate emancipation, and that, in fact, the subject was surrounded with dangers on all sides. The only way, then, that they had of extricating themselves from the difficulties with which they were surrounded was to go into some unknown and untried path. He thought that the hon. Member for Weymouth had shewn satisfactorily that steps might be taken for the immediate emancipation of the negroes. He did not see how the plan proposed in the present resolution of the right hon. gentleman could be carried into effect. Under it the negroes would be too much freemen to be coerced as slaves, and they would be too much slaves to be actuated by the motives that actuated freemen. If his learned friend Sir C. Wetherell were then in the house, he was sure that he would characterize the plan of the right hon. gentleman as a *tertium quid* between slavery and freedom, and he (Mr. Hill) feared that there would be more of slavery than freedom in it. The hon. Member proceeded to contend that the lessons furnished by the revolutions in St. Domingo and Guadaloupe should be lessons to the whites, not to the blacks—that they should be lessons to the colonists, by which he trusted they would profit. He went on to argue that the slave owners had no right to claim compensation for what they called their property in their slaves, and that if this country happened to be in a situation that rendered it unable to give them a farthing in the way of compensation, it would be still a great and imperative duty to emancipate the slaves. On that principle he objected to compensation altogether; but then he was ready to say that when a great loss fell upon a particular portion of His Majesty's subjects, we were bound, not as a question of property, but upon a principle of charity, to supply the deficiency. The amount of the distress should, however, be ascertained before the amount of compensation should be determined upon. Though he disagreed from some parts of the plan of His Majesty's ministers, he could not but think that they honestly and fearlessly grappled with the difficulties in their way; and if they had not exactly adopted his (Mr. Hill's) views on the subject, still he thought that too much praise could not be given to men who had rendered it impossible for slavery any longer to exist in our colonies.'

MR. WASON and MR. HALCOMB had each prepared certain resolutions, which they should place upon the table of the House, without dividing upon them. They were each for a system of gradual emancipation, and each for making the slave contribute by time, labour, or money, towards his own redemption. MR. STRICKLAND supported the Government Plan; (though our readers will remember the

speeches of Lord Morpeth and Mr. Strickland, in favor of immediate emancipation, at Sheffield, in their electioneering canvas, and subsequently at the great Meeting at Exeter Hall)—and Lord Howick, Mr. STANLEY, and Lord ALTHORP, each maintained their respective views; the first in opposition to, and the two last in support of, the protracted system of forced apprenticeships. Mr. RONAYNE deprecated this mongrel state of half-freeman and half-slave: and Mr. MACAULEY made a short speech in apology for his giving the resolution of the Government his present vote: which, as it was the only speech he has yet made on the subject, we give entire.

‘Mr. MACAULEY stated that he would not go at length into the great question of Slavery at present, but would reserve to himself the right, on a future occasion, of stating his opinions fully. He rose solely for the purpose of stating how far he felt himself bound by the assent he should give to the resolution before the House. He would vote for the resolution as it now stood, which went to hold the negroes under the obligation of labouring for their present masters, subject to certain restrictions. The question of the period of twelve years, or of any other period, or of remuneration, was not before them at present. All these questions were out of this resolution, which he believed was so worded, as to unite as many votes as possible in its favor. (Hear, hear.) He, therefore, could not vote on this point against the resolution, and he wondered that the hon. Member for Weymouth should oppose it, when he had within this very week given notice of a resolution almost in the terms of this motion—namely, that the liberated negroes should work for the space of one year for their masters. If that motion were passed, then there was a resolution as to a certain time, during which the negroes should continue to give their labour: seeing, therefore, that there was now no question either of time or of labour, or of remuneration, in the present resolution, highly as he valued the authority of his hon. friend, he could not answer to his conscience to decide on this occasion in conformity to it.’

The remainder of the debate was short, but very instructive, and we therefore insert the full report of what passed, to justify the comment we shall feel it our duty to make upon the conduct of Mr. Buxton, and its result.

‘Mr. F. BUXTON was as desirous as his hon. friend could be, for unanimity, but he would ask whether he understood the right hon. secretary correctly in supposing that the question of time was left open? (“Yes,” from Mr. Stanley.) Then his proposition would be, that in the resolution the words “for wages” should be inserted. He hoped that the negroes would be induced to labour, and his desire was that they should solely be induced to do so for wages. It was of consequence that this should be known and understood by the planters.

‘Mr. STANLEY said that as to the first point mentioned, that of time, no one who voted for this resolution would bind himself to the time mentioned by Government: indeed, no one supposed that they could wish to bind the local Legislatures to this time, for he hoped that many of them would for their own benefit shorten the period. But looking to the eighteen Colonies, placed as they were, under different circumstances, he only wished that a time should be fixed, beyond which they could not go. With respect to the inducement of wages, he was not quite so sanguine as the hon. Member for Weymouth; but the principle that must be gone upon in this respect was, that if labour was given for wages, then that labour would be

voluntary. Government, however, said that the negroes should give a certain portion of time to their masters, he finding them food, clothing, lodging, and medicine. It would therefore be inconsistent with the Government plan to give wages, as, if so, then Parliament might have to regulate the amount.

‘Lord HOWICK said that his right hon. friend could not concur with the hon. Member for Weymouth; but what he had just said, explained the difference between his (Lord Howick’s) plan and that of his right hon. friend; (Mr. Stanley) whose plan was one for the modified continuance of Slavery. Let the House, then, consider well whether they would keep the negroes threefourths slaves, and one-fourth freemen. (“Hear,” from Mr. O’Connell.) He only asked the House not to pledge itself until it knew what the pledge was.

‘Lord ALTHORP said he had never been a party to making any man a slave, but he certainly would be to binding a man as an apprentice.

‘Mr. O’CONNELL could not agree with the noble lord (Althorp), for the point was, whether there should be perfect freedom or perfect slavery. An apprentice got something, either as wages or in being taught something, to remunerate him for his labour, but here there was to be apprenticeship, and neither remuneration nor teaching. Let the House then divide on the question, whether the negroes were to be slaves or freemen. (“Hear,” and loud cries of “Question.”)

‘After a verbal alteration in the original resolution, declaring that all negroes should be registered,

Mr. F. BUXTON repeated the words “for wages” in the after part of the resolution; but ultimately withdrew the amendment, *as he did not wish to oppose the Government*, ALTHOUGH HE FEARED HE ACTED CONTRARY TO THE GOOD OF HIS CAUSE, but he still reserved to himself the right of bringing it forward in the Committee.

‘The original resolution was put, and about to be agreed to, when Mr. O’Connell pressed for a division. The House then divided:—For the amendment, 42:—Against it, 324:—Majority, 282. The original resolution was then agreed to.’

We have given a List of the Minority of forty-two who voted that the Slave should receive wages for his labour, if he were made an apprentice: and it would be difficult to understand how he could be raised to “all the rights and privileges of a freeman,” if he were still to be compelled to work for bare subsistence only. It will be remarked that in that Minority the name of Mr. BUXTON is not to be found. The truth is, that as soon as he had concluded his series of vacillation, by declining to put his last amendment, for the insertion of the words “for wages” in the Government resolution, Mr. O’CONNELL said, “Then, if the Hon. Member for Weymouth will not press it to a division, I will;” whereupon Mr. Buxton took up his papers, and hastily quitted the House, thus abandoning the question altogether, by declining to vote at all! There were many others who left the House to avoid voting, (a course which we conceive nothing can justify, except a positive incapacity to come to a decision in the mind of the voter, either by having no knowledge of the subject in debate, or no opinion formed one way or the other,) but, after the desertion of a *leader* of a party, the followers of the camp need hardly

be reproached for imitating his example. On the side of the majority, (of which, unfortunately, no accurate list could be taken, as in divisions in Committees the separation is not so complete as when one party leaves the House and the other remains in, being merely a change of sides in the House itself) we observed several members, whose sentiments in favour of the immediate abolition of Slavery had been, we believe, as strongly expressed to their constituents as those of Mr. Macauley, during the progress of their elections, but who had not the excuse (if it be one) of that Gentleman, namely, forming one of the Administration; and, therefore, bound not to oppose their views. But, the conduct of Mr. Buxton we regard as the most extraordinary of all; and in justification of our opinion, we must venture to speak of this somewhat more in detail.

In the progress of the discussions on this question, it will be remembered that we had ourselves given very early notice of a series of resolutions, by way of amendment, on those of the Government; the main principle of which resolutions was, that they advocated immediate rather than gradual Emancipation: and demanded wages for the labourer instead of the whip. In his first speech on this question, Mr. Buxton publicly avowed his intention to oppose the first of these amendments: and said, in excuse for his voting now against a resolution couched in almost the same terms as one formerly proposed by himself, that he thought it would be more for the interest of the negro that he should do so than otherwise. After we had delivered our sentiments on this amendment, Mr. Buxton came to express his great gratification at the manner in which it was defended, but expressed a hope that we might abstain from pressing it to a division, so as to secure the unanimity on the first resolution. This was assented to; and even on the discussion of the second resolution, the amendment was again deferred, for the same reason as before. Mr. Buxton, after this, thanked us warmly for giving way, and said that as he now had a resolution to propose, by way of amendment on the third of the Government series, the purport of which was to compel the payment of wages at once, and to give the slave freedom in one year, he hoped that we should withdraw our own amendment altogether, and give this, proposed by him, our hearty support. To this we readily assented, being more anxious for the success of the Negro's cause, than for any particular views of our own: and we parted on this understanding. We went down to the House, therefore, on Monday, prepared to give this support to Mr. Buxton's original amendment, as it stood on the order book for the night; and many others, we believe, did the same. What was our surprise then, to learn that Mr. Buxton had abandoned that amendment altogether, and meant instead to negative the original resolution! Though this was not the course we preferred, we were yet prepared to join him rather than support the Government resolution. But this was again altered, by Mr. Buxton moving an entirely new amendment; having nothing to do with the limitation of time, but enforcing the payment of wages, from the passing of the Act. For this also, we were prepared to vote, though

it was easy to see that this perpetual vacillation within the same evening, added to the growing lateness of the hour, and the exhaustion of the patience of Members, had so dissatisfied many, that our numbers were continually becoming thinner: when Mr. Buxton at length rose, and put the climax to his indecision, by declaring that *rather than oppose the Government*, he should decline putting his proposition to the vote at all, *though in so doing he did not believe that he was doing the best for his cause*: and hastily left the House altogether! upon which, many others also quitted it, some perhaps following his example, and some believing that no division would take place, and that it was therefore unnecessary to remain: when Mr. O'CONNELL rose hastily, and said—"I will press this to a division myself, rather than that it should be abandoned altogether." A division then took place, and a minority of 42 only, out of a House of upwards of 400 Members, could be found to support this simple and reasonable demand, that wages should be paid for labour actually performed. Well may the Ministers exult in their strength, when they find those pledged to ascertain course, abandon that course *rather than oppose them*, and play into their hands, whether it be beneficial or injurious to the cause they have made such solemn promises never to desert! These are the facts of the case; and we are sure that they need no comment.

The discussion on the compensation clause was begun after this; but it being past 12 o'clock, it was cut short at the beginning, and ultimately agreed to be adjourned till the following day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 11.

In the morning sitting, the subject of the Petition for the expulsion of Sir Thomas Troubridge from his seat in the House was resumed by Mr. Cobbett: when, after a discussion in which Sir James Graham, Sir Edward Codrington, Capt. Yorke, Sir Hussey Vivian, Mr. Harvey, Capt. Elliott, Sir Robert Inglis, Col. Evans, Mr. Roebuck, Sir M. W. Ridley, and Mr. Ruthven, joined, the Petition was ultimately *rejected*. There being only 29 Members present at 2 o'clock, the House was counted out at that hour.

At five, the evening sitting commenced; and, after some delay on private business, and a ballot for an Election Committee on the Stafford Bribery Bill, a conversation arose on the state of the public business before the House: and the best means of expediting it. As one mode of assisting in this, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr. Ewart, that on Wednesdays, orders of the day should take precedence of notices of motions, during the remainder of the Session; thus giving the Ministers the precedence for the Government business, and letting individual Members follow after.

The Debate on Colonial Slavery was then resumed, about seven

o'clock, on the fourth resolution, or compensation clause, which was moved by Mr. Stanley in these terms:—

‘That, towards the compensation of the West Indian proprietors, His Majesty be enabled to grant a sum not exceeding 20,000,000*l.*, to be appropriated as Parliament may hereafter think fit.’

Mr. ROBINSON objected to immediate Emancipation, and approved of the principle of compensation, but objected to the mode in which it was proposed to pay the interest of this sum, nearly a million a year, by a tax on sugar, which would bring it chiefly out of the pockets of the middle and labouring classes.

Lord ALTHORP expressed his confidence that the people of England would willingly make this sacrifice to the carrying an object they had so much at heart.

‘Mr. C. BULLER said that the question involved in the present resolution, was one that peculiarly affected the people of England, and that it was the duty of their representatives to see that not a single undue farthing should be given in the way of compensation. His Majesty’s ministers proposed 20,000,000*l.* as the amount of compensation, but the right hon. gentleman might just as well have asked for 100,000,000*l.* Indeed, he did not know but that during the course of the evening, the right hon. gentleman might ask for 5,000,000*l.*, or for 50,000,000*l.* more. (A laugh.) The noble lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) appeared to have no hesitation in this instance, in granting the public money to any amount. The noble lord seemed ready at once to apply to a never-failing antidote for silencing complaints, by putting his hand into the public purse. In fact, it appeared to him that the noble lord, proceeding on the principles on which he did, might as well at once pay off, not only the interest but the principal of this sum, by doubling the malt duty and the house and window tax for the next three years. (A laugh.) He had in the course of this discussion been astonished not a little at the manner in which His Majesty’s ministers, and other members of that house, spoke of the readiness with which this burden would be borne by the people of England. He did not imagine that such sentiments would be repeated upon any hustings. He had been especially surprised at the sentiments expressed by the hon. member for Middlesex on that point. What was to become of the flock when the shepherd’s dog thus deserted his duty? (Laughter.) He did not mean to say that the hon. member had deserted his duty, but he certainly was astonished to hear him call this 20,000,000*l.* a paltry sum, and speak of the readiness with which the people of England would pay it. The hon. member had spoken with greater levity of those 20,000,000*l.* than he had often spoken of a sum of 20*l.* in that house.’

‘Mr. PRYME said, that though he approved generally of the plan introduced to the consideration of the legislature by his Majesty’s government, yet he could not acquiesce in some of its details. He thought that the compensation, amounting to £20,000,000., proposed to be given to the planters, was considerably more than the market value of the property in slaves in the British colonies. Claims to compensation had been raised on the part of the planters on the ground of the existing state of distress; he, however, could not but think that much of that distress was owing to the conduct of the planters themselves. He, on all the information he had yet acquired, attributed the present distress in the colonies to the former over-importation of slaves. With reference to the slave population being the property of the masters, he had a few observations to make, and he was willing to rest his views on this point upon the documents distributed in

every direction through the country by the West India body. It had been urged by them that this property had been recognized by the authorities, and by various acts of Parliament. He had referred to those statutes, and the first to which he would allude were those which had been passed for the protection of the sugar colonies. Those he had gone through, but they contained nothing that recognized in the master a property in his slaves. He would therefore contend that no act of the legislature, or proclamation of the government, had ever distinctly recognized a property in the offspring, and therefore (as we understand) compensation ought only to be granted for slaves imported from Africa. But he should be glad to know from what source even this compensation was to come; the cry of the country was for a remission of taxation, and against the imposition of new imposts. Instead, then, of any increase, if possible a diminution of taxation ought to be effected, and he should particularly deprecate any addition to the duties now chargeable upon colonial sugars, an article of increased consumption even amongst the labouring classes, with whom it even now was limited by the increased price of the commodity, arising from present taxation.

Major BEAULIERK said that it gave him great pain to feel compelled on the present occasion to vote against His Majesty's government, who were entitled to the greatest credit for bringing forward the subject of colonial slavery so boldly, and for having grappled with the many difficulties by which it was admitted the question was surrounded. It was not from any wish on his part to refuse compensation to the planters (which compensation he admitted the legislature was bound to give) that he now opposed a grant of £20,000,000. for that purpose, but because, looking as he did to do justice to his constituents and to the planters themselves, he could not, under the existing circumstances of this country, give his assent to such a vote until it was shown that the planters would by emancipation be losers to such an amount. If the right hon. gentlemen, the Secretary for the Colonies, were to seek to establish a board for the purpose of ascertaining and affording that information, when it was once given he would support such a grant, or, indeed, something more, in twelve month's time, to effect the abolition of slavery. He could not but think that the proposed system of apprenticeship would only in reality and practice be found to be another name for slavery; for he thought, under the Houses of Assembly, the magistrates would inflict the lash with more severity than the planters. He therefore could not agree to grant £20,000,000. for compensation until it was shewn that emancipation would be the result of the purchase. The house would do well first to enter into the consideration of the loss sustained by the West India planters; and when that was ascertained, it would be due to the honour and credit of the British legislature to grant such compensation as might appear just and equitable.

Mr. JERVIS said he was willing to admit that as the property in slaves was recognized by act of Parliament, compensation ought to follow any attempt to confiscate it. Such a demand might be made as a matter of right; but he protested against the doctrine of giving away one single farthing for the purpose of conciliation, or by way of a boon to the West India body. With what show of consistency, he would ask, could the government raise an amount of money for such a purpose, when the people from all parts of the country were calling for a remission of taxes? With what face could they ask the people of England to be satisfied with the bestowal of a gift of £20,000,000. to the planters, when, in the first instance, the right hon. secretary came forward with a proposition for £15,000,000. by way of a loan, and that to be worked out by the slaves

themselves? Was the first proposition brought forward in order to feel the pulse of the country? He deprecated the alteration, and he believed the people of England generally deprecated it. He thought the same number of millions might with equal propriety be applied to conciliate the side of the house from which he spoke. (Loud cries of "Hear.") The proposition was unconstitutional and improper. Instead of our giving compensation to the West India planters, those persons ought to give compensation to the people of England, if the doctrine so frequently advanced by the abolitionists were true,—namely, that free labour was a benefit to the planter. But, apart from these considerations, he objected to giving any amount of compensation at all, without further inquiry as to the loss likely to be sustained by the West India proprietors.'

Mr. R. POTTER said, however much he wished for the abolition of colonial slavery, he could not consent to purchase it at so high a price as that proposed by the right hon. gentleman. The people of this country had been since the commencement of the session of Parliament, calling for a reduction of taxation; but what would they think when additional burdens were laid on; for besides the proposal to grant the West Indians 20,000,000*l.* the next resolution referred to the establishment of stipendiary magistrates, and of course a police force; also, "that His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in providing religious and moral education for the negroes." The interest of the 20,000,000*l.* and the establishments, would incur an expense of considerably upwards of 1,000,000*l.* to be added to the annual expenditure of the country. That, he was sure, would create great dissatisfaction, and, in his opinion, ought to be opposed. If the planters could find proper security for the 15,000,000*l.* originally proposed by the right hon. gentleman, let them have it; if not, he would prefer that the abolition of slavery should be effected by an act declaring all children born at a period to be fixed, free.'

Mr. F. BUXTON observed that the right hon. Secretary had stated last night, that no part of the sum proposed to be voted to the West India proprietors should be given to them until they had completed the whole of the arrangements proposed by Government. He wished to know whether the right hon. gentleman meant that the money was not to be paid until the apprenticeships expired. ("Oh!") He was prepared to expect such an answer as that. His object was to shorten the period of the apprenticeships, and he thought he had hit upon a mode by which, at no distant day, even the planter would be brought to acknowledge that the negro mind was in a condition to enjoy the blessing of unrestricted freedom. He would propose that the following words be added to the resolution:—"That one-half of the said grant shall not be paid until the period of apprenticeships shall be expired, and the negroes consequently put in possession of all the rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects in the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) The adoption of that amendment would be no violation of the proposition before the House, and it would give Parliament great influence over the West India proprietors. It was in the power of the planters to accelerate or retard the advance of the negro's mind, and he had no doubt that they would accelerate it rapidly, if the House should adopt the amendment.'

Lord Sandon, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Godson, spoke in favour of compensation, and Mr. Ewart and Mr. Wason against it: but the interruptions and cries of "Question," with groans, and other discordant noises, became so great as the hour advanced, that it was very difficult to hear, and almost impossible accurately to ascertain what they said. We give the remainder of the debate as it is reported:—

'Sir R. INGLIS would give the Right Hon. Colonial Secretary's resolution his most cordial support.

'Mr. WHITMORE begged it to be understood that in voting for that resolution, hon. members were not therefore pledged or fettered in reference to the refining sugar trade question.

'Colonel EVANS proposed an amendment to the effect that the best mode of affording the West India interest compensation would be the reduction of the duty on West India produce. Ministers should have reduced the expenditure of the country before they called upon it to bear this additional burthen of 20,000,000*l*.

'Mr. PEASE, amid cries of "Question," and the usual symptoms of impatience, contended that the West India interest had failed to make out a case of compensation to anything like the amount of the present vote. Besides, it would not be the party which that vote would after all benefit, as the money would find its way altogether into the pockets of mortgagees, without any direct advantage thereby accruing to the Colonies.

'Mr. BARING, who was also much interrupted by groans, laughter, coughing, and other midnight symphonies (it was then 12 o'clock), said that he could not permit himself to give a silent vote, when 20,000,000*l*. of the public money was about to be voted away with ten times more haste, and, as the indecent interruptions of hon. members would indicate, with ten times less discussion and consideration, than if it were some trumpery salary or estimate of 3,000*l*. or 4,000*l*. As a representative of the people, he asked how was this enormous sum of money to be distributed?—and where was it to be procured—how was it to be raised? Why was any remuneration to be given to the planters?—of course because their returns were to experience a diminution. But the diminution of their returns would also be accompanied with one of the revenue of the country. This resolution, therefore, went to pledge the House to what they had not the power to fulfil. All the establishments of the country had been pared down to the lowest ebb, and at present there were no means left of providing against any diminution of revenue. This resolution also was an admission that compensation was necessary. (Loud cries of "Question.") If hon. gentlemen continued thus for twenty-four hours, it would not prevent him from contending against this mode of voting away the property of the country. On the part of the Government he had no hesitation in saying, that the House had no information either where this money was to come from, or how it was to be distributed; and he could not consent that 20,000,000*l*. were thus to be left at the disposal of Government. The voting of such a sum proved that there must be a sacrifice of property by the planters, but there was another question behind, that of a sacrifice by the people of this country, and in that point of view he could not consent to vote away this sum, although it might be the means of satisfying the West India gentlemen.

'Mr. BRISCOE then rose, amidst tremendous cries of "Question." He said that he could not give his assent to this vote for 20,000,000*l*., as, on the Right Hon. Secretary's own showing, no claim had been made for more than 15,000,000*l*. He must look to the interests and claims of his constituents, and, though willing to allow fair compensation, he could not agree to this resolution.'

Mr. Stanley and Lord Althorp each addressed the House two or three times in the course of the evening, repeating chiefly the same arguments that they had used before, and defending the course of the

Government in prosecuting their plan. They were at all times listened to with undisturbed attention; but the storm and torrent of noises the most discordant, by which Mr. Wason, Mr. Pease, Mr. Baring, and Mr. Briscoe, were assailed, defy all description. They were such as no Ministers, with a spark of generous feeling in their bosoms, would permit to be used towards their opponents: and yet, nothing is more clear than the fact, that from these clamours never being directed against the Ministers, but being vociferated only towards their opponents, they come from ministerial adherents, and might therefore be easily silenced by ministerial authority. As no attempt is even made by the Ministers to obtain either a silent or a fair hearing for their opponents who are thus clamoured down, it proves that they tacitly approve of this mode of warfare, and count upon it as an element of power, to be exercised on their behalf. If instead of prosecuting the newspapers for endeavouring to bring the House into contempt, the Ministers would use their influence to prevent it thus bringing itself into disgrace, they would, in our estimation, more fitly discharge the duties of their station.

The galleries being cleared about one o'clock, the following divisions took place:—

On Mr. Buxton's amendment, for granting the twenty millions, but not paying the second half of it till the apprenticeships should be completed—For the motion 142; against it 277.

On Mr. Wason's amendment, for advancing to the planters, by way of loan, such annual sums only as they might require, to pay wages to their labourers; and for relieving the colonial interests by reducing the duties on sugar—For the motion 21; against it 383.

On Col. Evans's amendment, for reducing taxation at home, and relieving the West Indians, by extending the foreign trade, and lightening the burthens on their produce—For the motion 22; against it 346.

On Mr. Briscoe's amendment, to grant to the planters the sum of fifteen millions, on the terms originally proposed by the Government,—For the motion 56; against it 304.

On the main question, as shaped in Mr. Stanley's last resolution—"That towards the compensation of the West India proprietors, His Majesty be enabled to grant a sum not exceeding twenty millions, to be appropriated as Parliament may hereafter think fit,"—the numbers were—For the resolution 296; against it 77.

Mr. STANLEY then stated that the packet had been detained that it might carry out to the Colonies the decision of Parliament on the propositions of Government, and he therefore felt bound to press the next resolution:—"That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the Colonies, and in aiding the local legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated."

After a few words from Mr. BARING as to the additional expense which this would occasion, requiring perhaps five or ten millions more,

Mr. Buxton proposed the introduction in the latter part of the resolution of the words "on liberal and comprehensive principles."

Mr. Stanley said, that as it was not the wish of Government that any exclusive system of religious education should be adopted, he had no objection to the introduction of the proposed words.

The resolution, as amended, was then put and agreed to.

Mr. R. Wason then proposed the following resolution:—"That whatever expense may be incurred in carrying into effect the plan proposed by Government, shall be defrayed by a tax on property in this country:" which was put and negatived without a division.

The resolutions were then ordered to be reported, and the House resumed.

After the explanation which we have given in a preceding part of this report, of the course pursued by Mr. Buxton, and our consequent yielding up of the amendment we intended originally to have pressed, in favor of his own, thus giving him the precedence to which his long services as a leader of the Anti-Slavery Society entitled him—we need not say another word on the subject, except this:—that in the state of feeling to which the House was wrought, by these five divisions that we have described, it would have been an injury to any cause to have pressed another. Indeed, the great misfortune was, that there should have been no previous organization, concert, or union, to concentrate all these five amendments, and some fifteen or twenty others that had been prepared by different Members, into *one*, which should have contended for the one great principle, that no compensation could be due till loss should have been proved; and that, even then, it should not be paid till the slaves were made free. Even in this case, however, not more than 100 could have been got to vote for it, by a union of all the scattered elements, even had it been done by previous concert and concession. But with the number of Members in the House diminishing with every succeeding division, from 419 down to 373; and the fatigue and ill-humour consequent on the long sitting till two o'clock in the morning, not 50 would have been obtained, if put as one of the six different amendments moved. We must content ourselves, therefore, with placing on record here, the amendment we had drawn up, in conformity to the notice before laid on the table of the House, and which would have been put to the vote but that the defeats had already been too signal and too numerous to render still further defeats desirable; and it was therefore reserved till the further stages through which the Bill, grounded on these resolutions, will have to pass. The amendment was as follows:—

That, to secure the cordial co-operation of the Colonial Legislatures, and the Proprietors of Colonial Property, in hastening the Emancipation of the Slaves at the earliest practicable period, as well as to provide for the present peace and order of the Colonies, and the future improvement of the Emancipated Slaves, His Majesty be empowered to raise a Fund, not exceeding Twenty Millions, to be thus appropriated:—

1. The first portion, to advances, by way of loan to the Colonial Proprietors, at an interest of 4 per cent., on the security of their Estates, to enable them to commence the payment of wages to their labourers; to be

advanced to the Proprietors at the rate of 5*l.* for each Slave emancipated by them, and at the time when such Emancipation shall take place, provided it shall not exceed a period of three years from the present date.

'2. The second portion, to advances, by way of loan, to the Colonial Governments, at the rate of 4 per cent. on the security of their several revenues, to enable them to make due provision for the maintenance of children under six years of age, the old of both sexes above sixty years of age, and the helpless and infirm between these extremes; as well as to defray the expences of a magistracy and police, and to provide the means of education and religious instruction for the negroes of every age.

'3. The third portion to be reserved as a fund, from which to compensate all parties deriving their incomes from the Colonies, who shall be enabled to prove, within a period not exceeding seven years from the present date, an actual loss accruing to them from the abolition of Slavery, or the substitution of free labour on their estates, and to shew that such loss has not arisen from their own neglect of the ordinary means of cultivating such estates by free labour, to the extent of their power so to do.

'4. That the advance and appropriations of these funds be placed under the direction of a Board of Commissioners, to be appointed by the Home Government, acting in concert with the Colonial Legislatures, so as to bring their accounts under the annual inspection of Parliament if required.'

We have given, in its proper place, the names of the Members who were found in the two minorities of 42 and 77, as those which most distinctly separate the Immediate from the Protracted Abolitionists—and those who do not admit the right of the slave-owners to compensation, without proof of loss, and who will not, therefore, vote away the public money of the people of England to purchase a freedom which is not obtained,—from those who do both, by supporting the extravagant grant of twenty millions to pay for a twelve-year's continuance of Slavery, under the false pretence of freedom, with a real subjection to unpaid labour, stripes, and bonds, as before.

If the country does not soon awake from this dream of "confidence in Ministers," the day of repentance will soon arrive, and they will then find it too late to avoid the precipice to whose brink they are now so rapidly advancing.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 12.

The discussions of the evening turned almost entirely on the subject of the Irish Coercion Bill, and its application to the collection of tithes. In the early part of the evening the House was occupied with the Bill for allowing counsel to prisoners, which was ordered to be read a second time this day week; and with the Dwelling House Robbery Bill, for exempting burglaries from the punishment of death, the report on which was brought up, to be read a third time on Wednesday next.

On the motion for the Speaker leaving the Chair, to enable the House to go into Committee, Mr. LAMBERT rose to move an amendment to it: and in a speech of great length and detail, showed clearly that whatever were the real *intentions* of Government when they gave

their solemn pledges that the Coercion Bill should not be made an engine for collecting the arrears of tithe---it *had* been so made; and, that when facts proving this beyond doubt, had been communicated to them, they had taken no steps whatever to prevent it. He accordingly moved the following resolution:—

‘That it is the opinion of this house that the pledges given by ministers that the bill for the suppression of local disturbances in Ireland should not be applied to the collection of tithes, and that the arrears of tithes should be got rid of, have not been fulfilled; and also that the employment of the military and police forces in the serving civil process and levying tithes is highly unconstitutional, and ought to be discontinued.’ (Hear.)

Lord ALTHORP endeavoured to excuse the Government from any intentional breach of pledge, and admitted that the conduct of those who had acted as described was really reprehensible. The debate was continued, chiefly by the Irish Members, until a very late hour—nearly three o’clock. We give the following short extract from the proceedings, to show the spirit excited by them, and the impartial manner in which the Speaker did his duty.

‘Mr. O’CONNELL said the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Stanley) had asked him what he meant by the extinction of tithes consistently with a payment out of land. He would tell the right hon. gentleman what he did not mean by the extinction of tithes. (Cries of “Oh, oh!” and laughter.) He would ask what had he done, or what his country had done, that members should dare to put him down in that ruffianly manner. (Loud cries of “Oh, oh!” and “Order, order.”)

‘Mr. STANLEY rose to order, amidst loud cheers. He apprehended that no hon. member was justified in using the word “dare,” as applying to the course which any other hon. member might choose to pursue. (Hear, hear.)

‘Mr. O’CONNELL would ask how any members could presume to raise such ruffianly shouts as had been raised against him on this occasion? Loud shouts of “Oh, oh!” and “Order, order,” in the midst of which

‘Lord SANDON rose to order. He hoped that if the house wished to preserve the character of an assembly of gentlemen, (loud cheers), they would not allow such language to be used in that house, whatever might be its cause. He would not justify the interruption that had been given; but he must say that if that house was fit to represent the people of England, they should not allow such language to be addressed to them in the house, whatever they might do with respect to language held out of it. (Cheers.) He would call on the right hon. gentleman in the chair to declare his opinion of the language that had been used.’ (Cheers.)

‘The SPEAKER said that the call made upon him by the noble lord was such as he could not but answer. The language of the hon. member for Dublin was undoubtedly disorderly (hear, hear), and the provocation which he received was equally disorderly. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that the house would feel indebted to the noble lord for calling its attention to the subject, and that it would give its censure equally to both sides, and he hoped that what had been said by the noble lord would bring back the attention of the house to what was before them, and be a proper guide to them as to the course they ought to pursue.’ (Hear, hear.)

We have only room for the concluding speech of Lord ALTHORP, which may be regarded as an indirect admission that the powers

granted had been abused, and that the parties deserved punishment. We would ask, however, whether those who *gave* these powers, and who were so loudly warned as to the certain consequences of their being abused, are not equally to blame. It appears to us, that all our predictions have been fully verified, as the Coercion Bill has done nothing to pacify Ireland, and has sown new seeds of dissension and bloodshed, where it was desirable to promote peace.

‘Lord ALTHORP observed that he entirely concurred in the statement made by his right hon. friend, that undoubtedly the government would punish those who might have misapplied the coercive bill to enforce the collection of tithes. He thought that if it were proved that parties had used the bill for the purpose of collecting tithes, an inquiry should be instituted, and it would become the duty of government to punish the offending parties by dismissal or otherwise.’ (Hear.)

A division took place, when there were—For Mr. Lambert’s resolution, 45—Against it, 197.]

The House then went into Committee, when the Report of the Resolutions on Colonial Slavery was brought up; and the following Resolutions were moved by Mr. Wason, but they were all negatived without a division: which confirms the propriety of our not pressing, for the present, at least, those of our own: but reserving them for a future stage of the Bill. They were as follows:—

‘That to enable the Proprietors of Slaves in our Colonial Possessions to effect the transition from Slave labour to free labour, His most gracious Majesty be empowered to advance annually, by way of loan, to those proprietors who may desire such advance, such sums as shall be necessary to pay adequate wages to the Negro Population, and that such loan shall constitute the first lien upon the produce of the estate:—

‘That, to induce the West India Proprietors to co-operate cheerfully in the abolition of Slavery, it is expedient that the duty should be lowered from 24s. to 12s. per hundred weight on Sugar produced in those Islands, whose Colonial Assemblies shall emancipate the Negro Population:—

‘That, in the event of these Resolutions occasioning any loss to West India Proprietors, this House will grant, by way of compensation, a sum of money not exceeding £15,000,000 sterling, such sum to be paid when it shall be proved that the loss has occurred:

‘That, inasmuch as a great portion of the sum of £20,000,000, will be paid to the relations and connexions of Members of both Houses of Parliament, it is unjust to raise such sum by a tax upon articles consumed by the industrious and labouring classes; this House will therefore impose such burthen upon property in this country.’

ON ENVY.

THE envious man is in pain upon all occasions which ought to give him pleasure. The relish of his life is inverted; and the objects which administer the highest satisfaction to those who are exempt from this passion, give the quickest pangs to persons who are subject to it. All the perfections of their fellow-creatures are odious. Youth, beauty, valour, and wisdom, are provocations of their displeasure. What a wretched and apostate state is this! to be offended with excellence, and to hate a man because we approve him! The condition of the envious man is the most emphatically miserable; he is not only incapable of rejoicing in another’s merit or success, but lives in a world wherein all mankind are in a plot against his quiet, by studying their own happiness and advantage.—*Steele.*

MINORITY OF FORTY-TWO,

Who, on the 10th of June, voted for the amendment originally moved by Mr. Buxton, but subsequently abandoned by him, and then pressed to a division by Mr. O'CONNELL,—“That the Slaves, during the term of their proposed apprenticeships, should be paid wages for their labour.”

Aglionby, H.	Butler, Col.	Hutt, W.	Roche, W.
Attwood, T.	Dalrymple, Sir J. H.	Ingilby, Sir W. A.	Ronayne, D.
Baldwin, D.	Dashwood, G. H.	Langton, Col. G.	Ruthven, E.
Barry, G. S.	Donkin, Sir R.	Mills, J.	Stewart, R.
Bayntun, Capt.	Faithfull, G.	Nagle, Sir R.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.
Beauleuk, Major	Finn, W. F.	O'Brien, C.	Talmash, Hon. A. G.
Bellew, R. M.	Fitzsimon, C.	O'Connell, D.	Tooke, W.
Blake, M. J.	Fitzsimon, N.	O'Connell, M.	Tynte, C. K. J.
Bowes, J.	Gaskell, Daniel	Pease, J.	Vigors, N. A.
Briscoe, J. I.	Gully, J.	Rippon, C.	Vincent, Sir F.
Buckingham, J. S.	Harland, W. C.		

MINORITY OF SEVENTY-SEVEN,

Who, on the 11th of June, opposed the Grant of Twenty Millions as Compensation to the West India Proprietors, without Loss being proved, and without the Freedom of the Slaves being obtained.

Aglionby, H. A.	Don, O'Conor	Jervis, J.	Rippon, C.
Baldwin, Dr.	Evans, Colonel	Kennedy, T. F.	Robinson, G. R.
Barry, G. S.	Ewart, W.	King, E. B.	Roche, W.
Baring, A.	Faithfull, G.	Lloyd, J. H.	Ronayne, D.
Bellew, R. M.	Feilden, S.	Lister, E. C.	Ruthven, E. S.
Bayntun, Capt.	Fitzsimon, C.	Marshall, J.	Ruthven, E.
Bowes, J.	Fitzsimon, N.	Marshall, T.	Thicknesse, R.
Blake, M. J.	Fryer, R.	Methuen, P.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.
Briscoe, J. J.	Gaskell, D.	Mills, J.	Tooke, W.
Bruce, Lord E.	Gillon, W. D.	O'Brien, C.	Tyrrell, Sir J.
Buckingham, J. S.	Goring, H. D.	O'Connell, D.	Tynte, C. J. K.
Bulwer, H. L.	Guest, J. J.	O'Connell, M.	Vigors, N. A.
Bulwer, E. L.	Gully, J.	O'Connell, J.	Walker, R.
Butler, Col.	Hall, B.	Parrott, J.	Walter, J.
Chapman, M. L.	Hardy, J.	Pease, J.	Watkins, J.
Chandos, Marquis	Hawes, B.	Phillips, M.	Wason, R.
Cobbett, W.	Harland, W. C.	Potter, R.	Whalley, Sir S.
Cornish, J.	Hughes, H.	Pryme, G.	Wigney, I. N.
Curteis, H. B.	Hutt, W.	Richards, J.	Yelverton, Hon. W.
Dick, Quentin			

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

New Member Sworn.

Charles Lennox Cumming Bruce, esquire, for Inverness Burghs.

Leave of Absence.

To Mr. Owen, three weeks; Mr. Dillwyn, a fortnight.

Election Committees.

Galway County Election.—House informed, that the Committee have **de-**termined,

That James Daly, esquire, is duly elected a Knight to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Galway.

Notices of Motions.

Mr. Lambert.—To call the attention of the House to the application of the Act for suppressing local Disturbances and dangerous Associations in Ireland to the purpose of enforcing the payment of Tithes.—[Tuesday 18th June.]

Mr. Chapman.—Copy of the Correspondence between Gerald Dease, esquire, Lord Lieutenant for the County of Westmeath, and Sir William Gosset, relative to the levying, with the assistance of the Police and Military, certain Tithes which only became due on the 1st of May last; and also to the costs charged on that occasion.—[Thursday 20th June.]

Mr. Charles Buller.—That a Select Committee be appointed to examine into the present mode of deciding Election Petitions.—[Thursday 27th June.]

Mr. Barron.—Resolution, 1. That the Tithe system in Ireland has been the fruitful source of misery and crime, and to be totally extinguished,—2. That a Land Tax ought to be substituted for payment of the present Incumbents, and such other purposes of general utility, as the Legislature may deem necessary.—[Deferred from Wednesday 19th June till Tuesday 2d July.]

Mr. Roebuck.—That this House will, with the smallest delay possible, consider the means of establishing a system of National Education.—[Wednesday 19th June.]

Mr. G. F. Young.—On reading the Order of the Day for going into Committee of Supply, to move for returns of tonnage, showing the practical effect of the Treaties made under the authority of the Reciprocity of Duties Act on the interests of British Navigation.—[Wednesday 19th June.]

Dr. Baldwin.—Select Committee, to inquire into the amount of the various forms of absentee expenditure by which Ireland is afflicted, to ascertain its effects on the prosperity of that Country, and on the happiness of the people, and to discover a remedy, if possible, for the evils it occasions.—[Monday 17th June.]

Mr. Grote.—Petition from certain British subjects resident in the City of London, on the subject of Danish Claims.—[Monday 17th June.]

Mr. Parker.—Petition from the Corporation of Cutlers in Hallamshire.—[Monday 17th June.]

Lord Viscount Sandon.—Petition from Mr. Henry V. der Busch, of Liverpool.—[Monday 17th June.]

Mr. Hume.—To call the attention of the House to the Warrant of Appointment of Privy Seal in Scotland.—[Tuesday 25th June.]

- Mr. Buckingham.**—That a Select Committee be appointed, to consider to what extent and in what manner it may be practicable and desirable to raise a Fund, by a Tax on Property or Income, or both, to enable the Parliament progressively to repeal those existing Taxes that press most heavily on the industrious and labouring classes.—[Deferred from Tuesday 11th June till Tuesday 2d July.]
- Mr. Hume.**—To take into consideration the Report of the Select Committee on the expediency of erecting a new House of Commons.—[Deferred from Tuesday 25th June till Wednesday 3d July.]
- Mr. Finn.**—That it is the opinion of this House, that the Salaries of the Judges of the Superior Courts in Ireland ought to be reduced to the amount received by them in 1792, and to the compensation since granted them in lieu of fees.—[Thursday 4th July.]
- Mr. Finn.**—That it is the opinion of this House, that a Tax ought to be imposed upon Irish Absentee Property (the produce of said Tax to be expended in Ireland upon works of public utility), in order to compensate in some degree the labouring and industrious classes in that Country for the serious injury sustained by them from the withdrawal of such an immense portion of the rental from expenditure in that Country.—[Tuesday 9th July.]
- Dr. Lushington.**—To move for Minutes of Court Martial on Captain Robison. [deferred till Wednesday 19th June.]
- Sir Francis Vincent.**—Select Committee, to inquire into the conduct pursued by the Benchers of the Inns of Court upon the applications of persons to be called to the Bar. [Wednesday 26th June.]
- Mr. Tooke.**—Address for Royal Charter of Incorporation to the University of London, with such powers and privileges as shall appear to His Majesty to be most effectual for the encouragement of education amongst all classes of His Majesty's subjects. [Thursday 4th July.]
- Mr. Cutlar Fergusson.**—Address to His Majesty, that He will be graciously pleased not to recognize, or in any way give the sanction of His Government to the present political state and condition of Poland, the same having been brought about in violation of the Treaty of Vienna, to which Great Britain was a party. [Tuesday 9th July.]
- Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.**—Motion for any papers connected with Lord Durham's Special Mission to Russia, and which relates to the state of Germany, and the enslavement of Poland.—[Deferred till Tuesday 9th July.]
- Colonel Evans.**—Motion regarding the Municipal Government of the City of Westminster.—[Thursday 18th July.]
- Mr. Pryme.**—Bill to repeal so much of the Act of 41 Geo. 3, c. 63, as may prevent persons in holy orders, not holding benefices with cure of souls, from being elected to and sitting in Parliament.—[Deferred till next Session.]

Petitions presented.

- Slavery.**—Petition of William Jessop and others, of Galway, Owners of an Estate in Lands and Slaves in Jamaica, for compensation in case of the Emancipation of the Slaves.
- House and Window Tax, &c.**—Petition of Members of the Political Union of Sheffield, for the repeal of the House and Window Tax, and the Duty on Malt.
- Corn Laws.**—Petition of Inhabitants of Sheffield, for the repeal thereof.
- Slavery.**—Petitions against the Emancipation of the Slaves without compensation to the Proprietors;—of Planters, Merchants, Ship owners, Manufacturers, Traders, Mortgagees, and others, interested in the preservation of the British West India Colonies;—of Planters, Proprietors, Merchants, and others, interested in the British West India Colonies;—and, of Linen, Woollen, Hardware, and other Merchants, Bankers, Brokers, and others, of Bristol.
- Merchant Seamen's Sixpences.**—Petition of Master Mariners of Kingston-upon-Hull, for relief from contribution thereof to Greenwich Hospital.

London University.—Petition of Inhabitants of Liverpool, for granting a Charter to the London University, to enable them to bestow Honorary Degrees.

Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill.—Petition of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, against.

Slavery.—Petitions against Emancipation of the Slaves without compensation to the Proprietors;—of Inhabitants of Contin;—of Dingwall;—of Kilmuir Wester and Knockbayne;—of Killiernan;—of Musselburgh;—of Proprietors, Magistrates, Farmers, and Inhabitants of the County of Ross;—of the Eastern part of the County of Ross;—of Cromarty;—of Rosolis;—of Provost Magistrates, and Inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Fortrose;—of Heritors, Tenants, Kirk Session, and Inhabitants of Rosemarkie;—and, of Commissioners of Supply, Justice of the Peace, and Inhabitants of the Counties of Ross and Cromarty.

James Cochran.—Petition of James Cochran, merchant of Glasgow, complaining of the conduct of Mr. Abercrombie, Charge d'Affaires at Berlin.

Princess of Cumberland.—Petition of an individual styling herself Olive Princess of Cumberland, for an examination into her claims.

Metropolitan Police.—Petition of Charles Wheeler, complaining of the conduct of a Police Constable at the late Meeting in Coldbath Fields, and of the refusal of the Commissioners to investigate the same.

Robert Taylor.—Petition of Inhabitants of Greenock, for his release.

Church Service (Ireland).—Petition of Members of the Irish Society of London, that the Church Service be performed in the native language.

Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill.—Petition of Persons of the Christian Faith in and near Boston, in favour.

Union with Ireland.—Petitions for the repeal thereof;—of Inhabitants of Howth;—and, of Swords, Malahide, and Balheary.

Currency.—Petition of the Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, baronet, suggesting certain alteration in the Laws relating to the Currency.

Slavery.—Petition of Donald Mackay, of Southend, Lewisham, against the emancipation of the Slaves without compensation to the proprietors.

Slavery.—Petition of John Hopton Forbes, Agent and Solicitor for Gilbert Munro, of the island of St. Vincent, for compensation in case of the Emancipation of the Slaves.

Jews.—Petition of Inhabitants of Sheffield, for the removal of their disabilities.

Sir Thomas Troubridge.—Petition of certain Electors of Sandwich, Deal, and Walmer, accusing Sir Thomas Troubridge, one of the Members for that Borough, of having produced a forged copy of the Register of Baptism, by which he fraudulently, if not feloniously, obtained the Commission of Lieutenant in the Navy, and praying that the said Sir Thomas Troubridge be expelled the House, brought up, and read; Whereupon Sir Thomas Troubridge was heard in his place, and then he withdrew:—Motion made, and Question proposed,—"That the Petition do lie on the Table:"—Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "Petition" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "be rejected" instead thereof:—Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—And a Debate arising thereupon, and the same having continued till three of the clock, Mr. Speaker left the Chair.

East India Charter.—Petitions against any sudden alteration of the Charter of the East India Company;—of Minister, Churchwardens, Overseers, Owners, and Occupiers of Land in Bisley;—and, of Inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS.—POLITICAL ANNIHILATION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE two Houses of Parliament are now in open rupture. The Lords have voted one way, and the Commons the other. For a moment, and for a moment only, the King has stepped between the combatants, and prevented them from proceeding to greater lengths. But the seeds of distrust and dissension are already sown between them, and before long they must produce their fruit. Straws thrown up point out which way the wind lies; and Portugal acts as the vane to shew how Boreas will blow when the Ten-Irish-Bishop-Destruction-Bill,—the East and West India Bills,—and many other unwelcome subjects, shall come up in their due course to the Higher Chamber. All these will be thrown out in succession, if the Lords continue in their present frame of mind. Let us put a case. The first grand trial of strength will be the Ten-Bishop-Abolition-Bill. It is tried in the Lords, and thrown out, as it certainly will be, by a majority of 30 at least. Lord Grey comes with the Chancellor to the King, and says,—“Sire, unless 40 Peers are created, we must resign.” What says His Majesty? “Beaten twice within a month! this is really very hard; but 40 Peers I cannot make: I might as well destroy the House at once.” Lord Grey then resigns with all his Cabinet. The King sends for the Speaker, and says:—“Mr. Mannors Sutton, I charge you with the formation of a Provisional Government. I know the Houses of Lords and Commons are not in unison; let us dissolve the Commons, and see whether the Country will send such another House.”

Now this is precisely the game the Tories are playing. They fancy there has been a revulsion in the public feeling in their favour, and the first complexion of the Provisional Government, of which the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel would be constituted Members, would be decidedly Toryish:—but if Mr. Mannors Sutton saw, as he assuredly would, that the elections would be in a great degree Radical, mixed with a good infusion of Conservatives, and a less proportion of pure Whigs, then his Provisional Government would take a different shape, and become more decidedly liberal. A certain Church Reform would be promised, a Property Tax would be laid on, and the Assessed Taxes would be taken off; but, nevertheless, we think a Government even of this complexion could not stand for two months. This, therefore, would not be a settling of the dispute.

There are yet other suppositions: let us consider them in order. 1st. That the King will create 40 Peers on the requisition of Lord Grey. 2ndly, That he will prevail upon the refractory Peers to stay away. 3rdly, That he will give his consent to a measure for depriving the Bishops of their seats in the Lords.

And first, will the King create 40 Peers? We think not; but if he do, is there a man so blind as not to see that the independence of the Lords as a body is gone, and that they instantly fall into contempt? *Would it not be better, then, at once to abolish the Peerage altogether and openly, than to sap it thus covertly?* It can be now perhaps done quietly; but if we proceed by undermining, there may be an explosion whose terrific extent and duration no man living can foresee.

2ndly, That the King will prevail on the refractory Peers to stay away. Will His Majesty do so? We think it an experiment very likely to be tried, but we are not quite sure of its success. Certain it is, that the King succeeded once before in playing this part upon the Reform Question; and from the moment that the Peers, who talked before so potently, so pusillanimously yielded, they have been foredoomed. From that very moment they have been looked upon as a body whose political existence *ought* to terminate. Will then a repetition of blustering in the first instance, and of the stay-away-scheme in the second, mend the matter? For a moment it may stop the sacrifice; but the victim is already garlanded, and though he fall not to-day on the altar of opinion, to-morrow will he surely fall!

The third supposition is, that the King will give his consent to a measure depriving the Bishops of their seats in the House of Lords. So will the Country, so will the Commons;—but will the Lords themselves surrender the Spiritual Peers? Will they victimize a part of their body, before the blow is struck at themselves? And would their yielding stave off their doom? Surely no!

In any, in every supposition, then, the Lords are *politically dead*. If the King create Peers, they, as a deliberative body, are overborne; and the public will not see the use of a Chamber whose will is impotent. “Let the Upper House be done away with,” will then be the cry: and a public death inflicted thus, is more honest than a slow poisoning, or secret assassination.

We have been thus particular in considering the various alternatives, because we are sure that the people of England have not given to them that consideration which their importance deserves. It is idle to think that the Lords can remain in their present position. They are in direct opposition with the more powerful Commons; and if they so continue, a collision must be the consequence. Then will come the reign of Chaos. While they yet may, is it not better for the Peerage decently to give up the ghost? The people at least will say, that “Nothing in their life became them like the leaving it.”

It may be said that on the Church Bill the King will take his confidence from the present Ministers, and appoint Mr. Manners Sutton Provisional Premier. Granted. But where is Mr. Sutton to get a House of Commons to do his behests? In the event of a dissolution to-morrow, half the hangers-on of the Whigs would turn Radicals, in order to secure their re-election. Hope in this way there is none. Nor is the present moment very full of promise. The people are intent and eager. The Government is in a timid and hesitating mood, willing

to move onward, yet half afraid, while the Lords are "in arms and eager for the fray!" How the matter will terminate, Heaven knows. To us it appears, that now an upper House exists not; but whether it will be solemnly or formally put an end to, or whether it will be crushed in a coming collision, is a question which would puzzle the happiest speculator to solve.

One thing alone is clear: it is, that all above, around, beneath us, is toppling. A universal crepitation is apparent in England. The good ship may still, it is true, right herself; she may reach the destined port in safety; but the indications are still of stormy weather. The clouds lower, and the winds howl as we write, in the midst of summer; and it often happens in the moral, as well as in the physical world, that the summer of hope is dispelled by sudden and unbidden tempests, which tear it up by the roots!

CONDUCT OF THE PLEDGED ABOLITIONISTS.—TWENTY MILLIONS LOST, AND EMANCIPATION NOT GAINED.

THE passing of all the Resolutions of the Government on Colonial Slavery, by such large majorities, must satisfy the minds of the most credulous and confiding, that the present House of Commons does not truly represent the wishes and the feelings of the people. Of the 658 Members forming that House, a third, or 200 at least, had pledged themselves to their constituents to vote for the *Immediate* Abolition of Slavery; and of nearly 5,000 Petitions, with little short of 2,000,000 signatures, there are not 100 that did not pray for *Immediate* Emancipation of the Slaves. Yet when the subject comes to be debated; upon the only question put to the vote for the slaves *immediately* receiving wages, and becoming thus *partially* emancipated,—only 42 Members are found to vote in favour of that resolution; and these including neither Mr. Buxton, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Macauley, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Strickland, or many others of those who for years past have been loudest in their professions of a determination to have *Immediate* Abolition, and nothing short of it! After this, who will place faith in political professions again?

On the question of Compensation, the same extraordinary contradiction of conduct appears. Before this question was brought to the test, the Anti-Slavery Society and its followers constantly said:—"We demand *Immediate* Emancipation of the Slave as a *right*; we deny the doctrine of property in men; and we claim freedom for the Slave, on grounds of religion, of justice, and humanity. When this is granted to him, we will *then* entertain the question of Compensation: and *if a case can be made out of actual loss*, we shall be prepared to give it a *fair consideration*." Yet here are these very men, now voting a sum of Twenty Millions sterling,—not as a loan, but as a gift,—without securing the *Immediate* Freedom of the Slaves, for which they contended as an *indispensible preliminary*; without hav-

ing evidence of *any loss whatever*: and thus, while the nation is clamouring from all its extremities for freedom to our fellow-subjects in the Colonies, on the one hand,—and a reduction of the public burthens at home, on the other,—here are the professed Representatives of the people, pledged both to freedom and economy, supporting the Ministers in a plan for protracting Slavery for twelve years longer,—and for burthening the already over-taxed people of England with a permanent addition to their taxes, of at least a million a year for ever! This will be the amount of the interest and charges of this *gift* of 20 millions, which is voted to the Proprietors of the Slaves, whose property, if it be such, was originally stolen—in defiance of the laws of God and the principles of justice and humanity; and who, instead of being losers, may be made gainers of 20 millions more by the very change for which we are thus extravagantly paying them, under the pretence of buying that which they never had the right to hold, and ought not, therefore, to be permitted to sell: while, for our additional mortification, when the money is voted, we shall not be receiving in return the Freedom we intended to be bought with it after all!!

We can find no language sufficiently strong in which to express our indignation at such conduct as this: but having given an accurate List of the faithful 42 who voted for *Immediate* Emancipation on the resolution abandoned by Mr. Buxton, “that the Slaves should be immediately paid wages for their labour,”—as well as an accurate List of the consistent 77, who opposed the compensation of 20 millions for a loss not proved, or for the purchase of a benefit not obtained, we shall have performed our duty to all parties, and leave the country to deal with the deserters and the dissemblers, as it may think they deserve.

As we were unable to complete, in our last Number, the series of powerful evidence in support of our position, that no loss can be obtained by substituting free labour for slave labour,—and that, therefore, Compensation ought not to be granted till actual loss should be proved,—we continue the series from the point at which we left off in our last, and submit the facts to the reader's own reflections.

The case of the free blacks of Trinidad may next be cited. In September, 1816, a number of American blacks, (632) who had taken refuge with the British forces during the war, were brought to Trinidad, and located there; and in the following year, 63 female prize negroes, taken in slave-ships, were added to their number. In January, 1821, 79 more refugee American slaves joined the settlement, which now consisted of 774 individuals. Notwithstanding the great disparity of the sexes, (for no other addition was made to the settlement from any other source) at the close of 1825, their numbers had risen to 923, being an increase of 20 per cent. in eight years, or 2½ per cent. per annum. The following account of their condition is taken from Parliamentary documents.

“Mr. Mitchell, their superintendent, states, that they labour very industriously in their own grounds, and maintain themselves and their families in comfort, being persons of peaceable and domestic habits, and of moral and religious lives. They are also, as he testifies, perfectly willing,

at least the men among them, to hire themselves to labour in plantation-work on sugar-estates, at reasonable rates, chiefly by the piece, and that the labour they undertake to perform is generally well executed.

“He bore his testimony to the general industry of these manumitted slaves. Those of them who do not cultivate their own grounds as free settlers, which many of them do, work as journeymen tradesmen. He had never known a manumitted slave who had not been able to maintain himself when free. This evidence was confirmed by Mr. Lamont.—No. 479 of 1827, pp. 33, 34, and 45.

“In 1825, the number of the free black and coloured population of Trinidad, including the Indians, was about 15,150; more than five times the number of the white inhabitants. How many may have been added to that number in the six or seven years which have since elapsed, has not been any where officially stated; but assuming them to have proceeded at their previous rate of increase, the number of them on the 31st of December, 1831, cannot have fallen much short, if the manumissions are included, of 18,500. What proportion of this body may be considered as in the class of labourers, it may be difficult to conjecture; probably two-thirds of them are of that class, the remainder being of somewhat superior grades. Of these, indeed, many are known to be persons of very considerable wealth, intelligence, and respectability. Half the property of the Island is supposed to be in their hands; and of their royal and peaceable demeanour no doubt has ever been expressed, or can be entertained.”*

“The remarkable case of Count Tovar’s slaves, mentioned by Baron Humboldt, has already been cited. But, in no colony where slavery still exists, has the experiment of emancipation been tried on so large a scale as in the island of Cuba. “In no part of the world,” says Humboldt, “where slavery prevails, is emancipation so frequent. The Spanish legislature, far from preventing this, or rendering it difficult, like the English and French legislatures, favours liberty. The right of every slave to change his master, or to set himself free, if he can repay the price of the purchase; the religious feeling which inspires many masters in easy circumstances with the idea of giving liberty, by their will, to a certain number of slaves; the habit of keeping a multitude of blacks for domestic purposes; the attachments which arise from this intercourse with the whites; *the facility with which slaves make money who are mechanics, and who pay their masters a certain sum daily, in order to work on their own account*;—such are the principal causes from which so many slaves in the towns pass from the captive state to that of free-men of colour. . . . The condition of free-men of colour is happier at the Havannah, than among nations which boast, during ages, of the most advanced civilization. Here, those barbarous laws are unknown, according to which free-men, incapable of receiving the donations of the whites, may be deprived of their liberty, and sold for the profit of the fiscal, if they are convicted of having afforded an asylum to Maroon negroes.”†

“There is another class of facts tending to establish the reasonable probability that the slaves in our colonies, if emancipated from the

* Lords’ Report, pp. 939, 940.

† Humboldt’s Pers. Narr. Vol. VII, pp. 127, 128.

whip, would work for wages; we refer to the good effect with which task-work has been introduced into the plantations. We find this enumerated among the improvements for which the West Indians take credit to themselves; and since it has become more common, the negroes, we are told, are become more healthy and cheerful. Upon this point, the following evidence was given in before the Committee of the House of Commons.

Wm. Taylor, Esq.—"Is it not then the fact, that by means of giving them wages, you would get from them the greatest quantity of work that their physical strength was able to perform?—Certainly; I found that by giving them task-work, and then by paying them for extra work, I got much more work done, and it was cheerfully done.

"Have you any reason to believe that if you had wished to employ persons in this way on other occasions, and to a greater extent, you could have done so?—If it was for their pecuniary benefit; if they found that it was the most profitable mode of employing themselves.

"In the case of the cane-hole digging, would it not answer for the planter to give the men extra work upon the system you have described?—It is too expensive; such is the unavoidable expense of conducting estates now, that a mixed system of slavery and free labour would not do; they could not maintain men at the expense of slavery, and work them half a day as slaves, and pay them the other half day as freemen. With me it was an experiment; but the task-work was very generally used; and I have heard planters always say, that the negro got his work done in a much shorter time, and I have often heard overseers say, that they always resorted to task-work." (Q. 104—112.)*

Robert Scott Esq.—"Were you in the habit of employing any of your slaves upon task-work?—Sometimes; in digging cane-holes; for instance, the overseer would give them task-work.

"Have you found that they performed that task-work with greater expedition than they would do the same quantity of work at day labour?—Certainly; they generally finished the task-work by two o'clock in the afternoon, by working at their dinner time.

"To what did they betake themselves after that during the rest of the day?—They often went to their grounds or to their gardens.

"Did it ever happen to you upon any estate, to offer the negroes any small compensation for additional labour?—I dare say it has, though I cannot call any instance to my recollection at this moment; I know that negroes are frequently paid for their extra labour.

"Do not they work willingly then?—Certainly they do." (Q. 5076-8; 5261, 2.)

The following statements occur in the Evidence before the Lords' Committee.

John Baillie, Esq.—"Suppose a man to take his task, what proportion of time would he be able to finish his time in, he doing it voluntarily, as compared with the number of hours a slave would be employed?—I have seen a negro gain a couple of hours in a day by task-work; that has been an able-bodied negro."

* See also Lords' Report, pp. 585—6; 621, 622.

Mr. Edm. Sharp.—"Have you ever worked the negroes under your care at task-work?—Frequently.

"What reason can you assign for his performing the task-work so expeditiously as to be enabled to get the remainder of the day?—Knowing there is a boon to him for the remainder of the day, of course he works harder."*

'Evidence still more decisive, perhaps, is furnished by Mr. Telfair, the proprietor of the Bel-Ombre estate in the Mauritius, a decided opponent to the Anti-Slavery Society. In his "Account of the State of Slavery at Mauritius in 1810, in Refutation of anonymous Charges against that Colony," Mr. Telfair describes the results of an experiment which he was induced to make as a colonial proprietor on his estate on that island. "The whole establishment," he says, "was under my control; and the problem I undertook experimentally to solve, for the general interest of the population, bond and free, was, that the produce of the estate would be augmented, and the state of both these classes meliorated, *in proportion as the land was cultivated to the best advantage by machinery and agricultural implements, with the greatest number of working cattle and the smallest number of slaves.* Thus, then, our chief object was, to adapt the most perfect system of European husbandry to tropical cultivation; and, while multiplying our produce, by these means to raise the slaves to the physical and moral level of English farm servants."

'In proceeding to describe the manner in which this purpose was followed up, he states, that "*The adoption of tasks, whenever practicable, augmented the amount of work performed, and simplified the duties of the overseer, who had only to see that the task was done in a workman-like manner. Many of the more handy negroes could perform their portion before four o'clock, and some even before two p. m. Such individuals never required correction: their industry kept them from rioting and quarrelling.* Disorderly individuals alone, who, from caprice, indulgence in strong liquors, or jealousy, would neither work nor suffer their companions to work, or who behaved with cruelty to the working cattle,—required, and that but seldom, *the intervention of justice on the field.*" "The only certain means," continues Mr. Telfair, by which a master can influence the conduct of his servants, are punishments and rewards. *Experience confirmed my anticipation of the superiority of the latter; and in this view, every thing we could imagine was done to excite the emulation of the blacks, particularly by public trials of skill in ploughing, reaping, mowing, sowing, &c. And we were satisfied that the greatest ardour and energy were produced by the system of remuneration. A man actuated by the hope of reward, labours cheerfully, and finds that he possesses powers of which he was not before aware.*"†

'In the "Notes extracted from the Bel-Ombre Instructions Book, 1817," given in the Appendix to Mr. Telfair's volume, we find the following propositions laid down by this gentleman. "It is easy to

* Lords' Report, pp. 47; 788,

† Telfair's State of Slavery, &c. pp. 25, 29, 30.

perceive, that the fear of chastisement, hitherto considered almost the only motive of a black's exertion, is little calculated to call forth all the industry he is capable of exerting. Fear engages him to conceal, rather than to shew the extent of his corporal powers; and all the labour he can elude, is by him considered positive gain. Slavery has existed in all countries. It still exists in many European nations; but it is gradually superseded by freedom in the progress of civilization; *because hired work has been found more profitable to the employer, than the labour of slaves.*" Another beneficial distinction has arisen from the progress of modern observations and activity. What was once universally prevalent,—viz. labour by the day, as far as the nature of the employment admits, is now done by task-work. Even in agriculture, (in which, in many respects, task-work is generally accompanied with difficulty) every favourable occasion is to be taken for introducing task-work, which is, when applicable, productive of benefit to the planter, and comfort to the labourer, who executes his share with alacrity and pleasure." *

The following additional proof of this fact, is furnished by Mr. Miller, in his work above referred to. "In the Island of Bourbon, the proprietors of sugar-estates, finding the want of labour since the abolition of the slave-trade, have had recourse to a scheme for procuring free labour, and that, too, at considerable expense. An agent is employed on the coast of Malabar, to advertise for persons, natives of that country, who may be willing to go over to Bourbon, under legal contract for seven years, with the monthly wages (in most cases) of four piastres, (about seventeen shillings) &c. And, besides this, the person for whom they are thus hired, pays their passage over, and binds himself to send them back to their own country, should they wish it, at the expiration of the term prescribed by the contract. And yet, with all this expense, these persons are greedily sought for; and when I was there, a few months ago, there were about 7,000 of them in the island."

This evidence might be multiplied to an extent of several volumes; but we have done. In coming years it will be gratifying to us to look back upon this record, and review the efforts we have made, from the earliest period of our acquaintance with Slavery up to the present time, to promote its Immediate Abolition; and if those efforts have not been crowned with all the success we could wish, they have at least been of some utility in exposing the fallacies of those who defended Slavery, and exhibiting the inconsistencies of those, who, while they condemned it, voted for its protracted continuance.

† Telfair's State of Slavery, &c. pp. 95, 97.

THE SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATOR.

GENESIS.—CHAP. IV.

FIRST OCCUPATIONS OF MANKIND—VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL SACRIFICES.

THE sacred narrative begins to unfold itself in this Chapter, by expanding into the history of the origin of agriculture, pasturage, arts, and manufactures; as well as of the first sacrificial rites, of human gratitude and religious devotion. Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain was a tiller of the ground: their division of labour was that of the shepherd and the husbandman; and each presented to the Deity, in token of reverence and homage, the first-fruits of that which was most precious to him, as being the produce of his labour and his care. This practice of offerings to propitiate the favour or to appease the wrath of a Supreme Being, is almost as universal as the belief in the existence of a Deity itself—and had its origin, no doubt, in all cases, in the admiration of the stupendous power of the Creator, as seen in the universe by which we are surrounded, and a consciousness of the infinite inferiority and insignificance of all created beings to their great Maker—which feeling would be most naturally expressed by evincing a readiness to yield up to his service whatever was most dear to its possessor, and a willingness to bow down before the majesty of his omnipotence, and sue for mercy at his feet.

The offering up of fruits and flowers was of very ancient, and still continues to be, in many nations, a modern custom. According to Porphyry, a very curious and ancient festival was celebrated at Athens every year, in honour of the Sun, and of Time, or of the hours which were marked by the sun's position in the heavens. During that festival, consecrated grass, with grain and fruits of all kinds, as well as leaves and flowers, were heaped up in a pyramidal form, in allusion, it was thought, to the sun-beams that ripened the grain, as well as to the fire, in the rising flames of which they were finally consumed. The festivals in honour of Ceres in ancient Greece, of Isis in Egypt, and of the Hooly in modern India, all having reference to the opening of the vernal season, when the earth gives forth her first-fruits by the revival of vegetable life, must be remembered by all. And even among the untutored tribes of America, we learn from Lafiteau that the custom of presenting offerings to the Great Spirit, of grain, fruits, flowers, and herbs, consumed by fire, is very prevalent among the Caribs and Iroquois. He says they also throw such offerings into the rivers and the lakes, in order to do honour to the spirits that preside over them. Having met, in our voyage from Egypt to Palestine, a circumstance so similar to the

practice described, in so distant a part of the world as the back settlements of America, we are tempted to extract it here, as illustrative of that universality of the custom of offerings and sacrifices through fire, already observed. It is this :—

‘The moon had set in a dark bed of clouds—and the whole appearance of the night portended a western gale. Not more than twenty quarts of water, and this extremely foul; now remained for the subsistence of about twenty persons on board—so that the anxiety with which every eye was directed to the quarter from whence the wind was desired, may be conceived.

‘The dawn opened, however, and not a breath of air was yet stirring. Prayers and incense were again resorted to; and the tone of all those engaged in offering them had sunk from confidence to melancholy despair. The men (Christian sailors) were evidently terrified at the prospect of approaching death; and their whole conduct in this respect formed a striking contrast to the calm resignation of the Mohammedans on board, who continued to preserve all their former tranquillity, and console themselves with the assurance of their prophet, “God is great and merciful, and what he has decreed must come to pass.”

‘When prayers were ended, a straw mat, on which the captain slept, was let down into the sea, and, with the shreds of another mat, torn up for the purpose, a fire was kindled thereon, and the whole was pushed from the vessel’s side, as “a burnt offering to the gods of the winds.” I had at first conceived that the object of this was chiefly to mark the direction which the smoke would take when free from the influence of those eddies always occasioned by the flapping of the ship’s sails in a calm: but it afterwards appeared that it was in every sense a sacrifice, from the peculiar marks of which our future fate was to be augured. If the flame burnt clear and bright, so as to be distinguished plainly through the thick smoke of the damp straw, if it continued unextinguished until the fuel became a heap of ashes, and if it returned not again to the vessel, but drifted in some other course, all these were to be so many proofs that the fire thus kindled would triumph over the elements on which it floated, and that the god to whom it ascended had heard our prayers, and would not suffer that element to witness our destruction.

‘Every omen was favourable; the mat floated from us, from the mere impulse with which it was pushed from the ship; and the heat of the flame was sufficient, amid the stillness of the calm, to attract around it a sensible motion of the colder air, so as to feed the fire till most of the fuel was consumed. The joy of every one was not only extreme, but almost as boisterous as their rage and disappointment on the preceding day; and, to crown the whole, in less than an hour afterwards, the glassy surface of the waters began to be ruffled by light airs from the south and from the west.

‘At noon it had strengthened into a fresh breeze; every sail was carefully trimmed, and we foamed along our whitened path amid the curling waves of the deep blue sea, while the bounding motion of our

vessel was like the exulting joy that agitated every gladdened heart within her.

‘Had it even been possible, it would have been perhaps a pity to damp the ardour of such general happiness by the cold philosophy of physics, or the dry doctrines of causes and effects; but had Newton himself appeared before the crew, his demonstrations would have availed nothing to disturb the firm persuasion which reigned in the minds of all on board, that their faith in ‘the morning sacrifice’ had alone procured for them this opening of the clouds of heaven, and the gift of this favourable wind from the hand of their Almighty Ruler.’ *

The sacrifice of animals was quite as prevalent as that of fruits and flowers in the earliest ages of the world; and the creature chosen for the altar was generally the purest and best, and most frequently the first-born. Thus the Canaanites, previously to the entry of the Jews into the promised land, caused their first-born to pass through the fire, with the view of appeasing the anger of their false gods; and one of the kings of Moab is said to have offered up his eldest son as a burnt offering, when threatened with danger from the powerful and neighbouring tribe of the Edomites. Among the Greeks, we learn from Homer, that hecatombs of firstling lambs were frequently offered up by his countrymen: and in Egypt, notwithstanding their veneration for certain animals, and their belief in the metempsychosis, the sculptures on their temples represent the sacrifices of animals of various kinds and in various ways. Mallet, in his account of the ancient customs of the northern nations, says, that the Goths considered the effusion of the blood of animals calculated to appease the anger of their divinities. They passed from the sacrifice of brutes to the offering up of human victims. And even in Peru, the very opposite quarter of the world, it is mentioned by Acosta, that it is usual in cases of sickness, for a Peruvian to sacrifice his son to Virachora, beseeching him to spare his life, and to be satisfied with the blood of his child. The offering up of his son Isaac by Abraham, the sacrifice of his daughter by Jephtha, and the offering up of the Saviour, as the only and well-beloved Son of the Father, are the scriptural instances of suing for divine favour, or making atonement for sin, by the sacrifice of that which is most precious and valuable. And the cases of Agamemnon offering up his daughter Iphigenia to Diana, and of Idomeneus, the King of Crete, sacrificing his son to the gods, in conformity to a vow made on his return from Troy, are the classical instances of a similar kind.

The circumstance of God setting a mark upon Cain, as mentioned in the 15th verse, has been by many supposed to refer to the first distinctive mark of blackness as characteristic of the negro race: but, besides that there is not the smallest foundation whatever in the text or context for such a supposition, we have clearly shown, in one of our former Numbers, sufficient reasons for all the varieties of colour and physiognomy among the different races of mankind, by the operation of natural causes alone. We cannot avoid adverting, however,

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine; 4to. edition, pp. 20, 21.

here to a remarkable coincidence in the kind of branding, or "setting a mark" upon offenders and criminals, and the making them, as Cain was made, "a fugitive and vagabond on the earth;" as found in the institutes of the greatest and most ancient of the lawgivers of the Hindoos, Menu. By his institutes, the following marks were to be impressed on the forehead with a hot iron, for the various offences specified:—"For drinking spirits, a vintner's flaggon: for stealing sacred gold, a dog's foot; for murdering a priest, a headless trunk. With none to eat with them, with none to drink with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them: let them wander over the earth, branded with indelible marks: they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect—such is the ordinance of Menu." To those subject to such severe inflictions as these, the language of Cain would be most impressively appropriate. "And Cain said unto the Lord, my punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth."

The custom of polygamy, or a plurality of wives, which was common among the earliest of the human race, which was continued among the Jews, being in full vigour in the time of David and Solomon, continuing down to the time of the Saviour, and even subsequently, and which still prevails in all the nations of the East, is here mentioned for the first time, at verse 19:—"And Lamech took unto him two wives; the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other, Zillah." It is remarkable, too, that the three sons borne by these two women, became heads of races or occupations, as founders of castes; the first son of Adah, named Jabal, being "the father of all such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle:" a description applying strictly to the Bedouins, or Arabs of the Desert, of the present day: and the second son of the same Jubal, "being the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ;" including, probably, the caste of musicians, as a modern Indian would say, on whatever instrument they might perform. The only son of Zillah was Tubal-Cain, who is called "an instructor of every artificer in brass and in iron." In the beginning of this Chapter, we had the two great divisions of shepherds and agriculturalists, marked out by Abel and Cain; and here we have the dwellers in tents, the musicians, and the workers in metals, indicated by the leaders of each, already named, adding the arts of pleasure and utility to those of sustenance and support, and showing the natural progress of society from the one stage to the other of improved condition. Rosenmüller thinks that the name of Tubal-Cain is clearly recognized in the Vulcan of the Romans, who, according to their notions, taught mankind the art of working metals. Under this head, also, may be placed the Telchini, who, according to Strabo, invented the art of working in brass and iron, and who forged the sickle of Saturn. In the northern or Gothic nations, Dwalinn is the name of the demon who taught the art of making swords, and all kinds of arms: and these names and occupations have so striking a resemblance to each other, as to show a common origin.

THE FRIENDLY COMMUNICATOR.

DEFECTS IN THE PROPOSED PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

SIR,

Hull, June 8, 1833.

As the proposed plan of Ministers for regulating the law of banking in England and Wales is now fully before the country, I think a few remarks upon some of the leading propositions may tend to place before the public the probable effects of the measure.

By the first resolution, it appears that the House of Commons is called upon, virtually to pass an encomium upon the past conduct of the Bank; for if that is not the case, how can the Legislature be expected to entrust the whole management of the currency of the country, and with it the value of every one's property, to a body, of *all* whose previous acts they do not most cordially approve? And that such approbation should be given to a body to whose previous mismanagement is very generally attributed the panic of 1825, does seem rather a curious anomaly in legislation.

By the second resolution, bank notes are to be declared a legal tender, except at the Bank and its branches. This is a measure of that vital importance, that a few observations upon it will not be misapplied. If this measure produce the effect apparently expected from it by His Majesty's Ministers (by a great increase in the paper circulation), it must to a certain degree be viewed as an inroad on the principle of the currency measures of 1819, and I think must very materially tend to diminish the quantity of gold in circulation in the country. It will, I should be afraid, cause great inconvenience for the want of it in those large districts where there are no branches of the Bank of England: and even where they are situated, unless they pay the parent notes as well as their own, I think the evil will not be much lessened. When the country bankers are released from the obligation of paying their notes in gold, it cannot be expected that they will retain the same amount in their coffers as at present, but will most probably only keep such a quantity as will suffice to supply the wants of their immediate customers; the consequence of which must be, that a great want of small money will be felt throughout the country; and as that can only be obtained (except as a favour) at the Bank or its branches, bank notes will be continually sent in for payment, and thus cause a never-ceasing demand for gold at the Bank. If the branches are obliged to pay the parent notes as well as their own, it may in some measure obviate the difficulty of obtaining small money at those places where they are situated. But this will also tend, in a great measure, to weaken the resources of the Bank, by obliging it to keep a large stock of sovereigns at each of its branches, to meet any sudden demand which may arise. I also think it may place the Bank in great danger of a sudden demand for gold at any of its branches, by any set of persons who may wish to operate upon the political affairs of the country by a run upon the Bank; a larger quantity of notes might be collected together, and presented for payment, than it was at that moment prepared to meet; and thus the branch might be obliged

temporarily to suspend its payments. What the effect of such an occurrence upon the Bank and the rest of its branches would be, I think must be obvious to every one!

If the branches are *not* obliged to pay the parent notes, and the country is to be dependant upon the supply of gold it can obtain in payment of branch notes, and the very partial and limited issues of country bankers, the quantity in circulation will very soon be so much reduced as to cause great inconvenience in making payments under 5*l.*; as it seems an obvious consequence, that when the branches find a continued run upon them for payment of their notes, they will restrict the quantity issued, and thus put it out of the power of persons to obtain gold in a sufficient quantity. If the Bank had been allowed to issue 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes, the inconvenience which is *even now* felt by the shopkeepers in finding change against the larger ones, would have been in some measure obviated, and the constant demand for gold prevented in the ordinary course of every day's transactions. But even this, great as would have been the convenience to the country, would not guard the Bank against a run caused by commercial or political excitement; and, should such a case arise, I much fear that gold, being attainable only at the Bank or its branches, will have a tendency to make a run much more severe than under the old system. The run will now be upon the Bank itself, and not broken in the least by any interposition of the country banker, to whom many persons might have been placed under such obligations, that a sense of gratitude would restrain them from doing any thing which might cause him inconvenience; but the Bank, acting upon fixed rules, and never affording any accommodation without security to the last shilling, can have no such feelings to rely upon, which, added to their general unpopularity, will have a great tendency to increase the run upon them; and thus at once destroy all that security against panics which Ministers suppose will be the result of this measure.

The repeal of the Usury Laws upon short dated bills is one of those half measures which seem intended to pass an indirect censure upon the laws themselves, and at the same time to be a convenient method of exposing the productive classes to an exorbitant rate of interest in times of distress, and protecting the landed interest and unproductive classes at their expense. It will also tend very much to increase the number of fictitious bills of short dates, and thus expose the honest and industrious tradesmen to losses from the villainy of those who will make a trade of circulating that description of paper. Like most other half measures, I fear the evil arising from it will more than counterbalance the benefit, and that it will eventually throw discredit upon that very description of bills, the discounting of which it is intended to facilitate.

By the outline given of the new Bill for the regulation of private and Joint Stock Banks, it appears that the monopoly of the Bank of England is to be preserved to nearly its present extent: of this I think the country has just reason to complain. Why is Banking, as a business, to be placed under such restriction as, practically, to give a monopoly of it to the Bank and London bankers? for so long as the law remains in its present or proposed state, no rival banks of more than six partners can be established in the metropolis, or within sixty-five miles of it. From the correspondence which has passed between Lord Althorp and the Directors, it appears that twenty-five miles was the distance first proposed, but that it was extended to the old distance at the instance of the latter, thus giving another proof that when a monopoly has been once established, it must reign without a rival; and that to make a successful inroad into its exclusive privileges, is truly an Herculean labour. In Scotland, the system of large Joint

Stock Banks has been found to answer extremely well, and they have acted as checks upon each other, in preventing any undue issues of paper by any one bank. I think Ministers ought to explain what is the great difference in the air and constitution of Edinburgh and London, that makes the same thing a benefit in one and an evil in the other; and also what wonderful properties are contained in the river Tweed, that a one-pound note which, on its northern bank, is considered the source of prosperity and happiness, should be converted, in its passage, into that of misery and ruin.

The effect of the regulation requiring those Joint Stock Banks which issue their own notes to deposit 50 per cent., and those which issue bank notes, 25 per cent. of their *subscribed capital*, in the hands of Government, must be to make all such banks pay up the whole of their capital: this would, of itself, be a great benefit, and tend, in a great degree to check the mania which at present seems fast increasing, of establishing banks with a large *nominal* capital, but only a very small per centage paid up. But upon the advantage of depositing so large a portion of their capital in the hands of Government, I entertain very great doubts. It must restrict the accommodation which might be given to the public, in proportion to the portion of capital so deposited; and in times of panic and difficulty that part not being available, may place the banks in a very awkward situation; and in case of particularly a political excitement, become so totally unavailable, as to cause a suspension of payments. I also think that so large an amount of capital being deposited with Government, may tend to place the whole of the banking concerns of the country so much under the influence of the Minister of the day, that were he base enough to make use of the power thus placed in his hands, it might be made a very powerful engine in depriving the people of their political rights and liberties.

In conclusion, I think the country has great cause to be disappointed with the measure, as not being of that advantageous nature it had a right to expect from those Ministers who were the authors of so bold and glorious a measure as the Reform Bill, the spirit of which, I grieve to see, has not been followed up by their subsequent proceedings. One of those monopolies which have so long been restraining our commercial energies is to be confirmed with the same, if not increased privileges; and that anomaly in our system of legislation, an united kingdom with different monetary laws in all its parts, is still to remain to perpetuate the injury already inflicted by it.

W.H.H.

ABUSE OF POWER OVER UNFORTUNATE DEBTORS IN SPUNGING HOUSES.

"The wrongs which are committed by the laws are often greater than those which are committed against the laws."—SIR WM. MEREDITH.

SIR,

Dublin, June 8, 1833.

There is in this city a prison appropriated, I understand, exclusively to the confinement of debtors, but conducted on principles altogether at variance with those of justice or mercy; and I am willing to believe equally unsanctioned by the laws of the land. This worse than Bastile in miniature, is called "The Sheriff's prison," but is also designated "The Sheriff's *Spunging* house," for such is the purpose to which it is actually applied.

On the first introduction of an unfortunate debtor to this place, he is inducted to his lodgings in the "hotel," a room about sixteen feet square, which is to answer the several purposes, of parlour, kitchen, and bedchamber: for the privilege of occupying a pallet in this apartment, he has to

pay 2s. per night, exclusive of other charges; amounting to about one pound per week, in the whole, or 52*l.* per year rent for this *superb* apartment. This you will think pretty well, for a room sixteen feet square, but what will you think of his having to share this room with five, ten, or sometimes fifteen partners, all subject to the same charges as himself? Supposing the average number to be only five, here is 182*l.* annual rent extorted for this filthy cell. Of these cells there are perhaps thirty or forty; but as most of them have neither bed, table, chair, nor other convenience, the rent is proportionately reduced, and varies, from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* per week for each cell. But, on what principle of justice can any person be charged for the occupation of a cell, to which the laws consign him, or be subjected to the most oppressive extortion in that very prison in which he is incarcerated solely for the want of means to pay his engagements without? It is the climax of injustice and oppression, and illustrates the motto I have placed at the head of these observations.

To this prison there is but one small yard; so that, if the inmates desire to take either air or exercise in it, the respectable portion of them must share it with the profligate, the vulgar, and the depraved; the sober with the drunkard; the modest woman with the prostitute. In this small yard are three small conveniences, each about two feet wide: as they are common to all, I need not assert they are liable to become, and do become, most filthy and disgusting receptacles, imperatively requiring frequent, if not daily, cleansing; yet, I am informed by respectable persons confined in this prison, for weeks, nay months, that they never recollect these places to have been either washed or white-washed: this, in my estimation, is the infliction of a most cruel and wanton punishment on the respectable but unfortunate inmates of this place. But this is by no means the worst in "the secrets of this prison house;" and I shall relate a circumstance which occurred but a few weeks since, as illustrative of this observation:—

A lady of large property and high respectability was consigned to the Sheriff's prison, on an engagement bearing her signature, for a large amount, but which she alleged to be a forgery, and refused to pay; the lady was most venerable in her appearance, and, as I heard say, upwards of ninety years of age. *She was assigned her quarters in the cell with a common prostitute!!!*

Some of the inmates of the prison were indignant; they remonstrated with the jailer, Mr. Wood, an Ex-Sheriff of this city, as I am informed, and brother to Alderman Wood, of London; the remonstrance was at once attended to, and other quarters were assigned her; but it is a deep injustice to be subjected to such insults and indignities.

To whom the system, upon which this infamous prison is conducted, is attributable, or who derives the large revenues extorted from misfortune and profligacy within its walls, I am not fully informed; it may be the subject of future enquiry, and communication to "THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW:" but what I have stated is, I expect, sufficient to prove that one stone should not be left on another of this abominable receptacle, unless an immediate change were to be adopted in its government, or the purposes to which it is applied.

H.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are happy to give publicity to the powerful exposure of an abomination that ought not to be tolerated for a single day; and we sincerely hope that this exposure will lead to its instant reformation. As we have no fears of local authorities, and no private interests to serve, we shall be equally ready to give publicity to similar exposures of local abuses, from other quarters, provided only, that the letters are short—temperately written—and the truth of the statements guaranteed by the real names and addresses of the parties writing us.

PASSAGE ROUND THE STORMY CAPE, SUBSEQUENTLY
CALLED THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.*

SPIRIT of Gama! (*) round the Stormy Cape,
Bestriding the rude whirlwind as thy steed,
The thunder-cloud thy car, thy spectre shape
Gigantic; who upon the gale dost feed,
And drink the water-spout,—thy shroud the skies;
Thy sport the south and vast Atlantic Sea;
Thine eye, the lightning's flash: awake! arise!
From out the deep, in dread and awful sov'reignty!

Now hast thou risen! By heaven it is a sight
Most godlike, grand, and glorious to behold;
Three elements contend; and fierce in fight
As those (b) who warr'd with mighty Jove of old.
Oh, God! if any doubt thy being,—or rate,
With vain and impious mind, at nought thy power,
So may it be such daring sceptic's fate,
To pass 'The Cape of Storms' when angry tempests lower.

Dost note the gathering clouds, as on through heaven
They speed their midway flight, 'twixt sea and skies;
Like to the first-born by the Archangel driven
On earth, with flaming sword, from Paradise? (c)
—Dost mark the spirit-stirring of the deep,
As onward sweeps the stormy hurricane,
Rous'd, like a roaring lion, from his sleep,
That wildly stares around, and shakes his shaggy mane?

* 'A.D. 1486.—Captain Diaz, a Portuguese, passed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of "The Stormy Cape;" but King John II., of Portugal, who saw more fully the importance of that discovery, styled it the Cape of Good Hope.'—*Modern History*.

(*) Vasco di Gama, the first who sailed round Africa, by the Cape of Good Hope, to the East Indies.

(b) 'The Titans,' Saturn and others, forty-five in number, who warred against Jupiter.

'As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
'Titania, or earth-born, that warr'd on Jove.'—*Milton*.

(*) Genesis, chap. iii. Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' book xii.

Nor doth he wake in vain. From his abode,
 Hath Ocean risen in terrible array;
 Magnificent, as when the voice of God ^(d)
 Call'd forth the world from chaos into day!
 'Tis night,—and now the tempest-shrouded bark,
 With surge-lash'd crest, upborne aloft doth ride
 Upon the heaving billows, vast and dark,
 And braves, as did the Patriarch's ark, ^(e) the whelming tide.

O God! it is a fearful sight! and all around
 Is dismal, drear, and dark—both near and far—
 Save when, to make the darkness more profound
 And visible, some pale and twinkling star
 Peeps, for an instant, forth, and then, as 'twere
 In fear recedes;—or the phosphoric dash
 Of wild, long sweeping waves, with horrid glare,
 Lights up the dread abyss, and shines along the splash.

And waste of waters, like to the 'pale horse,' ^(f)
 Whom Death shall ride upon that awful day,
 When sun and moon, and stars, have run their course,
 The world, and time ^(g) itself, be swept away!
 —And now the waning moon would fain forth shine,
 And through the heavens pursue her wonted track:
 But three wild warring elements combine
 At once in unison, and drive her rudely back!

Didst hear that crash,—tremendous as the roar
 Which burst on Sinai's summit, touching heaven,
 When by the Lord, on that all-sacred shore,
 To man in thunder were his mandates ^(h) given?
 Didst mark of that destructive element,
 'Promethean' named, the fork'd and lurid light,
 With vivid flash, from heaven directly sent,
 Like the lit flame ⁽ⁱ⁾ which struck the apostate Saul in night?

^(d) Genesis, chap. i. Ibid., book vii.

^(e) Genesis, chap. vii. v. 17. 'And the waters increased, and bare up the ark.'

^(f) Apocalypse, chap. vi. v. 8. 'And I looked, and behold a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him.'

^(g) Ibid., chap. x. v. 5, 6. 'And the Angel sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, that there should be time no longer.'

^(h) Exodus, chap. xix. v. 16, 18. 'And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightning, and a thick cloud upon the Mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.'

⁽ⁱ⁾ Acts, chap. ix. v. 3, 4. 'And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus; and suddenly there shined about him a light from heaven, and he fell to the earth: and he was for three days without sight.'

Hark to the rending of the storm-split sail,
 And mark the reed-like quivering of the mast;
 List ! list ye to the howling of the gale,
 Dreadful as the Archangel's trump^(j) its blast !
 On such a night, the twelve Disciples cried
 In fear, and roused the Saviour from his sleep !
 Jesus arose, the elements to chide ;
 ' Silence, ye angry winds ! and peace, thou troubled deep !' ^(k)

So spake the Son of God ! and thus allay'd
 The storm which howl'd upon the Assyrian shore.
 Prompt at his call, the tempest's rage obey'd,
 The winds were hush'd, the waters ceased to roar ;
 —When royal Canute once, ^(l) with sceptred hand,
 And robed in pride of earthly majesty,
 Forbade the sea to dare to lave the land,
 The wild waves rose in sport, and roll'd all heedless by !

Jehovah ! What is man compared to thee ?
 Or son of man, in mockery of sense,
 That he should dare assume the Deity ?
 Oh, man ! would'st learn to know thy impotence,
 Thy littleness and inferiority ?
 Come, hie thee to these regions of the storm,
 Behold the face of God upon the sea,
 And worship in the gale his dread Almighty form !

But see the darkling spirit of the night,
 That brooding safe upon the wat'ry plain,
 Flies at the approach of thee, ethereal light !
 Awaking now the universe again !
 The sea-boy wet, rude nursling of the blast,
 Whose sleep was cradled in the dashing spray,
 And rock'd upon ' the high and giddy mast,'
 Regardless of the storm, unseals his eyes with day.

(j) Apocalypse.

(k) St. Matthew, chap. viii. v. 24, et seq. ' And behold there arose a great tempest in the sea ; but he was asleep. And his Disciples came and awoke him, saying, Lord save us, or we perish. Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea ; and there was a great calm.'

(l) ' He ordered a chair to be brought, and, as the waves approached, he said, in an imperious tone, "Thou, sea, art under my dominion, I charge thee approach no farther, nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." He even sat some time in seeming expectation of submission ; but, as the sea still advanced towards him, and at last began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers and observed, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent, and that power resides only with one Being, in whose hands are the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."'
 —*Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

Ye who would further seek to know of light,
Go, read it as recorded in the page
Of that immortal bard, ^(m) bereft of sight
Himself,—the godlike Homer of his age!
Oh! for one spark of that celestial flame,
That inspiration, once to Milton given,
Which lit his way to never-dying fame,
The fire, the pomp, and prodigality of Heaven!

In dread magnificence the lurid sun
Now pierces through the tempest-troubled sky,
And drives the thunder-clouds dark rolling on—
As Satan and his rebel tribe ⁽ⁿ⁾ were seen to fly
Before the arm of God!—No streaks
Of orient purple tinge announce his rise;
In solitary splendour he awakes,
And seizes, as by storm, at once on all the skies!

Didst mark the whale that dash'd along the deep?
Hugest of all the ocean-born that roam
Like that Leviathan, whom once, asleep,
The mariner, (as on through 'Norway's foam' ^(o)
He steer'd his rude and shatter'd skiff,) at night,
Mistook for land, so vast and still he seem'd,
And anchor'd thus,—then rose in wild affright,
When morning's dawn-upon the mighty monster beam'd!

Again he comes! gigantic as the beast
Of old, that God in mercy sent to save
The prophet Jonah ^(p) from the foamy yeast
Of waves—his else unknell'd, unshrouded grave!
Three days and nights the slimy monster sped
His way, as thus the 'chosen of God' he bore,
By 'raging floods' and 'seas uncompassed,'
Then cast him all unscathed upon the Syrian shore.

Hark to the sea-mew's wild and piercing shrieks,
As round the strong-ribb'd bark they hover nigh!
Now o'er the wave's white foam they skim their beaks,
Now far away they speed, and seek the sky.
—But mark the might and majesty of motion
Of him ^(q) who sweeps, cloud-cleaving, from the height
Of heaven,—it is the Condor ^(r) of the ocean,
So nobly doth he soar aloft, so bold his flight!

(m) 'Paradise Lost,' book iii.

(n) 'Paradise Lost,' book vi.

(o) Ibid. book i.

(p) Jonah, chap. i. ii.

(q) The Albatross, 1811.

(r) The largest description of eagle known.

The aspirations of this bird arise
 Above those eagles, that are seen afar
 O'er Chimborazo, (s) loftiest in the skies
 Of Andes—'giant of the western star!'
 From mountain on to mountain let them urge
 Their narrower flight, and habitations change:
 His resting-place the South Pacific surge,
 All heaven his eyrie, (t) and immensity his range!

Against the conquest-crown'd Dictators' sway (u)
 From Sardis, when the noble Cassius (v) drew
 His legions forth, to battle's stern array—
 E'en such a bird it was, that hovering flew
 Upon his 'former ensign,'—then would feed
 From out the soldier's hands, and flapping fly
 His broad-extended wings, (x) that seem'd to lead
 The embattled Romans on to certain victory!

But at Philippi (y) sought—he then was gone;
 And vultures, crows, and kites were seen instead!
 For those whom hope of conquest had flush'd on,
 Now vanquish'd lay—the dying and the dead!
 'Twas such a bird, all wild and young, that rose
 When Swedish Charles, with 'soul of fire,' (z) went forth,
 And 'frame of adamant,' (aa) mid polar snows,
 To plant his standard, on the steeple (bb) of the north.

But, when the fickle fortune of the war, (cc)
 As hist'ry tells, on dread Pultowa's day,
 Forsook the warrior-king and woo'd the Czar,
 The bird had wing'd his eagle-flight away!

(s) Chimborazo, the most majestic and lofty of the Andes. It has a circular summit 22,000 feet, or above four miles, high. The bulk of Chimborazo is so enormous, that the part which the eye embraces at once, near the limit of the snows, is 22,968 feet. With the exception of the Himalaya Mountains, Chimborazo is the highest known mountain in the world.

(t) The place where birds of prey build their nests, and hatch.

(u) Augustus and Antony.

(v) 'You know that I held Epicurus strong,
 And his opinion,—now, I change my mind,
 And partly credit things that do presage.
 Coming from Sardis, on our former ensign
 Two mighty eagles fell, and there they perch'd,
 Gorging and feeding from our soldiers' hands,
 Who to Philippi here consorted us:
 This morning are they fled away and gone;
 And in their steads do ravens, crows, and kites,
 Fly on our heads—their shadows seem
 A canopy most fatal.'—*Julius Caesar*.

(z—aa) Dr. Johnson's 'Vanity of Human Wishes.'

(bb) Moscow.

(cc) Scarcely any victory was ever attended with more important consequences than that which Peter the Great obtained at Pultowa. The King of Sweden lost

On daring pinion borne—'twas such that o'er
 The modern Hannibal, was seen to fly
 Above St. Bernard's Alpine snows, to soar^(dd)
 To France' proud temple, and unutterably high !

There were who sailed o'er Lybia's arid waste,
 And chief the Pyramids' ^(ee) dim solitude,
 The self-same bird his flight had boldly traced,
 And once before on Lodi's Bridge ^(ff) been view'd—
 To sweep Marengo's ^(gg) field he left the Alps :
 A laurel wreath inscrib'd, he wav'd on high ;
 Then gain'd with nobler speed their snowy scalps,
 The wreath enroll'd, ' NAPOLEON AND VICTORY.'

By Danube's darkly-rolling tide ^(hh) and o'er
 The field of Austerlitz ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ on Elau's ^(jj) plain,
 At Friedland, ^(kk) Jena, ^(ll) Berlin, ^(mm) Ulm, ⁽ⁿⁿ⁾ once more
 All splendid did he re-appear again !
 On Moscow's conflagration,—where the sun
 Turn'd ghastly pale, and sicken'd at the sight,
 The Eagle saw his race of glory run,
 He tried in vain to soar—then shriek'd and sunk in night !

Oh haste ! and look upon yon glorious zone,
 The bow of God, which girdles half the sky,
 The heavenly arch, by the Almighty ^(oo) thrown
 In vast and infinite variety
 Of tints most beautiful—th' Immortal's span,
 To mortal sight display'd in times of yore,—
 The great Creator's covenant ^(pp) with man,
 That whelming waters should o'er land prevail no more !

Thou pledge redeemed ^(qq) of the Deity !
 To man below in consolation sent !
 Thou fairest, brightest vision of the sky !
 I hail thee ! dolphin of the firmament !

in one day the fruits of nine years' successful warfare. He had pressed forward, after a variety of obstructions and delays, occasioned by one of the most intense frosts ever known in those northern regions.

^(dd—nn) See the 'Annals of Posterity,' written by the conquering sword of a hero. Motto of the work, '*Mille succès contre un revers.*'

^(oo—pp) Genesis, chap. ix., v. 12, *et seq.* "I do set my bow in the cloud ; and it shall be for a token for a covenant between me and the earth, and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy."

^(qq) Genesis, chap. ix., v. 16. "And the bow shall be in the cloud, and I will look upon it that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God, and every living thing of all flesh that is upon the earth."

For each succeeding varied change imbues
Thee with a magic colour, that doth shine
More splendid than before—till all thy hues
Proclaim thee God at once, like Him thy form divine!

And, if on earth thy beauty be extreme,
When viewed o'er mountain-height, or level plain;
Far lovelier, far, thy variegated beam,
Expanded o'er the surface of the main!
With either horizon thy resting-place,
Thou makst the sea the mirror of thy light;
The ocean back reflects thy radiant face,
Like lovers each beloved—both gazing with delight.

Jehovah! with thy name commenced my strain!
Jehovah! with thy name it shall conclude:
By those^(rr) alone who track the dark-blue main,
The grandest of thy wondrous works are view'd!
I envy not the man whose inward fire
Of soul expands not, riding o'er the deep—
Whose mental aspirations soar not higher,
With the wild waves, ere night behold him laid in sleep.

For me! whatever dangers yet may lower
Upon my life, or errors be my fate;
So shall it soothe me in my latest hour,
That once, at least, I tried to celebrate
Thy praise, and in thy temple of the sea—
Its canopy, the clear and cloudless sky—
That thus I struck the lyre and bent the knee,
O God! in homage to thy pow'r and majesty!

* * * * *

And be it so—yet haply, if I dare
Uplift a suppliant's voice to heav'n, 'twould be,
That God in mercy might accord my prayer,
To die a hero's death, in planting^(ss) Freedom's tree.

I little reck what soil it be upon,
So Danger lead, and point to Glory's star;
In fighting on the plains of Marathon—
Or 'neath thy banners, noble Bolivar!

(rr) Psalms—Psalm cvii. 'They that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters: these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.'

(ss) 'And England sent her men, of men the chief,
Who taught those sires of empire yet to be—
To plant the tree of life—to plant fair Freedom's tree.'

Gertrude of Wyoming.

For since young Freedom's standard is unfurl'd,
On Athos' crags^(tt) and Pernambuco's^(uu) shore,
Alike to me the east or western world,
So that my soul escape amid the battle's roar.

When life from all its charms is disallied,
When callous gloom succeeds to cherish'd hope;
'Twere nobler far to fall by Freedom's side,
Than thus to live a moody misanthrope,
Or die a heartless suicide; since life
Hath ceased to please, what higher aim to me
Remains, than in the rapture^(xx) of the strife,
To breathe my last upon thine altar, Liberty.

But 'circumstance' is aye one's blight and curse:
It mars our best and brightest hopes—since, then,
It may not be my lot to spur my horse
In Freedom's ranks, and aid my fellow-men,
(Embattled in her sacred cause,) in rending
A tyrant's chains—a bigot's iron crown—
The Patriot's and the Martyr's laurel blending,
And, dying, strike some Selim or Pizarro down.

Methinks the grandest boon to be bestow'd
By Heav'n on man—the shortest, best relief
From all his mortal sufferings, and load
Which life entails of misery and grief—
The termination of his woes, might be,
As now he braves the billows of the Cape,
To grapple with grim Death upon the sea,
The whirlwind for its courser, and the storm its shape.

So might the bark become his coffin's shell!
The murky cloud enshroud him as his pall—
The roar of distant thunder ring his knell—
The lightning's flash illumine his funeral!
His winding-sheet the wild, white, curling wave,—
The rolling billow, as his bier be lent—
The rain his tears,—the ocean for his grave,
The 'Cape of Storms' itself his mighty monument!

(^{tt}) Athos, a high mountain of Greece, in Macedonia.

(^{uu}) See Hist. of South American Conquests.

(^{xx}) '*Certaminis Gaudia*.'—*Tacitus*.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW

And Family Magazine.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 13.

THE morning sitting was occupied with a discussion arising out of a petition on the late conduct of the police, the jury, and the Government, in the recent meeting in Cold Bath Fields, and the death of the policeman who was killed on that occasion. The petition was brought forward by Mr. Roebuck, and was supported by Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Godson, and Mr. Hume; and opposed by Mr. Lamb, the Solicitor-General, and Sir George Grey: but the period of three o'clock arriving, the Speaker left the Chair; so that nothing resulted from the debate, which was to be resumed on the following day.

In the evening, the exclusive subject of debate was on the East India Question, which was opened by Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Controul, whose object was to lay before the House certain resolutions, very generally worded, and not pledging Members who adopted them to any approbation of their details, as the basis of the Bill he should have to bring in on the subject, at an early period. The debate lasted from six o'clock till half past twelve, and the speakers were in the following order of succession:—Mr. Grant, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Majoribanks, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Fergusson, Sir George Staunton, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Hume; the three former, at some length; the three latter, very briefly indeed. As the report of the whole discussion occupies a larger space than we could possibly devote to any one subject, however great the interest we may feel in it in preference to others, we must content ourselves with giving the substance of Mr. Grant's development of the Ministerial plan for the future regulation of the Government and Commerce of India, and Mr. Buckingham's reply: these being the principal speeches of the evening, both in the length of the time occupied by each, and in their being the only two opposed to each other; the rest being in commendation of the Ministerial plan, and Mr. Buckingham's being the only one opposed to it, in any extensive degree. The perusal of these two will, therefore, put the reader in possession of the chief arguments for and against the measure; and with the assistance of the shorter sketches that will be given of the other speeches also, will leave nothing material untold.

As a part of the history of the debate, it should be mentioned that the House was very slightly attended, there not being 100 Members present during any portion of the time; the subject having little or no admixture of party or pecuniary interests affecting the Members of the House, to draw them down to their places: besides which, the long and weary sittings of the three previous evenings, had so exhausted many, that any excuse for absence was readily seized and acted on. Owing to these combined causes, it was the most courteous and attentive sitting that we have ever witnessed. There was not one cry of "Question" throughout the whole evening,—not a single symptom of impatience, or a solitary murmur of discontent. The characteristic of the House was apathy and indifference; and the stillness and repose during the whole course of the night, formed a striking contrast to the fierce and angry strife and contention, by which the proceedings, on questions of more personal and immediate interest, are agitated.

‘Mr. C. GRANT rose, and said that he was then about to address the Committee in conformity to the notice which he had given a few days since, of his intentions to bring before Parliament the subject of the East India Company’s Charter. He was persuaded that all who heard him would agree in his assertion that the subject was second to none in importance: it had lately occupied the attention of the country and of the House; and he might, indeed, go so far as to say that, with reference to the vast territory, and the millions of human beings, whose happiness and welfare were concerned, the question of East India policy claimed priority in point of importance over every other question. At the same time, he was aware that the subject of itself failed to excite that strong interest which many others did, in the breasts of Members of that House, as well as of the people in general; and for that reason he felt himself peculiarly entitled to the indulgence of the House, whilst he entered into the details which were necessary, and which, in some respects, were tedious, but in regard to which he felt justified in expressing a hope that the House would do their duty, and sedulously give up their attention to the subject before them.

‘There had been many complaints made of the manner in which the affairs of the East India Company had been conducted, and more particularly of its political government of the people of that country; but he was prepared to contend that the people there had never, during any reign, with, perhaps, the exception of that of one of their native Sovereigns, experienced so many advantages, or so large a share of the more substantial blessings of good government, or the security of their property and the enjoyment of personal liberty, and the impartial administration of justice, as they experienced on the whole from the administration of the Government of the East India Company. There were many, he knew, charged the East India Company with not having taken pains to improve the moral condition of the people of India, and their advancement to civilisation. He was prepared to deny that assertion. He did not intend to defend many acts of the East India Company’s agents prior to the time of Lord Cornwallis’s administration in India, nor some since; but generally since that time the policy of the East India Company had been marked by the grant of a succession of blessings, in a country which had been so long open to the incursions of cruel periodical invaders, and liable to be trampled upon by successive tyrants, leaving to the peaceable and well-affected no security for life or property, and to the vanquished no hope of mercy. For the

subjects of this Crown in India, it was proper that they should have a Government, not of a brilliant but morbid activity, but one which would give to them that repose, tranquillity, and security, which they, as a people, peculiarly demanded and required.

‘It had been said, what evidences were there of any improvement having taken place in the moral condition of the natives? The answer, he thought, on the part of the Company, would be found to be most victorious and triumphant: it was true that for a time the natives had not participated in many advantages which were reserved for the privileged class, nor were they advanced to office under the East India Company’s Government; but within the last twenty years the natives had grown a highly improved race, and had acquired a political existence. They had obtained rights, they understood the value of fixed laws, and participated in all the advantages certain to result from so important a moral change. Twenty years ago it was never dreamed of that there should be a renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, in which one of the stipulations of the treaty recognised expressly the political existence of the Indian population.

‘There was another reason to which this improvement might be traced; he alluded to the mode of exercising the patronage of the Government in that country—a subject upon which, he would grant, the House and the public were extremely sensitive. No plan, he believed, had yet been devised, calculated, in the opinion of practical men, to meet all the difficulties of this question. It was a most important consideration that India should not be the victim of, or exposed to, the influence of political passions and party ambition in England. No injury would possibly be greater or more likely to impede the progress of information and improvement in the people of India than that they should be rendered a prey to the agitation of party feuds or the ambitious contests for power at home, so constantly succeeding, at periods, each other.

‘Upon the whole, then, this Government thought it would be the wiser course to continue the administration of that country in the East India Company, whose political authority had been so mildly and happily exercised there so many years. Any other would, it was apprehended, be liable to the same inconveniences now experienced, and pregnant with many evils unknown to its present form of Government.

‘It had been acknowledged and felt as a great inconvenience that the trade of the country should be in the hands of its Government. And it was not to be doubted that when the trade of a country was annexed to its Government, it must continually be the result, that, in the conflicting interests of parties, the private trade would be overwhelmed with ruin. The union of the trade with the Government in this instance, was calculated to give a wrong and erroneous view of the country as well as of the Government. The object of the first was mercantile profit, which was a spot upon, and must ever mar, the character of a Government. The East India Company at home formed no efficient control over these matters. Its members, deriving their dividends from the common fund of the commerce and revenue of the Company, were rendered thereby quite indifferent, if not already, by their remoteness from the scene of action, incapable of examining into the state of our possessions in India.

‘The Company had long possessed an exclusive trade to China; that to India had been given up for several years. The question now was what was to be done with this trade, so as to promote the welfare and convenience of this country under her altered maritime relations? On this subject the voice of the people had been heard; and though loud, it was not the

clamour of the moment. It had been formed upon examination and observation. It was now settled, by the course of events during the last ten or fifteen years that the interdiction to the public of the trade to China could no longer be upheld. The trade to China must now be considered to have arrived at its natural termination. If it were not obvious, from these causes, that it should cease, there were other causes which rendered it not less necessary that the exclusive trade to China should no longer remain with the East India Company. Amongst these the strongest was the rapid diminution of the profits of that trade to the Company. The Company had, in consequence of the rapid diminution of its profits on the exclusive trade to India, felt disposed to give up their exclusive right to that trade several years ago. The trade to China, some held, should continue, whilst the profit upon it was known to be yearly diminishing; that profit which, in the year 1830, was 5,830,000*l.* was the last year 5,633,000*l.* The state, too, of our political relations with China, the peculiarities of the Chinese character, their national superstitions, their jealousy of the political interference of the Company, had all contributed to bring about a state of things which rendered it necessary the exclusive trade of the Company to China should cease.

‘ In 1817 and 1818, in the Nepal war, an embassy was discovered to exist which gave serious cause of offence, and the Resident was consequently afterwards removed. On the occasion of the Birman war, how astonished must the Chinese yearly caravan have been on the occasion of their visit, to find that the victorious army of the East India Company were in possession of the Burmese capital! That circumstance made on that people and their Emperor a deep impression; but there was a new feature in the aspect of our affairs then. The trade to China had most rapidly been extended since the opening of the trade to India. The great concourse of free-traders to the port of Canton was not without its inconvenience and embarrassment to the merchants regularly trading thither; that trade which in 1814, was not in amount more than 14,000 tons, was in 1826, 60,000 tons. The total value of the import and export trade, by the Company, to China, in 1813 and 1814, was 13,500,000*l.* whilst in 1829 and 1830, it had fallen to 11,500,000*l.* and the private trade, which, in the year 1813, did not exceed 9,000,000*l.*, was in 1830, above 30,000,000*l.* Such was the concourse of people of all nations there at present, that, though not in possession of any territory in the port of Canton, there was now a floating colony. Notwithstanding, there were certainly, by this state of things, chances afforded of embarrassment through conflicting interests there. He candidly confessed he could not, as it was anticipated, foresee that there ought to be any alarm felt at the prospect of opening this trade with China; neither did he see the danger of any sudden revulsion of feeling, which would compel us, after abandoning it, to resume the monopoly.

‘ The Chinese were themselves a great commercial people, whose ships swarmed in all those circumjacent seas, occasionally successful, or meeting with losses on their trading speculations. They had, it appeared, evinced a disposition to alter their system of commercial intercourse, as appeared by a memorial to the Viceroy of Canton by the traders of that city, assuming the necessity of a resident chief of trade at Canton, to regulate the terms of commercial intercourse between the foreign merchant and the subjects of the Celestial Empire. The Viceroy’s answer ran thus:—

“ At present, the last division of the said nation’s Company’s ships is about to leave the port and return home. We, prostrate, beg that you will condescend to confer an edict, enjoining the said nation’s Chief, Majoribanks, early to send a letter home, to communicate it to the said nation’s King; that if, hereafter, the

said nation's Company be dissolved, will there, as heretofore, be appointed a Chief to come to Canton, to have the general management of the affairs of the said nation's foreign merchants and ships, which come to Canton? If no such Chief come to Canton, there will be no concentrated responsibility; and since, if the said nation's country ships and merchants come to Canton to trade, the ships being many, and the men not few, in the event of any silly, foolish, ignorant opposition to, and violation of, the commands of Government, after all, who will be responsible?

"The Celestial Empire's laws and regulations are awfully strict, and will not admit of the least infraction. The said nation must be ordered to make previous and safe arrangements; then, hereafter, public affairs will have a head to revert to, and responsibility will not fall upon bystanders. Thus, it may be hoped, the commerce of the foreign merchants may go on tranquilly, and when the time comes to act, excuses be prevented.

"Whether our simple obscure views be right or not, we, prostrate, submit, and wait until they be examined, the request granted, and orders given to be obeyed. This is really both just and expedient. Should we have to give thanks for the favour of compliance, we, the merchants, will wait till we receive the important commands, and forthwith respectfully transcribe them, and communicate the orders."

'This would show that merchants were not unprepared for the change now about to take place. The Viceroy in his answer said—

"This coming before me, the Governor, according to the proof it affords, I have examined, and thus decide:

"The English nation has heretofore appointed a Chief to come to Canton, for the general management of commercial dealings. If, indeed, after the thirteenth year, the time of the Company be fulfilled, and it be dispersed, the said nation no doubt ought, as before, to appoint a Chief to come to Canton to manage. But what is said in the present statement, about separation or dissolution of the Company, is merely report heard by the said merchants. Whether it be really true or not, still remains uncertain. However, that which is stated arises from public motives concerning the future, and it is incumbent to make previous arrangements.

"As the above-named statement has been presented, I unite the circumstances, and hereby issue an order to the said Hong merchants, that they may forthwith enjoin my commands on the said nation's Chief, early to send a letter home, that if, indeed, after the thirteenth year of Taoukwang, the Company be dissolved, it will, as heretofore, be incumbent to deliberate and appoint a Chief who understands the business to come to Canton, for the general management of the commercial dealings, by which means affairs may be prevented from going to confusion, and benefits remain to commerce."

'From an experiment made by a trading vessel along the shores of China,* to carry on an illicit trade with the Chinese, it was found that wherever she touched, despite of the repugnance of the authorities, the natives attempted to maintain an interchange of commodities, and more particularly to secure a supply of the extract of that weed, not less interdicted by the Emperor, than the Virginian weed was by our James the First. This trade, too, in opium had become so obnoxious to the Emperor, that he had very gravely, and with much sound argument, insisted on the necessity of stopping it altogether; to which his Ministers replied that there appeared to be no other way of effecting this object but by expelling foreigners altogether, a measure totally at variance with the mild policy of the Celestial Empire.

'With respect to the revenue, it was the opinion of many experienced

* Reference will be made in a future page, to the advantages of such a voyage—as this of Commercial Exploration.

officers, that it would be necessary to fix upon a certain size of vessel, or the revenue would be defrauded. He confessed, however, that he was unable to conceive the necessity of fixing a certain size. (Hear, hear.) Another question related to the places which would be permitted to trade to India, and it was still under consideration whether it should be extended to all parts, or whether it should be confined within the East India Company's limits, which were tolerably extensive.

‘There was another matter also, which was connected with the commerce of the East India Company. The raw silks for our manufactories at home were imported from thence by the Company, who had large silk finishers there for the purpose of improving the quality of the silk before it was sent to Europe. The silk so prepared was so essential to manufacturers, that they might be naturally anxious to know what was to become of the supply, as the commercial character of the Company would be closed. Those establishments would still remain. The Government would feel it to be its duty to see that they were not abandoned until they could be transferred into the hands of capitalists, so that there might be no interruption to the supply.

‘He now came to the other part of his case—namely, as to the species of compromise the Government had entered into with the Company. He needed not, he believed, to enter at length into the details of this question. The compromise was simply this. The East India Company were to resign all their rights, property, &c., in the East Indies, and their commercial privileges were to be held in abeyance. Having made over all their property they were to receive from this country an annuity charged upon the territory of India to the amount of 630,000*l.* a year. The property was to be taken in trust, and the proceeds were to be invested in the stocks, in order to supply the annuity. The present dividend of the Company was 630,000*l.*, and it had been much the same for the last forty years. The dividend to be redeemed at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* of annuity. He believed when the proceeds of the property of the Company should be realised, that they would furnish a sufficient capital to supply the requisite dividend. There was also to be a Guarantee Fund of 2,000,000*l.* established, which was to be left to accumulate. This annuity was to continue for the period of 40 years, subject to the contingency, that at the expiration of 20 years, it should be at the option of Parliament to pay the annuity off, at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. But if, at the end of 20 years, the Parliament should deprive the East India Company of the Government of India, the latter would have a right to demand the repayment of their capital: if not, the annuity was to continue for the 40 years. This was the general view of the arrangement that had been entered into.

‘The question, therefore, was, whether they should not come to a compromise, and they had accordingly agreed upon certain propositions, upon the basis of which the agreement was formed; which agreement, he contended, though liberal to the East India Company, was not unjust to any of the parties interested. Neither party complained of it. The East India Company had no right to complain, for they were to receive the same amount of annuity that they had been receiving for the last 40 years. They were, also, to have a Guarantee Fund, and after a given time, were to be entitled to receive back the amount of 12 millions of their capital. On the other hand, the territorial interest could not suffer, for there was to be no increase whatever to the present debt of the country. The agreement was to be effected by a purchase of the debt already existing. He thought also that the feelings of the East India Company should be taken into

consideration. They thought, no doubt, that they were making a large concession to the nation, and at all events he thought it would be wise to make very considerable concessions rather than excite disputes and irritation—(hear, hear.) On every ground, therefore, he presumed to recommend this agreement for the sanction of the British Parliament.

‘He should now draw the attention of the House to another topic—that of the alarm which was expected to prevail, lest the territories of India should not be able to furnish this amount of capital from its revenues. In other words, that the Indian territories would not be able to pay. He admitted that there was at present a deficiency in the revenues of India, but he denied that that deficiency was likely to continue. On the contrary, he thought that they might expect an excess of revenue in that country, at no very distant date. It was a country containing a population of millions—a sea-coast of immense extent—rivers for the most part navigable, and a soil the riches of which had not yet been explored. With all these advantages, it had the additional one that its population, though various in its description, was, for the most part, extremely industrious. It was a country which had enriched all other nations—it was, in fact, a magazine of wealth; and were they to believe that such a country was not competent to meet its own charges?—(hear, hear.) The revenues of India were more subject to fluctuation than those of other nations, but still they had been continually on the increase, and he had little doubt but that in a short time they would increase so rapidly, as to enable them to make such a commutation of taxes in that country, as would relieve them from the pressure to which they were now exposed.

‘It now remained for him to state to the House some other particulars in relation to India which he proposed, with the permission of the House, to introduce into the Bill. These were measures which seemed essential to the good government of India; they involved but few principles, but those principles were great and important, not only to the House, but to the country. They were well known to all who had taken an interest in India, and were supported by all the authorities in India and this country, whose opinion was of any weight. There were, however, many great subjects connected with the state of India, to which he did not mean to call the attention of Parliament. He meant the revenue, and the judicial and military systems. From these great topics he abstained, principally, because the documents with reference to them had so recently been printed. With respect to the military branch, another reason was that the Governor-General was engaged in an extensive reform, and he waited till he received his opinion. He would now refer to the constitution of the Government of India, and aware, though he was, that he had trespassed so long, it was not his intention to enlarge upon the point as long as the nature of the case required, because he did not mean to ask any opinion of this House upon the subject, but wished to state generally what were the alterations proposed, and what were the reasons for those alterations.

‘One alteration, respecting the claims of the Government of India, which he begged to propose, was, that instead of three Presidencies, the number should be four. At present the Government of India consisted of three Presidencies—Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. It had been felt, and it had been expressed very strongly by the authorities in India, and all persons conversant with India, of late years, that in consequence of the great change of circumstances which had taken place, it was impossible for the Governor of Bengal to exercise a proper jurisdiction over the Governors of the western provinces, which had in recent years been added to England, and which were inhabited by a warlike people, who gave occasion for the

constant exercise of the vigilance of the Governor. It was, therefore, felt impossible to do justice, unless these Western Presidencies were formed into a separate Presidency, with a Governor to preside over them. It was felt by many persons that the Governor-General ought to be exempt from local Government; and the question was, whether you would make the Governor of Bengal the Governor-General, as he nominally was, or whether there should be a separate Governor for the Presidency of Bengal, and the Governor-General should be constituted, strictly as his name imported, the Governor-General.

‘It appeared that these subordinate Governments were, in many respects, too independent of the Governor-General. They ought not to be considered as independent principalities, but as under the control of the Governor-General. It was, therefore, proposed to reduce them by the reduction of the Council. This brought him to consider the old Government. He might state that the defects in the internal form of that Government were those which applied to all the subordinate presidencies. There were defects in these three particulars—in the nature of the laws which regulated India; in the undefined power by which those laws were enacted; and in the anomalous and inconsistent nature of the judicature by which those laws were administered. Upon this subject he begged leave to read the opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court:—

“In this state of circumstances no one can pronounce an opinion or form a judgment, however sound, upon any disputed right of persons respecting which doubt and confusion may not be raised by those who may choose to call it in question; for very few of the public, or persons in office at home, not even the law officers, can be expected to have so comprehensive and clear a view of the present Indian system as to know readily and familiarly the bearings of each part of it on the rest. There are English Acts of Parliament especially provided for India, and others of which it is doubtful whether they apply to India wholly, or in part or not at all. There is the English common law and constitution, of which the application, in many respects, is still more obscure and perplexed. Mahomedan law and usage; Hindoo law, usage, and scripture; charters and letters patent of the Crown; regulations of the Governments, some made declaredly under Acts of Parliament, particularly authorizing them, and others which are founded, as some say, on the general powers of Government intrusted to the Company by Parliament, and, as others assert, on their rights as successors of the old native Governments; some regulations require registry in a Supreme Court; others do not. Some have effect generally throughout India; others are peculiar to one presidency or one town. There are Commissions of the Governments, and circular orders from the Nizamut Adawlut, and from the Dewanny Adawlut; treaties of the Crown; treaties of the Indian Governments; besides inferences drawn at pleasure from the application of the *droit public* and the law of nations of Europe, to a state of circumstances which will justify almost any construction of it or qualification of its force.”

‘In some cases the law passed by Government could not take place without the sanction of the Supreme Court; in other cases the sanction of the Supreme Court was not required; and there was also this anomaly, that the Supreme Court being required to protect the natives, their opinion only was required where there were the fewest natives.

‘Some of the most distinguished servants of the Company had returned the papers which were now on the table of the House; and he, therefore, felt it his duty to urge the attention of the House to them. Sir Charles Metcalf, a most distinguished, enlightened, and liberal public servant, stated—

“The only objection that strikes me to the spread of a British Christian population in India, is the existing discordance of the laws by which our English and our native subjects are respectively governed. This objection will, no doubt, in

time be removed,—and the sooner the better—by framing laws equally binding on both parties in all concerns common to both, and leaving to all their own suitable laws in whatever peculiarly concerns themselves alone. The present system of judicature in India, by which the King's Court is rendered entirely separate from the local administration and institutions, and often practically subversive of their power and influence, is fraught with mischief; and that part of the system which makes our native subjects, under some circumstances, liable to the jurisdiction of the King's Court, under some to that of the Company's Court, and under some to that of both, without regard to residence, or any clearly defined limitations, by which our native subjects can know to what laws or Courts they are or are not amenable, is replete with gross injustice and oppression, and is an evil loudly demanding a remedy, which can only be found in a strict local limitation of the powers of his Majesty's Court with regard to the persons and property of native subjects, or in an amalgamation of the King's Courts with the local judicial institutions, under a code of laws fitted for local purposes, and calculated to bestow real and equal justice on all classes of subjects under British dominion in India."

' This was not the opinion of a civil functionary only, it was the opinion of a legal officer—the present Advocate-General. This was also the opinion of Sir Edward Ryan, now Chief Justice of Calcutta. He said distinctly—

" The great extension of the British territories since the Charter of 1774, has given to the Court a range of jurisdiction which, at places remote from Calcutta, can only be considered a mockery of justice, if it be not the means of fraud and oppression. There can be no doubt, therefore, that difficulties and inconveniences are constantly arising from the undefined and uncertain state of the Court's jurisdiction, which are alike perplexing and harassing to the suitors, the Judges, and all who are concerned in the administration of justice."

' He felt it his duty to give the authority of these men, whilst proposing a measure having a tendency to correct these grievances. The next person was Sir Charles Grey, who filled the office of Chief Justice of the Court. He referred to his sentiments on this subject as being of peculiar importance, not only as adverting to the evils of the Supreme Court, but also to another important topic—

" It may be doubted whether the present state of things, which I believe to be unexampled in the history of the world, can last much longer. Throughout the greater part of India, there are to be found some individuals at least of four distinct classes, each of which is supposed to live under a distinct system of law, and to have different rights and different duties, but none of them accurately defined. There are persons born in the British Islands, Hindoos, Mahometans, Asiatic Christians, and, besides all these, there are in many parts foreigners and subjects of Great Britain, who have been born neither in the British Islands, nor in India, as to whom, I believe, there is no one who, consistently with usage, can say, with any just confidence, what law it is which applies to them. Hitherto it has been possible to make a shift; but as the native Christians, British and colonial persons, and foreigners shall increase in numbers and pervade India, a result which must gradually take place, matters may be brought to such a pass as would scarcely be tolerable."

' This observation led him to an important point. He meant the circumstance of the probable increase of Europeans—the increased facility of admission, which, under strictly guarded regulations, it was proposed to give to Europeans. If it were asked why it was necessary to change the system which had hitherto prevailed, and by which, generally speaking, British subjects and Europeans had been excluded from India, he must advert to the very singular and astonishing change that had taken place in the whole character of Indian society. There was nothing in history so remarkable as the development of the feeling of the natives during the last ten years. They now occupied a totally different position. There was a time when it would have been cruelty to admit foreigners into the

society of men insensible of their own rights, incapable of doing justice to them, and not able to appreciate the privileges of British subjects. They have now changed : they were desirous of education ; a love of English literature had sprung up, and they were making rapid strides in all liberal acquirements. He would here again advert to a very remarkable passage of Lord W. Bentinck, than whom no man was better qualified to speak upon the subject. He said—May 30, 1829,

“Recent events, and the occurrences now passing under our eyes, still more clearly justify the persuasion, that whatever change would be beneficial for our native subjects, we may hope to see adopted, in part, at least, at no distant period, if adequate means and motives be presented. I need scarcely mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means, evince for various articles of convenience and luxury purely European. It is in many cases very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals, a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used, in old times, to be distributed amongst beggars and Brahmins, is now, in many instances, devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans ; and generally the amount expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed. The complete and cordial co-operation of the native gentry in promoting education, and in furthering other objects of public utility ; the astonishing progress which a large body of Hindoo youth has made in the acquisition of the English language, literature, and science ; the degree in which they have conquered prejudices that might otherwise have been deemed the most inveterate (the students in the medical class of the Hindoo College under Dr. Tytler, as well as in the medical native school under Dr. Breton, in which there are pupils of the highest castes, are said to dissect animals, and freely to handle the bones of a human skeleton) ; the freedom and the talent with which, in many of the essays we lately had exhibited to us, old customs are discussed ; the anxiety evinced at Delhi, and at Agra, and elsewhere, for the means of instruction in the English language ; the readiness every where shown to profit by such means of instruction as we have afforded ; the facility with which the natives have adapted themselves to new rules and institutions ; the extent to which they have entered into new speculations after the example of our countrymen ; the spirit with which many are said to be now prosecuting that branch of manufacture (indigo) which has alone as yet been fully opened to British enterprise ; the mutual confidence which Europeans and natives evince in their transactions as merchants and bankers ; these, and other circumstances, leave in my mind no doubt that our native subjects would profit largely by a more general intercourse with intelligent and respectable Europeans, and would promptly recognise the advantage of it.”

‘Such were the words of Lord W. Bentinck. But there was another topic connected with the introduction of Europeans, which was also remarkable. Some years ago it was impossible to find a civil functionary who was not strongly against the introduction of Europeans. At this moment, with some few exceptions, all the servants of the Company combined in recommending such an introduction. There were some exceptions, but those persons objected not so much to the intercourse as to admitting the intercourse without proper restrictions. Mr. Elphinstone, whose authority was great, said, if the Government be strong, there cannot be too much facility in the settlement of European capitalists. That was a remarkable opinion from a man peculiarly alive to the dangers of unrestricted intercourse. The next authority was from the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, dated the 1st of January last:—

“Satisfied as we are that the best interests of England and India will be promoted by the free admission to the latter of European industry and enterprise, our persuasion is scarcely less strong, that, with every possible encouragement, the settlement of our countrymen in this country will be far short of the number which is to be desired, whether regard be had to the extension of commerce and agriculture, to the good order of the country, to the prompt, cheap, and equal

administration of good law, to the improvement of the people in knowledge and morals, or to the strength and security of our power."

"He would refer again to the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe upon this very topic. He said---Feb. 19, 1829,

"I have long lamented that our countrymen in India are excluded from the possession of land and other ordinary rights of peaceable subjects.

"I believe that the existence of these restrictions impedes the prosperity of our Indian empire, and, of course, that their removal would tend to promote it.

"I am also of opinion that their abolition is necessary for that progressive increase of revenue, without which our income cannot keep pace with the continually-increasing expenses of our establishment.

"I am further convinced that our possession of India must always be precarious, unless we take root by having an influential portion of the population attached to our Government by common interests and sympathies.

"Every measure, therefore, which is calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions by which it is impeded, must, I conceive, conduce to the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion."

"There was another authority which he begged to quote---a gentleman also of high character---Mr. Bayley, who filled a high situation below that of Governor, who had returned from India, and whose authority was entitled to great weight. Mr. Bayley said, in a minute dated the 31st of December, 1829---"

"Whenever the British Legislature shall see fit to declare that all persons, Europeans or natives, residing in the interior of our provinces in India shall be subjected to the same regulations, and to the same local tribunals, civil and criminal, and shall, by the delegation of sufficient powers for that purpose, enable the British Government in India to modify and improve our judicial institutions to the extent which may from time to time be found necessary, from that moment the unrestricted admission of European British subjects, and the free permission to acquire and hold landed property on an equal footing with the natives of India, may be conceded, not only without inconvenience, but with most important benefits to India, as well as to Great Britain."

"He took the opportunity of referring to another distinguished servant, Mr. Holt Mackenzie. It was to be observed that Mr. Bayley referred to the adaptation of the judicial system of the country---both to Europeans and natives. Unless there were identity of judicature for these two classes, he appeared to think there ought not to be unrestricted facility of admission, but he thought it would be highly to the advantage of the country if such unrestricted admission were to be obtained by identifying the system of judicature. It was important to see what the Judges of the Supreme Court said upon this subject, he meant the identification of Europeans and natives by placing them under the same laws and tribunals. Sir Edward Ryan said, in a minute dated October 2, 1829---"

"To leave the European owner or occupiers of lands, or the manufacturer, at great distances from Calcutta amenable only to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or subject only to the Mofussil Courts, with the limited powers which they at present possess, would tend to such a system of fraud and injustice, and leave the natives so entirely at the mercy of the settlers, that I think it would be an insuperable obstacle to the allowing of Europeans to settle in the interior. I am, therefore, satisfied that all persons in the interior of the country must be subject to the Courts of the district which they inhabit."

"It was proposed, with regard to the admission of Europeans, that all Europeans should have the liberty of going to the country, on condition of recording their names with the municipal authorities of the place; that

they should have permission to proceed from the Presidency where they landed into the provinces called the old settled provinces, without any licence from the Governor, but not into the provinces more newly settled, in consequence of the English being there less known. But whatever might be the regulations of the Governor-General in Council, in consequence of the power given to him, he wished it to be understood that natives and Europeans were to be placed under the same law. This was an indispensable necessity, because it would, at first, not be able to attain complete identification. He wished to lay it down as an incontrovertible principle that, in future, the same law should be administered in all tribunals. With respect to the power of the British to hold land, a restriction had formerly existed, but that had now been abandoned. Mr. Edmonstone said in his evidence in 1832—

“In fact, the question with regard to the admission of Europeans as landholders seems to be already decided, the local Government having, without previous reference to the authorities at home, come to a resolution to allow Europeans to hold leases of sixty years’ duration; that arrangement has been confirmed by the authorities at home, with the limitation of the leases to twenty-one years instead of sixty. In fact, it seems to me that the subject is no longer open to decision; that the momentous question of admitting Europeans to establish themselves as landholders in the interior of the country, is disposed of by that resolution, and the limited confirmation of it, to which I was entirely adverse.”

“The Governor had established many restrictions, which had operated as an impediment, and which defeated the object of the Legislature. It was perfectly right to give Englishmen warning that they would be exposed to dangers and difficulties, and fraud and litigation, from the natives, but he thought it advisable that it should be communicated in some other means, rather than be embodied in regulations, the effect of which was to supersede their own object. An Englishman was to be in India under licence, and if you pleased, under a strong and arbitrary Government, but yet under a Government of law.* If he were to suffer punishment, it should be by the sentence of the law, and Government should be precluded from exercising its power except by the sentence of the law. It was essential to impress upon the minds of the people that, after all, this species of regulated liberty must be in connection with the interests of the natives—must be in suberviency with the interests of the natives. Upon this subject he would quote the opinion of Sir Charles Grey:—

“If the provinces are to be opened to British settlers, let it be universally understood, so that no doubt may remain, nor any ground for subsequent reproach, that they go to live under a despotic and imperfect but strong Government;† that they carry with them no rights but such as are possessed there by the natives themselves, and that it is impossible at present to give them either that security and easy enjoyment of landed property, or those ready remedies for private wrongs, which more regularly constituted Governments afford. A tolerable system of criminal judicature, we believe, might even at present be established throughout the greater part of India.”

“He would not take up the time of the House by drawing a comparison between the slavery in our East Indian dominions and our West Indian colonies, because he believed it was known to most hon. Members that they were essentially different. With regard to the slavery in India, he admitted that it was more severe in some districts than in others; but this arose from mistaken notions of religion, and other causes of a local description. What

* An arbitrary Government—and a Government of Law—are things so opposite, that they can never be the same.

† Despotic Governments are always the weakest—Witness,—Turkey, Spain, Portugal, &c.

he meant to propose was the appointment of Commissioners on the spot, to inquire into the best mode of removing slavery in India.

‘His next resolution would be that there should be but one Commander-in-Chief in India. He would further propose a remedy to that which he conceived to be an existing evil; that was imposing the whole load of ecclesiastical duty upon one bishop. (Hear, hear.) He thought it right that there should be bishops at Madras and Bombay as well as other extensive districts. The right hon. Member said he should conclude by moving—

“That it was expedient that all his Majesty’s subjects should have the liberty of trading to the East Indies and China, subject to such commercial and political regulations as the Government may feel it necessary to impose.

“That the East India Company should surrender all the assets or claims of the Company to the Crown, and that the Crown should take upon itself all the obligations and liabilities of the Company.

“That the Government of India should, in all other respects, remain in the East India Company, subject to such regulations as Government might think proper to prescribe. (Hear, hear.)”

‘Mr. C. W. W. WYNN stated that he had ever been of opinion that East Indians, of whatever blood, ought to be eligible to all offices under the Government, and he now came to the conclusion that the whole trade of the country, including China, ought to be open to all British enterprise. He regretted that the system pursued towards India for a number of years past was defective, and before he went further, he wished to know what was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman with respect to the number of the East India Directors.

‘Mr. GRANT said he could give no further answer than that it was intended generally to reduce the number of Directors, but he could not say to what extent.

‘Mr. C. W. WYNN proceeded—It was a question of no small importance which he had put to the right hon. gentleman. He well remembered that, when he was President of the Board of Controul, four out of six of the Chairmen of the East India Company, with whom he had to transact business, had never been in India, and necessarily could know but little of the affairs of that country. It was idle to attempt a comparison between the management of our West India Colonies and the Government of a mighty empire, such as that of India. He would place the Government of India in efficient hands, but he would recommend that the number of Directors should be less than they were at present. He would recommend that no proprietor should be eligible as a Director until after twelve years’ residence in India; and further, that the period of his Directorship should be limited to four years, instead of being, as it now was, (no matter what people might say) an appointment for life. At present it was known that the average age of the Directors was from 68 to 69 years, and there was an instance of a person of fourscore years who (though he certainly retained his faculties) had been proposed as Chairman of the East India Company, and would have been appointed, had he lived. From the period of his appointment to the Board of Controul, he had thought, and he was still of opinion, that a certain number of civil appointments in India ought to be placed as situations of fair competition at our public Universities. (Hear, hear.) In addition, he would say that the Members of Council in India ought to have a certain influence, and that the other local establishments ought to have a proportionate power. Referring to another point, he would say, that a proprietor ought not to be eligible to the situation of a Director, merely upon the amount of stock which he held, so much as because of his information

and general acquaintance with the business of the Company. He was afraid it was not probable that the question should receive the consideration which it required during the present Session. So far as his own opinion went, he approved generally of the plan; but he doubted extremely the expediency of continuing the Court of Directors as at present constituted. He thought it would be better and more analogous to their new situation and functions, that the members should be simply political officers, totally removed from matters of trade and commerce.

‘Mr. MAJORIBANKS next rose, but from the position which the hon. gentleman occupied, as well as the low tone in which he spoke, scarcely an entire sentence was heard in the gallery. The following is the purport of the few of his observations which the reporter could catch.—With respect to a new modelling of the Court of Directors, he entirely differed from the right hon. gentleman who had preceded him. He had seen the system in operation, and the manner in which it worked proved its value. He believed that no persons in the world bore a higher character than the civil servants of the East India Company, and he was sure that that body had been very instrumental in upholding the name and character of Great Britain. He was no advocate for monopoly; and he was convinced that, under the proposed change, India would present a wider field for British enterprise and industry than could at present be contemplated. With regard to the efforts made to convert the Chinese, he must say that the missionaries had gained much more credit for instructing them in the improved manufacture of gunpowder, than for their efforts in the diffusion of religion; for the truth was that they got quarrelling among themselves, and the Chinese refused to receive lessons of peace and religion from those who set examples so opposite to their own doctrines.

‘Mr. Lindsay, who made a voyage along the northern coasts of China, found the people everywhere desirous to enter into commercial engagements with England, and was satisfied that if a judicious and independent course were adopted, all difficulties in the way of that commerce would be overcome. All the northern ports were jealous of the monopoly enjoyed by Canton; so that, although we had the jealousy of the Government against us on the one hand, we had the jealousy of the people in our favour on the other; and the people could defeat any Government. (Cheers.) There were two great objects to be kept in view in measures which were undertaken on this subject. The one was to give full and sufficient powers to the British Representatives in China, and the other to obtain, if possible, a better understanding with the Chinese Government. If these objects were effected, the change which was now contemplated would be of the utmost importance, not only to the promotion of one great branch of British commerce, but to a still more important end—namely, the future well-being of many millions of men, who were, at the present moment, involved in a state of comparative ignorance and barbarism—(loud cheers.) He gave his cordial support to the plan of the Government.

‘Mr. C. FERGUSSON said that he had no objection to let the resolutions pass, as they did not appear to bind any person to any particular opinion upon Indian matters. (Hear, hear.) He thought it would be to the convenience of the House if the discussion came on when the Bill should be brought in. If the House were of the same opinion he would sit down, and abstain from the few observations he intended to make. (Hear, hear.) The plan in its present stage, judging from the negotiations and discussion that had taken place, appeared as fair and reasonable an adjustment as could be made.

* The utility of such a voyage as this will be referred to in a future page.

‘Mr. C. GRANT said that the resolutions were so general that they could not commit any person. If the House passed the resolutions, it would enable him to bring in the Bill, and have the whole measure before them at once. (Hear, hear.)

‘Mr. C. FERGUSSON said that no one could object more strongly than he did to any resolution binding the Company to transfer the whole of their assets, unless the terms were laid down.

When Mr. Fergusson resumed his seat, four or five members rose, but the cry being for Mr. Buckingham, the others gave way, and he proceeded to address the House:—

‘Mr. BUCKINGHAM said, that as a suggestion had been made to defer the discussion on the subject to some future period, he felt it due to the House and to himself to explain the grounds on which he deemed it his duty, notwithstanding this suggestion, to proceed with the debate. Had the right hon. Gentleman contented himself with placing the resolutions on the table of the House, unaccompanied by any explanation, he should readily have waived his privilege of addressing them, and postponed the discussion to a future day. But as the resolutions had been accompanied with an able and elaborate speech, defending the ground on which they were based, he felt himself bound to the country to give his approbation of some portions, and his disapprobation of others; and to assign the reasons of his dissent from those portions of them to which he objected. And as the hon. members who preceded him had each enjoyed their due share of the attention of the House, he trusted this indulgence would not be denied to him, who had devoted the best portion of his life to the study of the subject under debate. (Hear, hear, hear.) He should not abuse that indulgence by trespassing at any unnecessary length upon that time to which others had an equal claim with himself. He had formed no outline of a speech—he had brought with him no books to quote—he had provided no documents to read—but he had merely noted down, as he went along, the observations that fell from the right hon. the President of the Board of Control; and to these, and these alone, he would strictly confine himself—his object being not display, not delusion, not retaliation, but a plain, practical, and business-like view of the great question before them, in order to determine by what mode the greatest amount of good to all parties could be promoted in the change they were about to effect. For this purpose he would waive all preliminary, he would discard all ornament—he would appeal only to their reason and their judgment; as, all he desired, was a sound and just conclusion as to the best course to be pursued.

‘The subjects proposed to the consideration of the House, by the right hon. Gentleman, were three—first, the civil and political administration of India; secondly, the commerce with China; and thirdly, the compromise with the East India Company, by which their assent to the proposed new arrangement had been purchased. He would examine each in the order in which they had been introduced to their notice.

‘The right hon. Gentleman began by stating his conviction that on the whole the political administration of the Company in India had been beneficial, and had advanced that country to a higher state of prosperity than it enjoyed under its native princes, and improved the condition of the people. To this he (Mr. Buckingham) felt compelled to offer a direct negative; as no fact was better established on evidence than this—that when the English first obtained settlements on the coasts of India, at Surat, Goga, and Bombay, the country, according to the testimony of Mr. Mill, the able and the only accurate historian of India, was the seat of one

of the most splendid and flourishing monarchies on the face of the globe : while, at present, according to the testimony of Mr. Rickards, one of the ablest of the civil servants, and of Sir Thomas Munro, one of the ablest of the military servants of the Company, the proofs of decline and decay were every where to be seen. According to the former, the system of English rule had reduced the natives to a state, not merely of poverty, but of misery the most abject, in which they were doomed to sow in wretchedness and reap in despair ; and to continue in worse than Egyptian bondage, without a hope of any other deliverance than the grave. According to the latter, whole districts, which he had been appointed to survey, had so fallen off from their original state of prosperity, that for an extent of two hundred miles in length, in the Soondah, he saw only forest and jungle growing-up on land formerly well cultivated, and which, according to ancient revenue accounts, yielded a large annual tribute to the State ; while at present there was nothing to be seen but once cultivated fields turned into barren wastes—and villages, formerly thickly peopled, ultimately uninhabited and abandoned to silent desolation. (Hear, hear.) These were the melancholy proofs of the nature of the Company's rule in India, drawn from the ablest of their own servants. But he would cite a nearer and a much more recent authority—one only a few days old—and falling from the lips of the Secretary to the India Board (Mr. Macauley), whom he had now the pleasure to see before him. About a fortnight ago, in the discussion, at a morning sitting of the House, on the claims of Mr. Hutchinson against the India Company, the principal argument used by the hon. Secretary was, that if these claims were admitted, they would have to be paid, not by the East India Company, but by their native subjects, whom he characterized as "already the most oppressed and heavily taxed race under the sun." It was rather unfortunate that this admission should have been so recently made, as it afforded a striking contrast to the view assumed by the President of the India Board. But its truth was undeniable ; and he would leave the House to judge how it was possible to reconcile the pretended good government of the East India Company with this abject condition of those under their rule. To him it appeared irreconcilable ; and therefore he contended, that as the weight of evidence was wholly in support of the former, and as this corresponded entirely with the result of his own experience in the country, India itself, he felt justified in denying altogether the assumption on which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Grant) had founded his eulogies of the Company's rule.

'As if, indeed, there had been some lurking apprehension of a denial of this assumption, the right hon. Gentleman apologized by anticipation for the inertness of the Company's government, and allowed that it was in its nature sluggish and apathetic ;—its nature was to love repose, to give a sort of passive resistance to innovation, and not to risk too much by change. But it was unfortunate that this sluggishness was only observed when improvement or benefit was to be conferred. If war, or conquest, or spoliation, or plunder, was to be the pursuit, their dormant energies were soon quickened into life—they were not apathetic then ; their love of repose and their hostility to change each disappeared, and they were among the foremost in the activity of their career. (Hear, hear.) It was thus, that the reigns of several of the Governors-General had been called "brilliant administrations" from the vast accessions of territory which they had made by plundering the native princes of their lawful dominions.—It was thus, that having landed on the coasts of India as humble traders, suing as a matter of grace and favour, for a small spot of land whereon to erect a factory, and dispose of their wares, they sought out grounds of quarrel with their unsuspecting and generous benefactors,

and marching from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom, they passed from merchants to sovereigns, and either usurped or overturned every throne, and deposed or exiled every lawful sovereign in the country! (hear, hear). In all these aggressions, there was none of the sluggishness of which the right honourable gentleman spoke; their indolence was only manifested in matters of improvement; and their great hostility to change, and dread of innovation, were reserved for opposition to the progress of Christian missionaries, to Colonization by British settlers, and to the freedom of the press. It was in the same spirit that they refused to recognize the political existence of the natives, as stated by the right honourable gentleman; and he would simply ask the House whether that could possibly be a good government, which refused to make the slightest recognition of any political right, or even political existence, in a people, whom they used for no other purpose than as instruments of production; for which, it was the chief, if not the sole business of their Government, to plunder all their substance, save only the scanty stock which was left in their possession to subsist them for further production, and further plunder still. (Hear, hear). He rejoiced to hear, that the political existence of the Indian people was at length to be clearly recognized; as this first step would lead to others, and their advancement in comfort, intelligence, and happiness, would then go on, he hoped, with accelerating speed.

‘In addition to the pretended excellence of the Company’s Government, which was assigned as a reason for our still leaving the Political Administration of India in their hands; it was said, that it would be dangerous to transfer from them to the Crown the extensive patronage which they now dispensed. It was something new, no doubt, to hear a Minister of the Crown enlarging upon the danger of patronage, and disclaiming, or rather refusing to have it placed at its disposal: but as the noble lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had said, on a former occasion, in that house, that the day for governing by patronage had gone by, it might be thought becoming in his associates to repudiate all claims to its exercise. He would not venture to decide whether it was the excess of disinterestedness, or the love of ease, and the aversion to be troubled with its dispensation (for to dispense patronage satisfactorily was undoubtedly a very troublesome affair) that had led to this determination. But he must say, that this pretended alarm about the danger of India patronage being transferred to the Crown, was altogether destitute of foundation. What was the actual state of the case? Why, that at the present moment, all the most important patronage was directly exercised by the Ministers, and that of the inferior patronage they might have indirectly as large a share as they desired. By whom was the appointment of the Governor-General made? Nominally, no doubt, by the Company: but, as the Crown had a veto, and might refuse to confirm any such appointment, it was an obviously shorter course for the Ministers to indicate before-hand, who they wished to be chosen: and to say in effect—this is the man whom the king delights to honour: and it is useless for you to think of appointing any other, for no other will we, as the Ministers of the Crown, confirm. The appointment of the Governor-General was then already actually in the hands of the Government: as well as that of the Commander-in-Chief, of the Judges of the Supreme Courts, and of the Bishops; so that while all the heads of the Civil, the Military, the Judicial, and the Ecclesiastical branches of the service were already in the hands of the Ministers, they deprecated the idea of entrusting them with the dangerous power of exercising the patronage of India, as adding too largely to the influence they already possessed! The subordinate appointments might not generally be worth their trouble or their care; but whenever they desired to dispose of any of these, nothing was more easy than

for them to obtain any number of them that they wished. That a tolerably extensive traffic in this branch of patronage once existed, was proved by the fact of the late Lord Castlereagh having been once accused of bartering a seat in the House of Commons for a writership in India, as a fair marketable and business-like exchange;—when the noble lord, with that coolness by which he was characterized, turned round upon his accusers, and exclaimed, “What! is it then come to this? are we all at once become so pure and immaculate, that a fair exchange like this is to be called corruption, when the practice is as general as it is constant, and is as notorious as the sun at noon-day?” defending the crime by its very notoriety, and expressing astonishment at its being deemed worthy of notice. Such practices he hoped and believed did not prevail now: but if the occasion should arise, on which a Minister might desire to make any use of such patronage, it was as much at his disposal as ever, by the mere asking for it, and reserving other favours in return; with the great disadvantage to the public, of his not being openly responsible to this House for its exercise, which he would be, if it were entrusted to his avowed direction, when the fear of exposure in Parliament might operate as a wholesome check upon its distribution; whereas, while the patronage continued in the hands of the Directors, they might accommodate the Minister with any portion of it that he desired, and shield him from all responsibility for its misappropriation.

‘It had been said, indeed, that no plan had been proposed for the regulation of this patronage, which would remove the difficulties of the case. But the right hon. gentleman was too well read in Indian history and affairs, and too well acquainted with the history of past discussions, not to be well aware that Lord Grenville, in his celebrated speech of 1813, had proposed a plan, which would have obviated all difficulty, and which was capable of being reduced to immediate practice. It was this: to let the selection for the first appointments to the India service, in the civil, military, and all other departments, be made from the youths educated at the principal seminaries in England, who should be most distinguished for their attainments and character, out of which all vacancies, as they occurred, should be filled: and if their progress in the service, subsequent to their first appointment, were made by gradation of time alone, unless disqualification should be proved, as is the case with the military branch of the service in India now, the influence of patronage would be altogether destroyed; as attainments and character would be the only patrons in the first instance, and length of service, and faithful discharge of duty, the only claim afterwards. (Hear, hear.) If to this were added, the plan suggested by the right hon. the late President of the Board of Control (who had himself disposed of a portion of his India patronage in civil appointments, according to the rule adverted to above;) and sons of military officers serving in India had a preference of eligibility for cadetships in the Indian army, the largest amount of supply would be always available to meet the demand; and neither the Ministers nor the Directors need be entrusted with the temptation which each so loudly professed their desire to avoid. (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘The next topic touched on, was the intended separation of the trading and political character of the Company; and at this he sincerely and heartily rejoiced. No union could be more fatal to the virtue of any rulers, or the happiness of any people, than this incongruous alliance between things which never could be blended well together; as each was, in reality, fatal to the other. It was a profound remark of Lord Grenville, that the union of the merchant with the sovereign was fatal to the due discharge of the duties of both. No sovereign that was also a trader, ever ruled his sub-

jects well : no merchant, that was also a sovereign, ever traded but at a loss. And Mr. Vansittart, himself a President of the Council of Bengal, describes in his evidence, before the Parliamentary Committee, the manner in which these merchant-kings exercised their power. Their rule of buying, he said, was to make the natives take whatever price the buyers chose to offer : and their rule of selling, was to make the natives give whatever price the sellers chose to ask. (Hear, hear.) It would have been a miracle, indeed, if a country so placed between the tyranny of the sovereign and the avarice of the trader, should not have been plundered to the last dregs, and impoverished almost to exhaustion. This fatal union had lasted far too long, and it was high time that it should be dissolved.

‘He could not help thinking, however, that though the dissolution was desirable, that which was left to the India Company ought to have been taken from them ; namely, their political administration : and then, that which has been taken from them, namely, their mercantile transactions, might safely have been left. The idea of committing the government of an empire, containing a hundred millions of souls, to the management of a Joint Stock Company, whose only interest was in the dividends they derived on their stock, was so preposterous, that if it were now to be proposed for the first time in this House, no language would be adequate to describe the astonishment which its bare announcement would excite. The right hon. gentleman had himself spoken of the evils of having a mercantile body to govern a great country, whose only object of care was the dividends they were to receive. But this argument was a two-edged sword ; it cut both ways, and it proved also, that to have a joint stock political body to govern a country whose only anxiety was to keep up the dividends on their stock, was equally bad. No matter from what sources the dividends were to come ; whether from the commerce with the country, or its revenue : in either case, the utmost exertions would be made to secure the requisite amount ; and that being obtained, all thoughts of remission of taxation, or of future improvement, would be discarded. In their mercantile character, the Company derived their dividends from a monopoly of trade : in their political character they were to derive their dividends from the surplus revenue of the country : and as they would have more power as rulers, to levy their exactions, than they could have as merchants to extort their profits, the former would be by far the most fatal to the prosperity of the country. India, in short, was but one vast and enlarged edition of Ireland, where the people who tilled the earth were forbidden to feed on its produce, which was exported and sold for the benefit of idle and unproductive absentees ; and the wretchedness of the peasantry, both in the one and in the other of these unhappy and misgoverned countries, was occasioned by, and existed in proportion to, the exactions wrung from them to remit to others, and to be spent in other lands. In happier countries, England, for example, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer had obtained the revenue necessary for the payment of the public establishments, and the interest of the debt,—if there were a surplus, however small, he came down to the House, and stated the mode in which he meant to dispose of it, by a remission of such of the taxes as pressed most heavily on the people. But in India, remission of taxes was a thing unknown. The only limitation to the amount wrung from the natives, was their capacity to pay. They were taxed to the uttermost farthing, and had only bare subsistence left. Out of the first proceeds of the revenue thus raised, the public establishments and the interest of the debt were paid : but the surplus, instead of being remitted to lighten the public burthens, had to be sent to England, there to be divided as profits, among the proprietors of India Stock (hear, hear) ; and if, after this, a surplus should still remain, it was disposed of, by making

new appointments, and giving places and pensions that absorbed it all. In other countries, a reduction of expenditure was often made, because there was a public voice to demand relief. But in India, nothing but the incapacity to pay, ever occasioned the reduction of a single charge.—And why?—For the simplest of all reasons—Because the Directors in England were naturally averse to retrench the places filled, or the emoluments enjoyed, by their sons, their nephews, and their other relatives and dependents. The more extensive the establishments as to numbers, the more of the family could be provided for; and the larger their pay, the sooner would they return with ample fortunes. This was, therefore, a matter that came home to the business and the bosoms of men; and as long as the Joint Stock Company should exercise the powers of the Government, and dispense the patronage, there was no hope of a change in this particular; so that the country was doomed, while this system lasted, to all the evils of which it was the parent and prolific source. (Hear, hear.)

‘He said the *system*, because it was to that, and not to the individuals to whom its direction was entrusted, that his objections lay. Among the Directors of the India Company, there were many for whom he had personally the highest respect and esteem: among the proprietors of India Stock there were many for whom he had a high regard; and as to the individuals composing the Civil and Military Service of the Company in India, there was not, he believed, in the world, a more intelligent, high-minded, and generous set of men. (Hear, hear.) But this could not blind him to the defects of a system, the most incongruous in all its parts that could be well imagined. For instance, the proprietors of India Stock were a body fluctuating between 3,000 and 5,000 individuals, including men, women, and children, the two latter predominating in number over the former, and each and all having no other interest whatever in the prospects of the country, than just to secure their fixed dividend and nothing more. Their Directors were men who, as was well observed by the late President of the India Board, (Mr. Wynn) were upon the average from sixty to seventy years of age, and to a few only of these, the senior members, nine in number, was committed the task of governing an empire with a hundred millions of souls, and by orders sent from a country many thousand miles distant from the scene. What was the inevitable consequence? Declining trade, declining population, declining revenue, and nothing increasing but their embarrassment and their debt. (Hear, hear.) And yet to such a body was still to be confided the future government of India, a body so changeable that it was never composed of the same materials for any two days following, some selling out their stock, and some buying in, every day in the week, and no other qualification than being a stock-holder; being required to form a part of this governing body. If a gentleman in the country came for the first time to London, and chose to buy in £500 worth of India stock, he became an Indian legislator at once; he could go down to the India House in Leadenhall-street, take a part in the debates, move a resolution for the recall of the Governor-General, a vote of censure on the Court of Directors, or a re-modelling of the Army or Civil Service; and as a proprietor of India stock, was as much entitled to take part in the proceedings of the Court as the oldest member in it. When he had held his stock twelve months, he might also vote upon the most delicate and important questions that could be submitted to that body for decision; and when he had given his vote and passed his resolutions, he could sell out his stock the next day, and leave the responsibility of his conduct to those who might remain or who might buy in after him, and these were changing every day. Theameleon, in short, did not more frequently change its hues, than did the Court of proprietors its members. It was not a triennial, nor an annual, but a daily Parliament, to deliberate upon the

affairs of a distant and little known country, and to such a body we were now recommended to confide the Government of India again for another forty years! Against this part of the right hon. gentleman's plan he tendered his most earnest and solemn protest; and when the proper time arrived, he should be prepared to show that this was utterly incompatible with good government, or the happiness of the people. Let the Company trade if it will, and compete with the private merchant if it likes. Let it have no monopoly, but do not deprive it of its fair share of competition with the rest. Take from it its political character, and leave it to deal with its mercantile affairs, divested of its monopoly, as it should see fit. That would be the separation he should have recommended, and that, he believed, would have satisfied the people of England, as well as the people of India, better than this Joint-Stock-Governing-Company, with its quarterly dividends, and marketable stock. (Hear, hear.)

‘He would pass on, however, with as much rapidity as possible, to the other portions of the right hon. gentleman's speech, which related to the trade with China. He had heard, with unmixed satisfaction, the announcement, that from henceforward the commerce of that country was to be equally open to all His Majesty's subjects. He believed there was no one measure of the Government which would give more general satisfaction to all classes than this—as to all it could not fail to be productive either of direct or collateral benefit. The fact mentioned by the right hon. gentleman, of the Company's trade gradually declining, while that of the private merchant was as gradually increasing, was proof sufficient of the incapacity of monopolies to compete with open trade, wherever the two could be brought into competition or comparison: and it was only matter of astonishment that this had not long ago determined the Government to put an end to so ruinous a system as this of exclusive privileges. An hon. Member (Mr. Clay) had presented a petition from some of his constituents of the Tower Hamlets, praying that the Company might be still allowed to trade to China, as well as private merchants. The answer to that prayer, he conceived, ought wholly to depend on whether the political administration was to continue in their hands or not. If they were to retain the government of India, then he considered that they should not be allowed to trade in any way whatever. But if the political administration were to be in the hands of the Crown, then, undoubtedly, it would be unjust not to permit the East India Company, or any other Joint Stock Association, to trade as they might think proper, merely depriving them of their exclusive monopoly, but allowing them to trade in open competition with others to any part of the world.

‘One of the topics touched on by the right hon. Gentleman was, the alleged jealousy of the Chinese, which had been a favourite objection urged by the Company against the admission of the private trader into their ports. But he would ask whether that jealousy was not rather directed against the Company than the private merchants? Towards the former the Chinese had abundant reason for looking with apprehension at all points. Their land frontier now pressed close upon the borders of China itself: and when the Chinese saw the progress of the Company in India, landing first upon the coast as humble traders, and soliciting, as a matter of grace and favour, the grant of a small spot of land whereon to erect factories for the sale of goods, and afterwards, under various pretences, possessing themselves of the whole country as sovereigns, was it to be wondered at that they should regard the Company as a set of designing adventurers, who would insinuate themselves, first, into the ports of China, then into the interior, and afterwards assume the dominion of the whole country? Another cir-

cumstance which tended greatly to keep alive this apprehension of danger from the Company was this—that while all other vessels entered the port of Canton with pacific appearances, as well as for pacific purposes, the Americans, for instance, with varnished sides and mercantile apparel, armed only with a few guns to defend themselves from the Malay pirates, the East India Company's ships came in all the outward appearance of frigates and line-of-battle ships, with a tier of sixteen or eighteen guns on either side, ready for immediate action, with double the number of men carried by other ships employed in the same trade; and with officers dressed in uniforms, like the officers of the navy, with gold embroidered coats, cocked hats, and swords by their sides, presenting altogether so strong a resemblance to the ships of war and naval officers of His Majesty, that no Chinese could perceive the difference: and their very natural conclusion was, that the Company meditated some covert attack, and were only waiting their opportunity to carry it into execution: for they concluded that if their object had been trade alone, they would have had only trading ships and trading crews; but that their warlike equipment was intended for a warlike purpose; and therefore it behoved the Chinese authorities to keep a jealous and a vigilant eye upon their proceedings. (Hear, hear.)

‘It was said, however, that the state of things had recently been altered in China, and that there was now a body of “independent Englishmen” established in Canton, which showed the safety of admitting the private trader into that port at least. There were various acceptations of the word “independent,” but he would describe to the House the footing on which the English gentlemen alluded to remained at Canton, and he would have the House to judge whether they were what an English assembly of Legislators would call “independent.” Not one of all the number could even visit Canton without a special license or permission from the East India Company: even if so permitted, there was not one who might not be expelled from Canton, merely for being an Englishman, and for no other reason, by the authority of the Company's Factory, who were empowered so to do by virtue of the Company's charter. And what was the result?—why, that Englishmen desirous of settling at Canton, as members of this “independent body,” were obliged to deny their name and country, to get metamorphosed into Russians, Prussians, Swedes, or Danes—to desert the English standard, and hoist a foreign flag, as their only protection from the arbitrary banishment of the Company's supercargoes! This was the “independence” which British subjects enjoyed at Canton. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the trade of these private merchants, who were tolerated as foreigners, though well known to be of English name and birth, had progressively increased, while that of the Company had as progressively declined: and this fact alone, he thought, was quite sufficient to show that the true policy of the British Government was to grant exclusive privileges to none, but to extend equal rights, religious, political, and commercial, to all the subjects of the realm, wheresoever they might be found. (Hear, hear.)

‘One of the branches of this trade that had most rapidly increased, was that carried on in opium, which had been accurately described to a certain extent, by the right hon. gentleman, the President of the India Board, as well as by the hon. member for Berwickshire (Mr. C. Majoribanks); but they had each omitted one portion of its history, which he would venture to supply. It was this,—that the cultivation and manufacture of this opium, was one of the large monopolies still existing in the hands of the Company in India; and was so productive, that in consequence of this

monopoly, the article was often sold at the Company's sales at Calcutta, at an advance of 1000 per cent above the actual price at which it might be produced. So much importance, indeed, was attached to this traffic, that the Superintendent of the cultivation of opium, residing at Patna, was paid by the Company a larger salary than that given to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the representative of His Majesty, and the head of the Judicial establishment in India. And yet, while the Company claimed to itself the high prerogative of being the guardian of the laws, and the preservers of the morals of the people over whom they ruled, and punished with extreme severity any infraction of their own regulations,—they cultivated this opium for no other purpose than for smuggling it into China, against the laws and edicts of the empire; and as had been truly said, of poisoning the health, and destroying the morals of the people of that country. (Hear, hear.) It was painful to think what a vast amount of evil had been already created by this trade: but if the traders of China could be supplied with British manufactures in payment for their goods, instead of this deleterious drug, a wholesome and reciprocally beneficial commerce would be created, instead of the mischievous and demoralizing traffic which now did injury to both; the whole guilt of which rested with the Company, as it was they who furnished the opium from India, and their supercargoes at Canton who licensed the smugglers in China, so that the beginning and the end of this illicit and contraband trade was theirs.

‘It was pretended however, that though our intercourse with China might be safely retained on its present footing, yet that a more extended intercourse would endanger the whole, by leading to such ruptures as would induce the Chinese to break off all connection with us, and shut us out from the other ports altogether. The best answer to this was the fact, that the Chinese receive the ships of all nations with equal readiness, and never ask whether they are free-traders, or ships of an exclusive Company. Their object was like that of all other mercantile people, to buy cheap and sell dear: and with whomsoever they could effect these objects, they were ready and willing to enter into negotiation. It was indeed pretended that the bare proposition of throwing open the trade to the people of England, would be calculated to give such a shock to public feeling in China, as to make them protest against it altogether; as it was inferred from their admitting us only to one port now, that they were an anti-commercial people, and averse to any extensive foreign connexion. He (Mr. Buckingham) thought he had given sufficient reason for the existence of that jealousy which led to this limitation of the European trade to one port only, namely, the fear that the East India Company, or the Europeans generally, were a deceitful race, who would enter their ports on the coast under pretence of trade, but, subsequently pass into the interior, and ultimately take their country from them, as they had done in India, Java, and elsewhere. But what would be said of the absurdity of the conduct pursued by the British government, who, pretending to take the lead among the nations, for superiority in intelligence, civilization, and above all, commercial enterprize, were guilty of the monstrous blunder, as well as injustice, of confining the whole of the trade from China to one port only, namely, the port of London, not from any jealousy of Chinese encroachments on our territory, not from any apprehended danger of admitting armed Chinese ships, for no vessel of that nation had ever yet passed round the Cape of Good Hope, but from mere deference to the monopoly of an English Hong, the East India Company, for whose exclusive profits every other port in England was to be closed against the admission of Chinese produce! (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘ This reproach upon our legislature, he was happy to learn, was at length to be wiped away ; by all his Majesty’s subjects being allowed freely to trade with China ; and by all ports in his Majesty’s dominions being equally accessible to vessels trading from thence : a change in our commercial policy, which he believed would effect more good than any that had yet taken place during the present century, and for which the peculiar circumstances of the moment were most auspicious. (Hear, hear.) For what was the condition of this country ? There were, he well knew, some differences of opinion as to the actual extent of existing distress, as well as to the causes from which it sprung, and the remedies most fit to be applied. But he believed there was no difference of opinion whatever on this point : that the progress of invention, the improvements in machinery, the discoveries in the arts, and the increase of population, had brought the nation into a state of plethora, or fulness of excess. We had abundant capital, yet poverty increased ; we had immense powers of production, yet there was a large want of employment ; we had an increasing population, yet thousands wanted relief. For such a state of things there were but two remedies : either to arrest the progress of production, and thin the population of the country, both of which were in excess as compared with the means of consumption or employment ; or to open new outlets, to explore new markets, to supply new nations with our wares, to carry off our gradually accumulated excess. For this purpose there was no measure more likely to accomplish its end than the opening of the trade with China, and the immensely populous regions seated near its coasts.

‘ It had been well observed by the right hon. President of the Board of Controul (Mr. Grant) that the limits of the East India Company’s charter were not very narrow, as they extended from the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, to the Straits of Magellan on the other, and included nearly half the globe. This was undoubtedly true, and the greater must be our astonishment that any Government could be so ignorant or so unjust, so blind or so profligate, as to lock up, as it were, these immense regions, in the hollow of the hands of twenty-four Indian Directors—a majority of whom were incapacitated by age and infirmity, and the remainder disqualified, by having no other than a pecuniary interest, for the direction of even a very limited concern of government and commerce combined ; but who had, by their exclusive monopoly, been entrusted with the dominion and the trade of more than half the globe. (Hear, hear.) The Baron Humboldt had estimated the entire population of the earth as considerably less than 1000 millions : and in the several countries of India, Persia, Arabia, China, Japan, Borneo, Java, and the Eastern Isles, all lying within the limits described, more than 500 millions of people existed, with whom the English nation (excepting only the insignificantly few proprietors of India stock) had been hitherto debarred, by their own Legislature, from holding any intercourse, though they were accessible for all the purposes of profitable commerce by the ships and merchants of every other country in the globe, except our own. (Hear, hear, hear.) He would not enlarge upon the immense resources of these teeming countries, and the vast expansion which the opening of them would give to British trade : but he would content himself with repeating his earnest belief, that in the present circumstances of the country, suffering as we did from extremes of wealth and poverty, of strength and weakness, of population and misery, there was no measure within the power of the British Legislature to effect, that would afford a more extensive and permanent relief than this unlocking of the portals of the East, and rendering its almost illimitable commerce and resources accessible to all. (Hear, hear.)

'There were many other points of the right hon. gentleman's speech that he had taken notes of, and was strongly desirous of commenting upon. But at this late hour of the night (then twelve o'clock,) and after the patient and indulgent hearing which had already been extended to him, he would pass them over till some future opportunity, and would now briefly advert to the third great division of the subject before them : namely, the Plan proposed by the right hon. gentleman, for the future Government of India.

'The first announcement was, that the Company was to surrender all their property, political, military, and commercial, into the hands of the Government—in return for which the Government was to undertake to pay all its debts, amounting to upwards of 40 millions : and besides this, to secure to the proprietors of India stock, the usual dividend of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on every 100*l.* of stock held by them, payable from the revenues of India, with a guarantee fund of 2 millions, to accumulate at interest, as a source from whence to draw, in case of any deficiency ; and that this arrangement was to continue for 40 years, with power on the part of the Government to put an end to it in 20 years, on condition of the country redeeming the stock of the India proprietors, by paying them 200*l.* for every 100*l.* originally invested ; or 100*l.* in principal for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of interest redeemed ; which would be 200*l.* for every $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of interest redeemed.

'He knew not what other hon. Members might think of this, but for himself, after having given it all due consideration, he thought it a most impolitic arrangement. He did not wish to injure the Court of Directors, or to diminish the real capital and fair mercantile interest of the proprietors : he had no objection to their being paid every farthing that was their due ; but he must say, that he thought by far the best arrangement would have been for the Government to have charged itself with the political administration of the country—to have taken the forts, buildings, and all other establishments, which were strictly territorial, and have become responsible for the territorial debts, the principal and interest of which might be fairly charged upon the revenues of the country ; and then to let the Company do what it pleased with its commercial assets. If they were worth, as the proprietors contended, 19 millions sterling,—let them sell them, and divide the produce among themselves ; and if it amounted to 20, he should rejoice in their good fortune. Let them trade as a Company, in common with all others of His Majesty's subjects, if so they thought proper,—or let them wind up their commercial affairs, and retire from business, if they pleased. But that should be left to them. The Government of India should have been assumed by the Ministers of the Crown ; and the revenues of the country be charged only with the territorial debt, which was sufficient indulgence to the Company, as the term of their lease was known to themselves ; and if they had run an extravagant career, they alone ought, in strict justice, to be the sufferers ; more especially as they or their predecessors, had, for so long a period (now more than two centuries) enjoyed enormous profits and emoluments at the public cost. (Hear, hear.)

'In saying this, let him not be supposed to be speaking ill of the Directors or Proprietors, as men ; his observations applied only to the system ; he had no personal hostility to any single individual among the whole body. It was true that he had received at their hands no very great reasons to inspire him with gratitude, but he did not hesitate to say that he entertained a high respect for several of the Directors, while among the Proprietors there were many for whom he felt esteem and regard : and as to the Civil and Military services in India, he had always asserted, what he would here repeat, his firm belief that no country contained a more intelligent and honorable class of officers than these, among whom he had lived

for many years with friendship and pleasure; and no man, he believed, had ever been removed from the country, who carried with him more of their good wishes and regrets. (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘In addition, however, to the improvidence of the terms of this arrangement, the time for which it was to endure was altogether too long. He had already stated his reasons why the political administration of India should not remain in the hands of the East India Company for a single day beyond the period at which its transfer to the Crown could be made: but to lock up the country for forty years in their further possession, was altogether unjustifiable. (Hear, hear.) He was not one of those who generally fell into the error of having too high a veneration for the “wisdom of our ancestors,” but he could, in this instance at least, shew, he thought, that we were not getting wiser as we advanced, in the progress of settling our Indian affairs. The right hon. gentleman, so well read as he was in Indian history, and so intimately acquainted with all its details, must remember, no doubt, that the first Charter granted to the Company by Elizabeth, about the year 1600, was for a period of fifteen years only; with a further provision, inserted by way of clause, “that if not found to be advantageous to the country, it might be annulled at any time under a notice of three years.” He stated this on the authority of Mr. Mill, whose *History of India* was a work of the highest accuracy and research. And even more recently, indeed in our own day, the proposition of the late Mr. Canning, in the discussions on the last Charter, was to renew the exclusive privilege of the Company for ten years only; as he contended, and contended truly, that twenty years was much too long a period for which to tie up the hands of any Government, or prevent their abrogating any delegated trust, if they found it advantageous to the nation so to do. (Hear, hear.)

‘But let us see how much more powerful were the reasons for a shorter term of Charter now than they ever were before. All the former Charters of the East India Company were commercial, and they granted privileges to carry on a certain exclusive trade. There might, therefore, be some reason assigned for giving them a period long enough to realize remunerating profits if they entered into the trade at all. But now they were no longer to be traders. Their exclusive business would be to govern—and the Charter was to be granted to them for that purpose only. Upon what possible grounds could any claim so preposterous as this be made? To govern was the business of the Legislature, not of a Joint-Stock Company; and if the Ministers were incompetent to govern India, or unwilling to incur the trouble, let the possession be given back to its rightful owners. A country had no right to dominions over which it was incompetent to exercise its rule; and it was both unjust and unwise to extend the limits of our possessions beyond the power of the Legislature, through the Ministers of the Crown, to govern, advantageously for the nation and for the possession itself. How much more important was it, therefore, now, than at any future period, to reserve to the Legislature the power, at a short but reasonable notice of time, to resume the trust it was about to delegate, and not to consign over 100 millions of our fellow beings, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of these Joint-Stock rulers, for a period of forty or of twenty years, during which the only care or anxiety of the proprietors would be to get the dividends on their stock punctually paid; and, when that was effected, their solicitude would be at an end. (Hear, hear.)

‘The right hon. gentleman, in pursuing this subject, had passed over the various topics, of the mode of raising the revenue, of the judicial and military services, and many others, which could only be named at present, but must be discussed at some future time; and he (Mr. Buckingham)

would follow the same course, in order that he might fulfil his pledge of confining himself strictly to the points touched on in the speech of the right hon. gentleman, to which he would rigidly confine his reply. He approved, then, entirely, of the creation of a fourth presidency in the western provinces; and he thought the proposition of exempting the Governor-General from all local cares, and giving him a supreme control, under a uniform system of jurisdiction throughout the whole of the Presidencies, a most important improvement. As the right hon. gentleman had quoted some high authorities in proof of the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting powers at present existing, he (Mr. Buckingham) would add three striking instances, which were in some degree connected with his own history in that country.

‘The first was this. Lord Hastings, soon after his arrival in India, perceiving that the discussion of public affairs, and the dissemination of facts and opinions, through the medium of the press, was likely to be of as much benefit to India as to any other country in which it had been tried, removed the censorship of the press in Bengal. The Governor of Madras, Mr. Elliott, wholly disapproved of this step, and not only did he refuse to follow the example in his Presidency, but, when a Public Meeting was held at Madras, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings for this act, the Government of Madras threw every possible obstacle in the way of its accomplishment, and visited with its displeasure the distinguished individuals who ventured thus to express their approbation of what the highest authority of the country had performed as his own act.

‘Not long after this, the circulation of the *Calcutta Journal*, then under his (Mr. Buckingham’s) direction, having greatly increased, he entered into a contract with the Post-Master-General of India, to facilitate its dispatch. In that country the newspapers paid no stamp duty—a fact which he hoped the noble lord opposite to him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would soon have to announce of the newspapers of this country—but in lieu of this, they paid a postage according to weight. For the sake of dispatch, he (Mr. Buckingham) contracted to pay the Post-Master-General 3000 rupees per month (then about 4000*l.* sterling per annum), for the free transmission of his *Journal* through the Company’s territories—and that sum was punctually paid: but after its payment in Bengal, the Governor of Madras, who hated free discussion, was determined that no *Journal* should pass free in his Presidency, though the full postage on it had been paid; and he accordingly had them stopped at Ganjam, the frontier town between Bengal and Madras, and charged with postage all the way to their destination; and, on an appeal to the Governor-General, under whose authority the contract had been made for all India, no redress could be had, and no refund was made.

‘Another instance of these conflicting authorities was just as striking. Subsequently to his (Mr. Buckingham’s) departure from India, a rule or regulation was passed by the Bengal Government, and registered in the Supreme Court, by which alone it could obtain the force of law, and which empowered the local authorities to suppress any newspaper that gave them any displeasure. This law was carried into effect for the purpose of suppressing the *Calcutta Journal*, and destroying all the valuable property invested in its establishment, as well as the income derived from its extensive circulation; yet when the same regulation was brought before the judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay, it was rejected by them as wholly unconstitutional and illegal—and they refused to give it their assent (hear, hear): so that there were three different states of law at the three Presidencies of India, respecting that most important subject, the freedom of the

press;—the one having certain rules, of no legal authority, but enforced by the terror of arbitrary banishment, without trial, if they were infringed; the other having a previous censorship, exercised by an officer of Government, who read all the proof sheets before they were committed to the press, and struck out whatever he pleased; and the third having a power by law to suppress any journal that was disagreeable to them, without even the form of a trial, but at their mere will, pleasure, or caprice. (Hear, hear, hear.)

‘The learned Judge was, therefore, perfectly correct in the opinion quoted by the right hon. Gentlemen, as to the extreme uncertainty of the state of the law: and no one but those who had lived under this state of uncertainty could fully appreciate its evils. As it regarded the press, for instance, they had been told that at Calcutta the press was perfectly free, save and except some very harmless restrictions; but these exceptions were somewhat remarkable. They prohibited all discussions on the conduct of the Government, for that would be dangerous; they forbade all mention of the name of the Bishop, for that would be disrespectful; they interdicted all criticism on the opinions of the Judges, for that would be offensive; and they prohibited entirely all discussions that could have a tendency to excite dissensions in society, for that would give dissatisfaction! (Hear, hear.) In short, the regulations for the free press (as it was called) of India, were a perfect epitome of the caricature of Figaro, in the Comedy of Beaumarchais, who describes his having obtained permission to establish a Journal at Madrid, under a perfect freedom of the press, save and except some trifling restraints, which were necessary for the public peace and safety; and accordingly he says, that finding he must not speak of affairs of Government, nor of justice, nor of religion, that he must not censure any books, nor criticize the performances of the theatres, that he must say nothing which should offend public functionaries, or excite the least difference of opinion in private society, he had determined to establish a paper which should avoid all these; and, to give it an appropriate title, he should call it “The Useless Journal.” (Laughter.)

‘He would now pass on to the most important of all the subjects yet touched on with respect to India. It appeared, from the Plan of the right hon. gentleman, that increased facilities were to be given to the settlement of Englishmen in India, by allowing them to reside at the Presidencies, and to go into the old provinces without a license; and to be restricted only from visiting the new or unsettled provinces without an express permission from the local Governments on the spot. The reason assigned for this relaxation, was the improved state of information among the natives, and the consequent greater safety of allowing the European settlers to go among them. Now what was it that caused this improved state? Why, that very Colonization, all partial and restricted as it was, and the Press, by which it was so constantly recommended; and it was not too much to say, that if the Colonization had been still greater, and the Press more free, the improvement of the natives would have been, at the present moment, ten times as great as it is. It was worthy of remark, too, that all the civil and military servants of the East India Company were now converts to the opinion that Colonization might be allowed with safety and advantage; though the right hon. gentleman had said, and said truly, that twenty years ago there was scarcely an advocate for Colonization to be found among their ranks.

‘The question, then, again occurred—What was it that effected this mighty change? Why, that very press, which the Indian Government oppressed and persecuted—and for which oppressions and persecutions the

Home Government would afford no redress. The benefits that would arise from the admission of Colonization, were the daily theme of the *Calcutta Journal*, from its first establishment, in 1818. Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Bayley, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Mr. Holt Mackenzie, were among its daily readers; and all were now agreed upon the advantages of Colonization. Truth indeed was mighty, and would prevail.

‘The only condition, it appeared, was, that there should be fixed laws, equally binding on all natives and Europeans.

‘Now this was all that he (Mr. Buckingham) when in India, asked. At the period of his removal from the country, the edict was one of arbitrary power, without even the form of law—no trial, no defence, no appeal. The much dreaded court-martial, which had been so much condemned for Ireland, would to him have been a blessing: a Hindoo tribunal, a Mahomedan divan, any thing which decided by known laws and fixed principles, he would have hailed as a relief—but all were denied. So much more highly did he value fixed laws than arbitrary power, that he would rather live under a Government, where to breathe the name of the Sovereign was punishable with decapitation and the exhibition of the head on a pike, than under a Government where you were hypocritically told that you were free to say what you pleased, but who, on the moment of your saying anything that displeased them, and of which it was impossible to judge, you were liable to be exiled without trial, and punished with the ruin of all your past fortune and your future hopes. (Hear, hear.) However severe the law, if it were known and well defined, an offence against it might be avoided; but against the arbitrary, despotic, and capricious exercise of power, there was no safeguard; and therefore it was so objectionable.

‘It had been said, indeed, that it was not proper, in a country like India, to give unrestricted and unregulated liberty.—Neither was it in any other country, for True Liberty was the dominion of the Law: and as to the necessity of establishing a strong Government, to repress the evils of such liberty, of which the right hon. gentleman had spoken, his answer was, that nothing was so strong as Justice; and that a Government which enjoyed the approbation of public opinion was stronger than one armed with all the civil and military power of the world. On this subject he was strongly tempted to enlarge, as it was indeed a fertile theme; but he would reserve to a future period, his observations on the advantages of Colonization, on the absurdity of all pretended alarms as to collision with the natives, and the folly of pretending to grant leases of lands to individuals for 60 years, with a power hanging over their heads, that could banish them from the country without trial, within 60 days after the lease was signed—or, indeed, before the ink by which the signature was written on it, was dry.

‘He rejoiced to find that Slavery was to be abolished in the East as well as in the West; and, he hoped, on easier terms. He was glad to find a Commission of Inquiry was to be appointed; as evidence and fact were the only safe grounds of Legislation; and he hailed with pleasure the declaration, that the great interests of justice, knowledge, morality, and religion, were to be provided for.

‘In conclusion, he would say a word or two on the capacity and resources of India, to discharge its present incumbrances; and the ease with which this might be accomplished. The debt of the India Company beyond its present capacity to pay, had been stated by the right hon. the President of the Board to be about 40 millions; and with this the revenues of India were to be charged. The debt was, undoubtedly, a very large one to be contracted by a Trading Company, and such as could have only grown up under a system of the greatest wastefulness and mismanagement, nor

particularly under the immense advantages which they, as a Trading Company, had enjoyed. But great as it was, it was literally nothing, when compared to the splendid resources of the country—and not much when compared with its revenue, which was about twenty millions annually. This was, however, but a miserable pittance for such a country to afford—a country of immense extent in surface—of enormous population—of abundant natural wealth in every form—of navigable rivers, accessible harbours, boundless coasts—and varied climates, capable of producing whatever the teeming earth could supply—from the rudest metal to the purest gems, from the palm and the plaintain of the tropic, to the cedar and the pine of the snowy mountains; and all in perfection of their kind. He had no more doubt, indeed, than he had of his own existence, that India might be made to produce an annual revenue of five times its present amount.

‘Of what was the wealth of countries, and their consequent capacity to pay tribute to the State, composed? The elements were simple and few: the minerals beneath the earth—the vegetables above the earth,—and the animals that grazed upon its surface. These were all the natural elements. The rest was wholly the production of population and skill. In all these, except the last, India abounded. Her precious metals and her gems, her rich savannahs and her fertile plains, her millions of frugal, patient, and industrious people, made her, in all these particulars, far superior to England itself. All that was wanted was to introduce into India, which Colonization would do, the arts, and sciences, and useful knowledge of Europe; with that first requisite as a stimulant to production, complete protection of person and property, and the assurance that he who produced wealth should be certain of its unmolested enjoyment.

‘Let this be done, and by free Colonization alone could this be effected; and he saw no reason to doubt, but that in a few years hence, India might be made to produce a revenue of 100 millions sterling as readily as Great Britain now produced 50. It had produced more, from the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in the time of the Emperor Baher, than it did now from three times the same extent of country; and in the time of Aurungzebe also, the revenue was much greater than at present. But if in Britain a population of 25 millions could produce a revenue of 50 millions (besides having a large surplus for enjoyments,) or 2*l.* per head, man, woman, and child, what was there unreasonable in the supposition that India, when blessed with the knowledge and freedom which England enjoyed, should, with four times the population, and with richer mines, more fertile plains, double and triple harvests, and a climate the most congenial to production of every kind—what was there to prevent her producing *half* the proportion of revenue yielded by England, or 1*l.* per head, for every individual in the state? (Hear, hear.) The surface of India had been estimated at about 800 millions of acres, which was nearly equal to the whole of Europe, excluding only the barren and unproductive parts of Russia and Siberia: and from this extent of surface, only 20 millions of revenue were raised, while, from the same extent of land in Europe, and no one would pretend to say that this was under the best possible management, no less a sum than 300 millions was paid in revenues to the different Governments of all the European States, or thirty times more than was drawn from India, where the people were wretched and impoverished in the midst of inexhaustible wealth. (Hear, hear.)

‘He trusted therefore that the Ministers would pause, and the country reflect, before they consigned over again for another twenty years, the most valuable possession of the Crown, to the hands of those who, during

two centuries of misrule, had produced to themselves only embarrassment and debt, and to the natives poverty and wretchedness. It was not thus that we should deal with the countries that we conquered, or the territories we acquired. As the happiness of the people ought to be the sole aim of every Government, he hoped this would be provided for by every means within our power, that we should make this our first consideration, and regard all other objects as subservient to it. Then indeed, our boast might be,—not like that of the haughty Spaniard, who proudly said that his dominions were so extensive that the sun never set upon them,—but, that wheresoever the sun did shine on British ground, and wheresoever the British rule was known, there Freedom, Justice, Knowledge, and Happiness, were fostered and encouraged by every effort that the ruling power could bestow. (Hear, hear, hear).*

‘Mr C. FERGUSON said that though he had an extreme anxiety to put an end to the debate, yet he felt that as a Director, he was called upon to make a few observations in answer to what had fallen from the Hon. Member for Sheffield. That hon. gentleman had taken great pains, and had advanced every topic to show that the Government of India was a Government by which India was ill-governed, and which ought no longer to exist. The hon. gentleman had opposed the resolution for continuing the Government of India in the hands of the Company, and the whole of his argument seemed to be the evidence of Mr. Mill, who stated that India was not so flourishing now as in former times. To make a fair comparison he ought to have made the contrast when the Government of the country was in the hands of the Company. The hon. gentleman had brought under review the state of India under Aurengzebe, and wished to make the Company answerable for the oppression of Nadir Shah, and then said that because the country was not in the state it was in 1590, the fault lay with the Government of the Company. He (Mr. Fergusson) would venture to say, that any person passing the frontiers of Bengal, and comparing the condition of that Presidency, and the districts governed by the native Princes, would see at once that in the one there was protection to person and property, and the other was given over to tyranny. He had no hesitation in saying that the government of the Company was a blessing not sufficiently appreciated, and his motive for giving up the assets of the Company to the Government, was the continuance of this blessing to the natives of India.*

‘As to the question of patronage, if it could be better disposed of, he, for one, would be willing to give it up (hear, hear); but he must say, that there never had been patronage of such value, which had been distributed with more good faith, more honour, or more integrity, than the patronage of the Company. (Hear, hear). He recollected an instance of a Director who was brought to trial, upon suspicion of having improperly disposed of patronage, and was delivered over to the judgment of the Court. He could at least say, that the Company had acted honestly in the disposal of its patronage. (Hear, hear). The bad effects of Acts of Parliament, which the Company could not resist, were fixed on the Company. He had known instances, however, in which the Company exercised some discretion; and so far from their being illiberal, he had known hundreds of instances where they connived at the residence of persons having no licence to remain. (Hear, hear). It was objected to the Company, that though

* An opportunity will be taken hereafter to disprove this, on the best and clearest evidence of Mr. Rickards, Sir Thomas Munro, and other servants of the East India Company themselves.

sluggish in improvement, they had been active in destructive and wasteful wars; but it should be recollected that the Company never brought this country into a war in India; on the contrary, the Company were constantly protesting against every war. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. C. Grant), had not overstated the great inconvenience arising from the confused state of the law in India, and he was glad to see that it was intended to remedy it.

‘The hon. Member for Sheffield had alluded to the history of his own case, and spoken of his Journal in India, a most ably conducted Journal, he would admit, of which he was a constant reader. But it must also be admitted that it was distinguished by that noble daring, which might well make any Government anxious for the preservation of its own authority, when assailed by so powerful an opponent. He believed all that the hon. gentleman had said with respect to the absence of all personal feeling on his part in his opposition to the system: indeed, he had never known him say anything here or elsewhere which betrayed that feeling, or which was calculated to give any one offence. (Hear, hear.) As to the suppression of his Journal, and the destruction of his establishment after he had left India, by the Government declaring that he should have no share whatever in its property, though he was banished beyond the wide Atlantic, he always had said, and always would say, it was most unnecessary and unjust: he had never failed to express that opinion wherever the occasion presented itself: and he would not refrain from doing so now. (Hear, hear, hear.) In conclusion, he said that he should content himself for the present with expressing his entire satisfaction with the resolutions proposed, and should give them his most cordial support.

‘Mr. HUME said that he should also reserve the expression of his opinions to a future day, but he rose principally to ask the right hon. the President of the India Board when the future discussion would come on, or when the Bill would be brought in. He could not sit down, however, without expressing his conviction, from long experience, that the wretchedness of the people of India was attributable to the misgovernment of the India Company, and to nothing else, as he should be prepared to prove at the proper time.

‘Mr GRANT replied, that the Bill was prepared, and could be brought in as soon as the resolutions should be passed.’

The following resolutions were then put: and as it was distinctly understood that their adoption, for the present, would bind no one to agree in the provisions of the Bill to be hereafter brought in, they were agreed to without a division:—

‘1. That it is expedient that all His Majesty’s subjects should be at liberty to repair to the Ports of the Empire of China, and to trade in Tea, and in all other productions of the said Empire, subject to such regulations as Parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country.

‘2. That it is expedient that, in case the East India Company shall transfer to the Crown, on behalf of the Indian Territory, all assets and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the Crown, on behalf of the Indian Territory, shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description, and that the said Company shall receive from the Revenues of the said Territory such a sum, and paid in such manner, and under such regulations, as Parliament shall enact.

‘3. That it is expedient that the Government of the British Possessions in India be entrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government, and promoting the moral and religious improvement, of the people of India.

The great length to which this report has extended must be our excuse for any subsequent abridgment in other parts of the Parliamentary proceedings. But as this is the first occasion of the East India Question coming before the House;—as its right or wrong decision will affect the well-being of 100 millions of British subjects in that country, and the condition of many millions of the mercantile and labouring classes in this;—and as the speech of Mr. GRANT is the only one that is reported in the newspapers at any length, and will therefore go forth to the country without the counteracting views by which many parts of the Government plan are opposed;—it was deemed essential to the cause of justice and of truth, that a fair proportion of the speeches of each should be given, so that the opposite opinions entertained might be fairly balanced. The readers of the PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW are now put in possession of that fair and impartial report, which is certainly not to be found, on this subject at least, in any one of the papers of the day.

After this subject was disposed of, another, of great interest to all classes of the community in England, was introduced by the Solicitor-General, which, from the lateness of the hour (half past one o'clock) was but briefly adverted to. As the measure in question is, however, one of the highest importance to the justice and morals of the country, we give his speech entire.

‘The SOLICITOR-GENERAL rose at that late hour with great reluctance to move for leave to bring in the bill to amend the law of debtor and creditor; but as there was a great anxiety out of doors on the subject, and the bill was ready, he would now proceed to move for leave to bring it in, leaving its consideration to a distant day. There might be difficulties in carrying it through this session, but he would at all times be ready to do his duty. The great object was to improve the law of debtor and creditor, chiefly by giving a remedy against the property of debtors instead of against their persons. The first provision of the bill would be to give a power of having immediate execution upon all bonds and bills when due. This was the case in Scotland and other countries; while here, upon formal instruments of this kind, parties were obliged to issue a writ, and then have a declaration, with other proceedings only tending to cause a great expenditure among lawyers. (“Hear,” and a laugh.) His proposition was, that on a summons being issued, unless security were given to the judge, execution should immediately issue. Another object was to give the creditor a facility of recovering against the property of his debtor, for at present a debtor might go to prison and spend 10,000*l.* a-year there. The Lords’ act, it was true, gave a compulsory remedy, but only if the debt were under 300*l.* It was now proposed that the debtor should be brought before a commissioner, and if he did not then honestly declare and give up his property, let him be sent to prison. This would be right, so far as the punishment of the fraudulent debtor was concerned, and was conformable to the bankrupt law. The next proposal was, to give creditors a remedy against all kinds of property possessed by the debtor. Now there was no remedy against copyhold estates, and very great difficulties in recovering against freeholds. It was therefore proposed to give in all cases a remedy against freehold and copyhold, also against money in the funds, and against securities; for now, according to the barbarous phrase of the law, bonds and bills were “*choses in action*,” and not “*bona et catalla*” legally transferable. Next, for the relief of honest but unfortunate debtors,

the law, as it now stood, obliged a man before he could be discharged, to go to prison. This was hard where there was no fault—moreover it wasted property for the expenses under the insolvent law; and even though a man were discharged, he did not still become a new man, as there was a lien upon him to the last moment of his existence. This necessarily tended to indispose persons to industry, and to make them lazy. It was therefore proposed that there should be power given to debtors to make a *cessio bonorum*; and if an honest debtor thus gave up his property, his creditors might have the power of giving him a certificate, say signed by 4-5ths. He proposed to make it a substantial misdemeanour to obtain goods and money with intent to defraud; and if any person should abscond from his creditor, or if he stated a false account in rendering up his effects, he should be guilty of a misdemeanour. The last alteration he proposed to make, was to abolish imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud. He proposed that in all cases where a man made an affidavit before a magistrate that his debtor was about to abscond to a foreign country, the latter might be taken immediately and imprisoned. With regard to imprisonment on mesne process, the house was not probably aware that the expense of giving bail had not been less than 300,000*l.* a-year, taken from the pockets of creditors.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

‘The SOLICITOR-GENERAL subsequently brought in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday se’nnight.

‘The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the house adjourned at a quarter to 2 o’clock.’

HOUSE OF LORDS.—JUNE 14.

In the Upper House the discussion of the evening turned also on Law Reforms, which arose on a motion for going into Committee on a bill sent up from the Commons, the object of which was to fix the period of 20 years, as a limit, beyond which, no action could be maintained against the holder of landed property, as to his title thereto, if he had been in quiet and undisputed possession of it for that period. Lord **LYNDHURST**, on this occasion, made a very learned and historical speech; from which we make one short extract, in order to shew, from the mouth of one of the ablest lawyers of the present day, what a monstrous mass of absurdity the Laws of England contain, though they have been called “the perfection of reason,” and all attempts at their reformation until a very late period, condemned as rash and dangerous innovations on the venerable institutions of our ancestors.

‘In making out titles of 60 years the expense was enormous; but, in making out titles of 20 years, the abstract would be much contracted, and the expense would be very little. Another advantage attached to the bill would be the trial of title by ejectment, which was the most simple mode: and the abolition of numerous forms of action, which were nearly obsolete, and were very little understood even by the profession. By turning to page 13 of the Bill, their lordships would see that the following processes were abolished:—

“Writ of right patent, writ of right quia dominus remisit curiam, writ of right in capite, writ of right in London, writ of right close, writ of right de rationabile parte, writ of right of advowson, writ of right upon disclaimer, writ de rationabilibus divisis, writ of right of ward, writ de consuetudinibus et servitiis, writ of

cessavit, writ of escheat, writ of quo jure, writ of secta ad molendinum, writ of essendo quietum de theolonio, writ of ne injuste vexes, writ of mesne, writ of quod permittat, writ of formedon in descender, in remainder, or in reverter, writ of assize of novel disseisin, nuisance, darrein presentment, juris utrum, or mort d'ancestor, writ of entry sur disseisin, in the quibus, in the per, in the per and cui, or in the post, writ of entry sur intrusion, writ of entry sur alienation, dum fuit non compos mentis, dum fuit infra ætatem, dum fuit in prisonâ, ad communem legem, in casu proviso, in consimili casu, cui in vitâ, sur qui in vitâ, cui ante divorsium or sur qui ante divortium, writ of entry sur abatement, writ of entry quare ejecit infra terminum, or ad terminum qui præterit, or causa matrimonii præculoti, writ of aiel, besaiei, tresaiel, cosinage, or nuper obiit, writ of waste, writ of partition, writ of disceit, writ of quod ei diforceat, writ of covenant real, writ of warrantia chartæ, writ of curia claudenda, and writ per quæ servitia. The whole of these writs would be abolished by the simple proceeding of ejectment.'

The Earl of ELDON expressed his alarm at all these reforms of the law. His short speech is quite characteristic of the speaker.

The Earl of ELDON (who was scarcely audible) was understood to say that he would give the bill his best consideration. When he looked to the measures then before that and the other House of Parliament, having for their object most extensive alterations in the existing laws, it appeared to him that professional men, if those measures were carried, would have to begin their legal studies over again. So numerous were the alterations contemplated with respect to landed property, that it would be soon necessary, when a gentleman went to amuse himself on his estate in the country, to take an expert solicitor and a clever barrister with him, to inspect his title-deeds, and ascertain the validity of his rights. The noble lord made some allusion to the proposed alteration in the law of debtor and creditor, but his observations did not reach the gallery.

Lord BROUGHAM adverted to the Bill of the Solicitor-General, about to be brought into the other House, for revising the law of Debtor and Creditor; and though, before he became Lord Chancellor, he was always the foremost for hastening the Reform of the Law, yet it seems to be incompatible with his new made dignity to be in so great a hurry now,—and he accordingly expressed his opinion that it would be better to let the Bill for abolishing Imprisonment for Debt stand over till another session! Lord LYNTHURST (what a change!) is now the advocate for *speedy* reform against Lord BROUGHAM, who is for proceeding more *slowly* and *cautiously*.

Lord LYNTHURST said it was absolutely necessary that an alteration should be made in the law for recovering debts on real property. A case had been tried before him that morning, in which the debt sued for was only 64*l.*, and the costs were 1,200*l.*?

Here is cheap law for those to whom the Bill of Rights and Magna Charta promised that Justice should neither be sold nor delayed to any man! What is this but selling Justice, and that at an immense price? How could such costs be increased but by immense delay? We will mention two instances, of which we have ourselves been the victims.—In a prosecution entered into against us by the united purses and influence of the six Secretaries of State in India, for an alleged libel on the Government of the East India Company, we were acquitted without a moment's hesitation by the jury, yet had to pay 6000 rupees, or nearly £700 costs, to prove our innocence. In our prosecution of Mr. William John Bankes, M.P., and his associates,

in the King's Bench of England, for libels against us, connected with our travels in Palestine, we obtained damages of £400 from the libeller, by the verdict of a jury against him; but, in addition to the entire absorption of this sum, we had to pay about £1000 of costs to prove our innocence! This same individual, Mr. William John Bankes, has been lately held to bail in the Queen-square Police Office, with his sureties, in the joint sum of £12,000 for a nameless offence: and has subsequently succeeded in having the case transferred by a writ of *certiorari* to the King's Bench, by which process the bail of £12,000 is said to be discharged, and the responsibility for appearance reduced to £20,—or one sixtieth part of the original sum! And this is the law which is termed “the perfection of reason,” and which we are called upon to reverence and obey as the profound result of the venerable wisdom of our ancestors!!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 14.

The debate on the Petition of the Jury who found a verdict of “Justifiable Homicide,” on the Policeman Culley, was resumed at twelve, and continued till three o'clock, when the Petition was laid on the table, but without any specific motion being made on the subject.

In the evening, the Irish Tithes, and the conduct of the Irish Police, were the subjects of debate; and the details were such as to confirm all that had been stated by Mr. Lambert on a previous evening, as to the Coercion Bill having been made an engine for the collection of the Tithes, though the most solemn assurances had been given by Lord ALTHORP and Mr. STANLEY that such should not be the case. The resolution proposed by Lord ALTHORP was:—

“That it is the opinion of this committee, that an advance of money should be made to the clergy of the established Church in Ireland, to relieve the occupying tenantry from the payment of the arrears due for tithes, and composition for tithes, during the years 1831 and 1832, and from the payment of the tithes and composition for tithes of 1833; that such an advance shall be repaid, in a limited time, by a land tax in Ireland, chargeable upon all the land liable to the payment of tithes, the owners or occupiers of which shall not have paid the tithes, or composition for tithes, which shall have become due from them for such years.”

Mr. O'CONNELL expressed his satisfaction at this arrangement, and a very laughable scene took place in the interchange of some flirtation or friendly compliments between Mr. O'CONNELL and the Irish Secretary, Mr. LITTLETON, after the manner of the pugilists, who generally shake hands to shew their good will, before they begin to mangle and destroy each other in the battle.

Mr. FINN said, that the whole system of Tithes in Ireland must be altered. The Established Church in Ireland received from 17s. to 20s. per head per annum from each Protestant. The Established Church in England 10s. per head only from each Protestant. In France, the Church received only 10 pence per head from each of its members: and in America,—the land he most approved of,—people gave just what they pleased to their religious instructors, and went to heaven the way they liked best.

The debate went on till past one o'clock: and both from Tories and Radicals, the speeches were chiefly against the resolution proposed by the Ministers: chiefly on the ground that it was voting away the public money without a hope of its being returned, and with a certainty that it would not allay the irritation, as it would still continue the monstrous principle of making Catholic tenants or Catholic landlords pay towards the support of a Protestant Church. Though the principal speakers were against the Ministers, yet the silent *corps de réserve* were in their favour; and when it came to the vote, the numbers were:—For the ministerial measure of advancing the money to pay the title arrears, 270; Against it, 40 only! If a change of ministry should take place as expected, a dissolution follow, and a new House be elected, how many of the present overwhelming majorities will be returned again?—We shall see.

‘Mr. C. Wood brought up the report of the resolutions on the East India Company’s Charter. The resolutions were agreed to, and a bill founded upon them was ordered to be brought in.

‘Mr. WILKS said, that though he was fully convinced of the importance of our again resorting to triennial Parliaments, still, as the question, though important, was not urgent, he should follow the example set him by other hon. members, and should now declare that it was not his intention to press his motion on that subject on Thursday next. He should postpone it to the next session.’

The other orders of the day were then read, and the House adjourned at half past one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—JUNE 17.

The proceedings in the House of Lords were of considerable interest to day. The resolutions of the Commons on the East India Question were communicated in a Conference, to the Lords, and ordered to be printed, the discussion on them to take place on Friday week. A conversation arose on Political Unions, when it appeared that there existed no intention for their suppression by the Government; which greatly displeased Lords Eldon, Winchelsea, and others, who wished to enjoy a monopoly for the Conservative Clubs.

The Local Courts Jurisdiction Bill was next introduced by the Lord Chancellor, who moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee on this Bill. His lordship introduced the subject in an able and liberal speech, worthy of his former self, and containing many redeeming features, as a set off to his late laxity in other particulars. The expense and delay of justice under the present system were powerfully exposed; and the general horror of law, felt among all classes of the trading community, were strongly depicted. The object of the present Bill was to enable Courts to administer Justice in the principal towns, with less delay and less cost than under the present system, and to facilitate the adjustment of honest claims, as well as to bring more easily within the reach of creditors the property of dishonest debtors.

LORD LYNTHURST made a very long and very learned speech against the measure; and contended, that by making these Local Courts the tribunals of justice, local prejudices and local partialities would prevail: and that it would be much safer to have the great central Courts of London as at present, with the Circuits of Assize, as the best securities for pure and impartial justice.

LORD BROUGHAM replied to the objections of Lord Lyndhurst, and his reply contained what might be called a severe "cutting up" of the noble baron by the Lord Chancellor, who possesses the talent for sarcasm and severe reproof, in all the vigour of his earlier days. The matter of debate lay in a nutshell; it being merely, whether the people should have justice brought nearer their own homes, and have it with less delay and at less price; or whether they should receive it as at present, encumbered both with delay and costs, to an extent that induced the greater majority to put up with injustice, rather than purchase justice itself at too high a price. But the combatants were old opponents, and political rivals, and as the House of Lords is never pressed for time like the Commons, the whole debate of the evening rested with these two speakers, who each addressed their lordly brethren for about three hours, when the motion for their lordships' going into a Committee was carried without a division. This point being gained, the Committee did not sit, but the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 17.

As the petitions presented to the Commons gradually abate in number, there is now generally some discussion on each, so that the time is just as much filled up as if the petitions were ever so numerous. One in favour of the vote by ballot and annual parliaments, presented by Mr. TENNYSON, elicited a sharp discussion, which ended in Mr. Wilks explaining why he had deferred his motion for Triennial Parliaments to next Session, because of the great pressure of other business during the present, and in Mr. Tennyson taking up the measure, and fixing it for July the 2nd, when he would move a call of the House to ensure a full attendance. Another conversation on Candidates' pledges, and on the Government prosecutions of the Press, lasted for nearly an hour, without ending in any thing beyond the successive declarations of members, why they had, or why they had not given pledges, which, if it had been followed up by every member who had an equal right so to do, might have continued the conversation for a week. A petition was presented from Liverpool, by Mr. Ewart, praying for the abolition of the indirect monopolies enjoyed by the West Indians, through bounties and protecting duties on colonial produce, which was supported by Mr. Thicknesse, Col. Williams, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Buckingham, and Mr. Philips, who all advocated the principles of free trade.

In the evening, the Factory Bill of Lord Ashley was read a second time; and as the conversation that passed on that occasion admitted a most important concession to the principle of limiting the hours for infant labour, we give it entire.

‘Lord ASHLEY having moved that the order of the day for the second reading of this bill,

‘Lord ALTHORP said he admitted it was necessary to place some restriction on the extent and amount of labour to be required from children. The report of the commissioners appointed to investigate the subject was not quite ready, but he expected it would be ready in a few days, so that it might be submitted to the House before the bill went into committee. The opinion of the commissioners was, that with respect to children under fourteen years of age the bill did not go far enough, (hear) but that in other respects it went too far.

‘Lord ASHLEY understood, then, that the principle of the bill was conceded.

‘Lord ALTHORP said as far as regarded children under fourteen, certainly it was, the commissioners being of opinion that it was necessary to protect them by a legislative enactment which should limit their labours to eight hours a day. Under the circumstances of the case he would not object to the second reading. Such amendments as appeared necessary could be introduced in the committee.

‘Lord ASHLEY trusted that the noble lord would offer no opposition to the Speaker leaving the chair, when he (Lord Ashley) should move the committee on the bill.

‘Lord ALTHORP.—Certainly not.

‘Lord ASHLEY.—I further hope that the noble lord will not consider me bound down to his principle of limiting the operation of the bill to children under the age of fourteen.

‘Lord ALTHORP.—The noble lord needs not to entertain any such apprehension.

‘Lord ASHLEY had the greatest desire to conciliate the opponents of the measure by every concession consistent with the principle of the bill. He wished to know from the noble lord whether the evidence taken by the commissioners would be printed and circulated as well as laid on the table? He feared that a great deal of time must elapse before the evidence could be printed—still further time would be spent in considering it. He entertained a very strong objection to the conduct of the commissioners in not having the evidence taken down at the time of its delivery. The abstracts which had been made of it could not prove satisfactory. He had had petitions from parties who were asked to supply copies for their evidence. In conclusion, he wished to know from the noble lord whether he was of opinion that there would be sufficient time for printing, circulating, and considering the evidence during the present session?

‘Lord ALTHORP could only answer, that the evidenceshould be laid on the table as soon as possible in a printed form.

‘The bill was read a second time.

‘Monday next was named by Lord ASHLEY for its committal, but at the suggestion of Mr. P. THOMSON, the committee was fixed for Friday se’nnight, with a view to allow a few days for the consideration of the report of the commissioners.

‘Lord ASHLEY expressed a hope that the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer would aid him in his endeavours to pass the bill in the present session.

‘Lord ALTHORP said he would offer no unnecessary obstruction to the measure.’

The House was then informed by Mr. Charles Grant, that he had repaired, with the Committee appointed for the purpose, to the Painted Chamber, where, in a Conference with the Lords, he had delivered to them the Resolutions on the East India Company's Charter.

After this, the House went into Committee on the Church of Ireland Bill, and a number of objections were raised to several of the clauses under discussion. Mr. Goring, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Halcomb, and Mr. Shaw, were the principal speakers; but all the clauses up to clause 38 were passed without a division. On the 39th clause being proposed, several hon. members objected to go into a new subject, after having been seven hours in committee, and Lord ALTHORP consented not to press the bill further at the present, giving notice that he meant to go on with the Committee *de die in diem* till all the clauses should be disposed of.

The House did not adjourn till near three o'clock; and many members had therefore sat for ten consecutive hours, in a crowded House, and a most suffocating atmosphere, and walked home by broad daylight to their beds.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 13.

In the morning sitting, several petitions were presented, amongst which were two of more than usual interest. The first of these was from an unfortunate elector, named Barber, who was a tailor in Boston; and who, for voting for the popular candidates, against the wishes of the Corporation, had been persecuted most cruelly by that body. His case was stated by Major Handley, and supported by an able and earnest appeal from Mr. Wilks. The second was a petition from the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire, relating to some long withheld claims, the history of which was briefly as follows:—

‘Previously to the war in 1807, the English Government seized all Danish ships and merchandise in our Ports, which being ultimately sold as droits of the crown, produced £1,265,211.—The King of Denmark retaliated, by sequestering, and afterwards confiscating all property and book debts due from Danish subjects to English merchants, to the probable value of £100,000.

‘The English Government declared, in 1809, “that this measure was contrary to the laws and usages of nations;—that to afford relief then, would be in some sort to acknowledge its legality, and so create a dangerous precedent, but compensation should be secured by treaty.”—In 1814, a treaty with Denmark being in preparation, the merchants reminded Government of their claims: the answer was, “that their interests were provided for by an article in the treaty,” which declares “that all sequestered property, not already confiscated, shall be restored on each side:” thus, instead of affording redress, it sanctions the confiscation, in direct opposition to the Copenhagen treaty of 1807, signed by the Duke of Wellington, which stipulated “that all the English property which had been sequestered, should be restored to the owners.” The Court of King’s Bench, in 1816, declared, “that no instance of such confiscation is to be found for more than a century, and that the judgment of the Court would be pregnant of mischief to future times, if it did not decide against its validity.”

'The result of twenty-five years' continual and vexatious solicitation was set forth in their appeal. They shewed that the Government took their money, unlawfully, and still keeps it unlawfully: the nation also was implicated, by having received one million out of the droits. A former administration would not allow the claimants to state their case before His Majesty's Privy Council; the present will not give to their case any answer. The only tribunal they could appeal to now was the House of Commons. They prayed therefore to be heard, and when their case was proved, to have their property restored to them.

This petition was presented by Mr. Parker, and supported by Mr. Buckingham, as representatives of the claimants in Sheffield, and was intended to have been followed by other petitions on the same subject, from claimants in London and Liverpool, by Lord Sandon and Mr. Grote: but the discussion was cut short by the arrival of three o'clock, when the Speaker left the Chair.

In the evening, the notices of motions were called over; when, on Mr. Buckingham having been appealed to by Lord Althorp, and strongly requested to allow his motion on the subject of Impressment to stand over for a short period, in order to allow the House to proceed with the Irish Bill, which it was of the utmost importance to carry through the House as rapidly as possible, Mr. Buckingham, on this public ground alone, consented to defer his motion until Tuesday next; when he hoped the Irish Bill would have passed the House, and the way be more clear for drawing the attention of members to other subjects.

Colonel EVANS persevered in his motion for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the Reform Act as compelled the payment of rates and taxes, as a qualification for electors to register their votes; but the feeling of the House was so strongly against pressing anything, in its impatience to get through the Irish Church Bill, that to this, and to this alone, was to be attributed the total absence of any animated support to the proposition, of which, nevertheless, a large number approved, but thought it pressed at an inconvenient time; the consequence of which was, that on going to a division, the numbers were—For the motion, 26: against it, 86.

Mr. FRYER was also determined to press his motion for leave to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Act of 9th Geo. IV. c. 60, commonly called the Corn Law. But though he introduced it in a very sensible, though in many respects a very peculiar, speech, which from its boldness in some parts, and eccentricity in others, elicited a great deal of strong feeling and amusement by turns, met with no better fate. The motion was supported by Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Philips, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Aglionby; and opposed by Lord Althorp, Col. Wood, Mr. Handley, Mr. Pease, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Leech: and, on going to a division, the numbers were—For the motion, 49; against it, 74.

Mr. Philips, at the request of Lord Althorp, and to facilitate the passing of the Irish Church Bill, deferred his motion on the Liverpool Borough until the 4th of July: and the House went into a Committee

on the Irish Church Bill accordingly; on which they sat from nine o'clock till two; by which time they got as far as the 90th clause, when, after some further conversation on other topics, the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—JUNE 19.

The question of the Danish claimants, the particulars of which we have given in a preceding page, was resumed at the morning sitting, when Mr. Grote, Lord Morpeth, Captain Yorke, Col. Hay, Mr. Philips, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Tennyson, Mr. Denison, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Brotherton, each spoke in support of the claims, on the grounds stated by Mr. Parker and Mr. Buckingham in the sitting of the preceding day. Mr. Cobbett was the only person who raised any objection to this payment: and Mr. Prynne expressed a hope that no direct measure would be introduced on the subject this Session:—when Mr. Parker replied, that after what had taken place, if nothing should be done in the present Session, or during the recess, he should feel it his duty to bring the matter specially before the House in the next Session.

It should be observed, that there was no responsible Minister, nor any other individual forming part of the Government, in the House during the debate on this subject, either yesterday or to-day, though the petitions had been entered on the books for several days past, and though the Ministers were apprized of this debate coming on. It was therefore utterly useless, as far as the obtaining from them any opinion or concession on the subject was an object of desire: and this utter disregard of the petitions of the people, by those who ought to be present to hear and answer them, is the return which is made to those who are for ever complaining of the “want of confidence in Ministers.” By and by, we suspect they will find it high time to use a different tone.

In the evening, the second reading of the General Registry Bill was moved by Mr. William Brougham, and, after a long and desultory discussion, of no general interest, a division took place, when the numbers were—For the Bill, 69; against it, 82.

At the request of Lord Althorp, several members, who had precedence for orders on the list for this evening, consented to give way, by postponing their orders to some future day, to hasten the progress of the Irish Church Reform Bill; on which the House accordingly went into Committee, and sat till two o'clock, by which time they had got through the clauses from 90 to 117, without a division.

The Bill for abolishing the punishment of death in cases of house-breaking during the day-time, was read a third time, and passed: and the House adjourned at half-past two.

MINORITY OF TWENTY-SIX,

Who, on the 18th of June, voted with Colonel Evans for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal that part of the Reform Act which requires the payment of rates and taxes by electors previous to their being registered as duly qualified to vote.

Bish, T.	Fenton, J.	O'Connell, D.	Ronayne, D.
Blake, J.	Fielden, J.	O'Connell, J.	Ruthven, E.
Buckingham, J. S.	Fitzsimon, C.	Parrott, J.	Tennyson, Rt. Hn. C.
Butler, Col.	Fryer, R.	Pease, J.	Vigors, N.
Barron, W.	Gisborne, T.	Philips, M.	Warburton, H.
Don, O'Conor	Hume, Joseph	Pryme, G.	Williams, Col.
Evans, Colonel	Molesworth, Sir W.	Rippon, C.	

MINORITY OF FORTY-NINE,

Who, on the 18th of June, voted with Mr. Fryer, for leave to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the present Corn Laws.

Attwood, T.	Fielden, J.	Morrison, J.	Sheppard, T.
Aglionby, H. A.	Gaskell, D.	Philips, M.	Scholefield, J.
Buckingham, J. S.	Grote, George	Potter, R.	Thicknesse, R.
Buller, E.	Hughes, H.	Oswald, R. A.	Whitmore, W. W.
Bish, T.	Hawkins, J. H.	Richards, J.	Wedgwood, J.
Brotherton, J.	Hill, M. D.	Ronayne, D.	Wallace, R.
Colquhoun, J. C.	Hume, J.	Romilly, E.	Wallace, T.
Cornish, J.	Hyett, W. H.	Ruthven, E. S.	Fryer, R.
Collier, J.	Hornby, E. G.	Rippon, C.	Warburton, H.
Evans, G.	Kennedy, T. F.	Scrope, P.	Whalley, Sir S.
Ewing, J.	Lushington, Dr. S.	Sharpe, General	Walker, R.
Evans, Colonel	Lloyd, J. H.	Strutt, E.	Williams, Colonel
Forster, C. S.	Maxwell, Sir J.		

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

New Member Sworn.

New Member sworn.—The Right Honble. Edward John Littleton, for the Southern Division of Staffordshire.

Copy presented.

Ship "Amherst."—Copy presented—of despatches which have been addressed by the Court of Directors to the supercargoes at Canton, in reference to the voyage recently undertaken by that vessel.—[Ordered 17th June.]

Notices of Motions.

Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to render the connection between Great Britain and Ireland safe, satisfactory, and permanent, by means of the re-establishment of a domestic Legislature in Ireland.—[At the earliest practicable period of the next Session.]

Mr. James Kennedy.—Bill to amend the laws relating to contracts for the loan of money.—[Early in the next Session]

Mr. Wilks.—Bill to prevent the duration of Parliaments longer than three years.—[Next Session.]

Mr. O'Connell.—Bill to amend Act (2 and 3 Will. 4, c. 89) intituled, "An Act to amend the representation of the people of Ireland."—[Tuesday 25th June.]

Colonel Evans.—Bill to amend the statute of William 4, intituled, "An Act to amend the representation of the people in England and Wales," in so far as to substitute the word "October" for "April," in the 27th clause of the said Act.&—[Tuesday, 9th July.]

THE LITERARY EXPOSITOR.

GRAND FRENCH WORK ON EGYPT, NUBIA, AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

WE have been favoured with a sight of the original Drawings, as well as the Engravings, of a magnificent work on Egypt and Nubia, entitled "*Voyage en Egypte, et en Nubie, et Lieux Circonvoisins, depuis 1805 jusqu'au 1827, par M. J. J. Rifaud*;" which deserve a far more extended notice than our space will admit, but of which we shall endeavour to convey a faithful though a brief description.

M. Rifaud is a French gentleman of Marseilles, who left his native city in 1805, on an extensive series of travels, and, during twenty-two years, was constantly occupied in visiting, observing, drawing, and recording, every thing worthy of remark or preservation in Italy, Spain, the Greek Archipelago, and other islands of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Egypt, Nubia, and the surrounding countries. His qualifications being very varied, and his time entirely at his own disposal, he laboured so assiduously and so successfully, that he brought home with him an immense mass of manuscript journals, and no less than six thousand separate drawings, including architectural monuments, landscape and scenery, figures, costumes, modern buildings, domestic and manufacturing processes, implements, and materials, natural history in all its branches, but especially zoology, ornithology, ichthyology, entomology, botany, &c.—forming altogether, perhaps, the richest and most varied collection ever brought together by the hand of one man, and certainly surpassing that of any other living traveller with whom we are acquainted.

A selection of the most valuable portion of this immense mass of materials has been made by the author himself, for publication in French, the plan of which is to have five large octavo volumes of text, The three first volumes of which are to contain the Narrative of the Travels and all that relates to the modern state of the countries described, their statistics, manners, customs, natural history, and meteorology, with twenty-three fac-similes of Arabic magic manuscripts or talismans, with French translations: and the fourth and fifth volumes will be devoted entirely to an explanation of the Engravings to accompany the work.

Of these Engravings there will be no less than three hundred, of a large folio size, to be contained in sixty numbers of five plates each,

including the most valuable and interesting of all the six thousand drawings, and some of every class or branch.

Already has this splendid Work, for so it may be justly termed, obtained the patronage of the opulent and the learned in all the countries of Europe; and as the consequent extensive demand enables the Author to furnish it to Subscribers at a correspondingly moderate price, he has determined to publish it at the extremely low rate of eight francs and thirty-five cents per number, about six shillings and eightpence English, making, therefore, twenty pounds sterling for the Grand Atlas of three hundred plates, in sixty numbers—and five octavo volumes of text given over, for nothing!

We should think that such a work, containing the researches of more than twenty years, in almost every branch of human enquiry, in the most interesting countries of the globe, and published at such a price, would find one purchaser at least, in every town in England, and many in the larger cities. No public library should be without it: and no gentleman's drawing-room could have a more interesting or inexhaustible source of instructive gratification than such a collection of Engravings would furnish—every one of them suggesting a topic of curious enquiry, and novel information.

The work is to appear in numbers, at intervals of two or three weeks apart. Twenty of these numbers are already completed in Paris; and fifteen of these we have seen. The remainder are to appear with sufficient rapidity to make the whole complete in about a year from the present date: and the names of Subscribers are received for it in England, by the author, Mr. Rifaud, who is now in London, at No. 40, Bernard-street, Russell-square, and by Dulau and Company, Foreign Booksellers, Soho Square.

As we know the personal history and qualifications of Mr. Rifaud, of whom we heard much in praise during our own sojourn in Egypt in 1816, whom we subsequently met at the soirées of the most distinguished men, and at the meetings of nearly all the scientific and learned societies of Paris in 1830,—of the greater number of which he is an honorary member,—and whose original drawings we have seen in London within the last week at our own abode, we think it due to him, as an act of justice to his talents as a Traveller, and as an act of hospitality to a stranger, to speak thus fully in commendation of his immense labours, and of their successful result. We would advise all our opulent readers to procure, and recommend to the libraries and institutions of their neighbourhood, to furnish themselves with a copy of the work; and as we have not the slightest interest in the matter beyond the pleasure of serving the intelligent author, and gratifying those to whom we address ourselves, we are sure they will ultimately feel obliged to us for this recommendation.

THE POLITICAL INDICATOR.

THE QUESTION OF COLONIAL SLAVERY NOT YET FINALLY SETTLED.

WE are glad to find, from the London Papers as well as from the Country ones,—from conversations in the House of Commons, as well as in private circles,—and from very significant symptoms in various quarters,—that it is by no means certain that the Slaves will be retained in their bondage for any thing like so long a period as twelve years ; or that the price to be paid for their liberation will amount to anything like the sum of twenty millions sterling. The Resolutions have been passed, but the discussions upon them have been continued out of doors, after those within the walls of Parliament were concluded : and these discussions, whether in conversation or through the press, have uniformly ended in the conviction that the twelve years apprenticeship scheme is wholly impracticable, and that the twenty millions purchase money is unjustifiably extravagant.

This uncertainty and indecision arises from the system of secrecy practiced by the present Ministers as to their plans. If they had stated early, at the beginning of the Session, what it was their intention to propose, the matter might have been discussed, and sound conclusions formed, before the plan was finally settled for presentation to the adoption of the House ; but all that could be wrung from them in the way of admission, whether in the Lords or the Commons,—whether in conferences by deputations, or in any other form,—was, that His Majesty's Ministers could not divulge their plan until they laid it on the table of the House ; but that they were assured of it being a " safe and satisfactory measure." Yet what has been the result ? Why, that this safe and satisfactory plan has been so mangled and metamorphosed, even in the short period of the few days in which it was passing through the lower House, that Proteus-like it every day assumed a new shape. First, it was to be a twelve years apprenticeship, as the *minimum* of time for probation,—the slave to redeem himself by a money payment of his assessed price,—and a loan of fifteen millions to the masters. Next it was to be a *maximum* of twelve years, with power to shorten the period,—no money payment for self-redemption to be made by the slaves,—and the loan of fifteen millions to be transformed into a gift. Even this, however, would not do ; for in a day or two afterwards, the fifteen millions were to be twenty ; and this being settled, the rest was to be left open for future arrangement, when they should have heard from the Colonies in reply to the proposition made !

Never was such shifting and turning, such indecision and vacillation, manifested, since the memorable Budget of the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, who was driven to abandon all his financial plans, almost as fast as he unfolded them. And yet the changes are not at an end. We expect that the future ones will be in retrograde motion, and that the double benefit will be derived from it, of a shortening the period of future Slavery, from twelve years to three at the farthest : and a considerable reduction in the amount to be paid to the Planters. A Correspondent of the Times has proved, to demonstration, that 23 millions is the full marketable value of all the 800,000 slaves in the Colonies : and that for this sum, without any difficulty or favour, the freedom of every man, woman, and child, might be purchased, as a matter of business and account : while the nation is now called upon to pay 20 millions for the one-fourth of the time of the slaves for a limited period only, though the other three-fourths might be also bought for 3 millions more, and the whole of them set free whenever the purchasers chose !

We perceive, also, that Mr. BUXTON's conduct in this affair, has not escaped observation : and as it will corroborate the justice of our remarks on this subject in our two preceding numbers, and prove that we are not singular in our views, we give one only of the documents that have been published relating to this.

TO THE SECRETARIES OF THE TRURO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,—

Russell Square, June 11, 1833.

‘ I owe it to you, to my Constituents, and to myself, to express my unfeigned discontentment at Mr. Buxton's conduct in the House of Commons, on occasion of the discussion on Mr. Stanley's third Resolution for inflicting continued Slavery on the already injured and unoffending Negro.

‘ Mr. Buxton, after having many times spoken vehemently against the measure of compulsory labour by apprenticeship, suggested several amendments, and not being able to satisfy himself as to the tenor of them, concluded by stating that he should vote against the resolution ; instead of which, he withdrew from the division, declining to vote at all upon that question.

‘ Such a course of proceeding I hold to be utterly inconsistent with the position in which Mr. Buxton had been placed by the confidence of the public ; he was bound, in my opinion, either to move an amendment or to say “ Aye ” or “ No ” upon the Resolution ; he failed in so doing, and has thus evinced a degree of vacillation and infirmity of purpose, incompatible with a due sense of the great, the all-important interest committed to his care.

‘ So much indeed was I disposed to abide by his supposed knowledge and matured experience on the subject, that had he voted with Ministers, I should have concurred, although reluctantly, in that vote ; but I would not submit to follow his example of indecision ; it is not in my nature to halt between two opinions, and I therefore adopted that most consonant to my feelings of abhorrence of Slavery in all its modifications.

‘ On the fourth resolution for payment of twenty millions of pounds sterling to the planters, my mind is equally made up ; by the third resolution they will have had their pound of flesh,—they shall not, with my consent, have one shilling in addition. Had freedom been justly and honestly be-

stowed upon the slave, so precious in my estimation would have been that boon, in comparison with which gold itself is but as dross, that I feel assured I should only have been giving expression to your sentiments, and those of my constituents, and of a generous public, by requiring the tardy atonement by a liberal grant.

I remain, Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM TOOKE.

We remember Mr. Buxton distinctly stating his opinion, in the House of Commons, in these words:—"If immediate Emancipation be not granted to the Slaves, the danger of insurrection is great; and they will then obtain their own freedom without our interference. Give them then that freedom without delay, and let us talk of compensation afterwards. For my own part, I shall have no objection to entertain the claims of the planters, when they have given freedom to the slaves, but until this is secured and complete, not one farthing of money will I consent to vote for them." How he can reconcile his voting 20 millions, since,—not to secure the freedom of the slaves, for according to Mr. Buxton they would obtain it sooner by insurrection, without payment, than they would by the Government plan of twelve years apprenticeship, which he said, and said truly, was still Slavery, under another name,—it is for him to shew.

TO OUR READERS.

The present Number will complete the Second Volume of THE PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW, and we have accordingly given with it a Title and Index, as before. It may be well, however, to defer the binding of the Volumes until the Third is complete, when they will include all the Proceedings of the Session, from its commencement to its close.

As we have deemed the termination of this Second Volume of our Sessional labours, the fittest place for introducing the subject with which the remaining portion of these Sheets are occupied, pursuant to the pledge given by us, (No. 4, Vol. 1, p. 247,) to lay before our Readers the complete History of a Transaction that has been much misrepresented;—we think it right to state that we have burthened them with no cost in so doing: but have given them the full quantity of matter usually allotted to each Number, namely 64 pages, and superadded Two Extra Sheets, without charge, asking only their careful and dispassionate perusal of what they contain, and leaving them to form their own judgment thereon.

The length of the Debate on the East India Question, added to other political topics, all pressing on public attention at nearly the same moment of time, has in some degree, but temporarily only, deranged our usual plan for securing that variety which we desire in the succession of the many subjects to which our pages are devoted. But as this pressure will soon begin to relax, we shall speedily resume that variety: and on a review of our labours as a whole, we have reason to hope that our readers will not be dissatisfied with the manner in which we have endeavoured to redeem our pledges throughout.

SUPPLEMENTARY SHEETS.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RESULT OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S PLAN FOR A VOYAGE ROUND THE GLOBE.

IN the speech of Mr. CHARLES GRANT, the President of the India Board, as well as in the speech of Mr. CHARLES MAJORIBANKS, the late Chief of the East India Company's Factory at Canton—both of which will be found in the Report of the Parliamentary Proceedings in our present Number—mention is made of the great advantages derived, in the acquisition of a more perfect knowledge of the Chinese coasts, the Chinese markets, and the Chinese people, from a Voyage undertaken by Mr. Lindsay from Canton, for the purpose of exploring the comparatively unknown parts of the Eastern Seas. Both the Russians and the French have been making maritime and mercantile investigations in the same quarter: and these united testimonies prove sufficiently the strong and concurring opinion in favour of such undertakings.

We think it our duty, therefore, to seize the present moment, while these testimonies are fresh upon the public mind, to give a brief History of the Origin, Progress, and Result of a Plan proposed by us in the year 1830, for such a Voyage, to be undertaken from England, and at the public expense. Had that plan been adequately supported by the British Public, the ship or ships, forming the Expedition, would by this time have been about returning from their researches, and have brought back with them a mass of accurate information, on the Hydrography, Productions, Population, Markets and Resources of the Eastern World, which would have been worth to the nation, at the present moment, a million sterling at least; and from the want of which, in the enterprizes that will now be undertaken on the opening of the China Trade, many ships will be lost, from the imperfection of the charts; many failures will take place from improper and ill-assorted cargoes, and a want of due knowledge of adequate returns; and many difficulties will be encountered, which a preliminary Voyage of Exploration would have removed, by smoothing the way for those that were to follow.

We lament, therefore, that this Voyage did not take place: but as we did our utmost to obtain the means of carrying it into execution, and devoted more than a year of valuable time, and an unusual effort of labour and expense, to promote its success, we have nothing to reproach ourselves with on this score. We shall here, therefore, content ourselves with placing on record the Plan itself, and describing the history of its obstructions, and then leave the Public to form their own judgment on the case. The first announcement of the Plan was as follows:—

SKETCH OF A PLAN
FOR EFFECTING
A VOYAGE ROUND THE GLOBE,
BY THE ROUTE OF
INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE PACIFIC ISLES,
FOR THE PURPOSES OF
DISCOVERY, — CIVILIZATION, — AND COMMERCE, — COMBINED.

TO BE PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION AND COMMAND OF
J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

Author of Travels in Palestine—in Syria—in Arabia—in Mesopotamia—and in Persia. Member
of the Literary Societies of Bombay and Madras—of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—
and of the Geographical Societies of Paris and London.

*In the course of which it is intended to promote and accomplish the following
interesting and important objects of public benefit:—*

1. The Collection of General Information regarding the East.
2. The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in every Quarter.
3. The Extension of the Sale of British Manufactures.
4. The Discovery of new Articles of Commercial Return.

THE Throne of England being now, for the first time in all its history, filled by a Monarch whose earliest years were devoted to the Service of his Country at Sea, and who has ever since cherished a fond regard for the welfare and glory of the National Marine, the commencement of his auspicious Reign cannot fail to give an additional interest to every Enterprise, of which the Ocean is to be the element, and British Seamen the instruments of its accomplishment;—while the liberality of the present Administration, by whom that Monarch is now surrounded, the leading Members of which were among the first to extend their patronage to the Expedition here proposed, inspire the strongest hopes of their example being followed by all classes in the realm.

From the age of Alexander and Ptolemy, who each sent Expeditions to explore the hidden Sources of the Nile, down to the present day, when our enterprising countrymen, Franklin and Parry, have been employed, at great personal risk, and vast public expense, to find a Northern Passage into the Pacific Sea, the mere solution of some Geographical Problem only, without reference to higher views, has been sufficient to call forth the energies, and justify the fame, of those distinguished Voyagers of all Nations, from Ne-archus to Columbus, by whom Expeditions of mere Discovery have been conducted; and at the same time to enlist the patronage and sympathies of Kings, Queens, Nobles, and People, in their success.

It is certain that much remains to be done, even in this department of knowledge only, and that the Geographical and Hydrographical features of our Globe are yet very far from being perfectly delineated; so that a Voyage of Circumnavigation, if directed to this object alone, would be still worthy the patronage and support of the first maritime Nation of the World, and of every class of its Inhabitants.

But there is one important duty that has never yet been incorporated with any systematic and well digested Plan for a Voyage of Discovery; which is, to lay the foundations for a future Commercial Intercourse with the Coasts and Islands discovered, by leaving among their inhabitants the best Memorials that men can ever bequeath to each other,—namely, Specimens of the Useful Manufactures, Models of Agricultural and Domestic Implements, and Descriptions of the Arts and Conveniences which Time and Experience have enabled us to discover and apply to the improvements and comforts of life; with the seeds of Elementary and Useful Knowledge, planted in such a manner as to lead to a harvest of Intellectual and Moral Improvement, and the consequent increase of Happiness to those who are thus blessed.

The present period seems peculiarly favourable for such an undertaking; inasmuch as the shores and Islands of the Eastern Hemisphere, in the space lying between China and South America, including the coasts of Corea, Formosa, Japan, Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, the Moluccas, the Philippines, the Kurile Archipelago, and the countless Islands in the Pacific Ocean, are the parts of the Globe least accurately known in every sense; and these are now likely to become as accessible to English ships, as they have for a long time been to foreign vessels only: it being understood that the existing Administration will soon permit English ships to be employed as American and other foreign vessels now are, in the Trade from this country to every part of the Eastern Seas.

The want of an accurate knowledge of distant Countries, when they are first opened to new intercourse, has been productive of infinite loss and misery, by the evil of Overtrading, arising from the natural anxiety of all adventurers to be first in the market, and to be provided with a full supply of every thing needed; but not knowing what is actually required, either in quantity or description, every thing is taken,—a glut ensues,—and more than half the Exports are lost or destroyed.

Such accurate knowledge cannot be speedily obtained, except by a Voyage undertaken for that express object, and with adequate preparation for effecting it on a systematic and complete plan.

The first requisite for this purpose, is that a Ship of sufficient size and competent equipments should be provided by the British Public, fitted, manned, and ready for sea; combining perhaps the use of Steam for occasional application in currents and calms, with the Safety Tubes of Mr. Watson as a security from foundering; and such other modern improvements as may tend to increase the speed, safety, and perfect accomplishment of the Voyage, and accompanied, if possible, by a Tender or Vessel of smaller dimensions, for the greater facility of operations, as well as for mutual aid.

The Ship and her equipments being given as a Donation to this great object, no further aid on the part of the Public will be needed; as the ordinary operations of Trading, in the purchase and sale of commodities, and in the conveyance of goods and passengers from place to place, on the route, will defray all the subsequent charges of the Voyage; and to prevent all misconception on this subject, it is particularly requested to be observed that this is not intended as a Joint-stock or Trading Company, but a Public Subscription for a great Public Undertaking, without further risk or concern on the part of the Subscribers.

The objects that I pledge myself to keep constantly in view, during the whole of this Expedition, and the benefits I may hope to effect by it, of a public and general nature, will be the following:—

I.—To add to the existing stock of knowledge, every new fact that can be collected respecting the Geography and Hydrography of the Coasts and Islands visited; and to make the most ample researches that can be effected respecting the Statistics, Productions, Manners, Wants, &c. of every particular place; as well as to collect Specimens of whatever may be found to deserve preservation, in Natural History, Botany, Mineralogy, &c.; as well as of the Artificial Products and Native Wares, where any such exist.

II.—To introduce into all the Ports visited, Specimens in small quantities, but in infinite variety, of all the various descriptions of Goods manufactured in England; whether in Woollens, Silks, or Cottons; in Metals, Glass, or Earthenware; so as to ascertain, by actual experiment, what particular descriptions of Goods are suited to particular Markets, and what are the quantities, patterns, textures, prices, and other peculiarities best adapted to each; for the want of which knowledge, all the evils of Overtrading have happened.

III.—To add to this distribution of the Specimens of English Manufactures, the introduction of the Useful Arts of civilised life, in the shape of Models, Drawings, and Descriptions of all the various Implements, Utensils, and Conveniences, of Agriculture, Husbandry, and Domestic Comfort, in use among ourselves: as well as Seeds, Plants, Animals, and Materials of Improvement of every kind; and to lay the foundation for the establishment of Schools of Instruction, for increasing, perpetuating, and diffusing Useful Knowledge in every branch.

IV.—To bring from the Coasts and Islands visited in the Voyage, such intelligent youths as may be disposed to accompany the Expedition,—from the age of twelve to sixteen,—sufficiently old to retain a perfect recollection of their country, manners, &c., and sufficiently young to receive readily new impressions, and to acquire the language and learning of other lands; so that, after educating them in some of the Public Institutions of Europe, they might be returned in safety to their own country, where they would do more in a few months to spread the knowledge and the arts of civilized life, than could be effected by strangers in as many years.

These are the mere Outlines of the Plan,—but the statement of these will be sufficient to enable every reader to fill up much of the details.

The classes of the community from whom the most cordial aid may be expected towards this undertaking,—and the reasons for their ready co-operation,—are the following:—

1.—From the Members of both Houses of Parliament:—Because the Information collected in such a Voyage, would be more copious and more accurate than the desultory Evidence of accidental and often unobservant and indifferent Witnesses, on whose imperfect testimony the Legislature is now too often obliged to rely, for the facts and opinions which form the basis of their Commercial measures.

2.—From the Clergy and Gentry of England, from the Learned and Liberal Professions, and from persons not engaged in any Mercantile Business:—Because the Abolition of Ignorance, Idolatry, and Slavery, and the advancement of the great interests of Humanity, Morality, and Knowledge, will be promoted thereby.

3.—From the Bankers, Capitalists, and Monied Interests of the Country: Because every extension of the channels and marts of Commerce, and every improvement in the condition of distant nations and people, creates additional employment for capital, and increases the value of their wealth.

4.—From the General Merchants:—Because every addition to the number of places to which they may trade, lessens the chance of evil from the shutting up or suspension of their operations in any single quarter, and consequently multiplies their chances of gain: and because every improvement in the Charts of unknown Coasts and Seas increases the safety of Navigation and Trade.

5.—From the Manufacturers:—Because the stagnation under which all classes now labour, from the increased power of production by means of machinery, can only be relieved by the opening new sources of consumption, and discovering new articles of Commercial return.

6.—From the Shipowners:—Because the extreme depression of the Shipping Interest arises from the competition of foreign vessels sailing cheaper than English ones, and occupying the Carrying Trade of Europe: which can only be relieved by extending our Maritime Trade to distant parts of the World, where, from the imperfect knowledge of Navigation and Seamanship, no such competition will be met, but the superiority of British skill and experience will secure to British ships by far the largest portion of the maritime conveyance.

7.—From the Ladies of England generally:—Because one of the most distinguishing as well as the most revolting features of Eastern manners, and of semi-barbarous life every where, is the enslaved and degraded condition of Women:—and because it has been universally found that wherever nations or people become improved in their knowledge, or advanced in the scale of civilization by intercourse with a superior race, there the condition of Women is ameliorated: and this effect becoming again a cause, creates a further improvement in the condition of Men:—thus augmenting and reproducing good, until at length Wives become the intellectual and honoured companions, instead of being the degraded slaves of their Husbands, —and Mothers become the cultivated instructors, instead of being the mere nurses of their Children.

8th and Lastly.—From Public Literary Institutions, and from the Conductors of the Public Press:—Because every acquisition made to the stores of Knowledge increases their power and importance, as the great Directing Engine by which Public Opinion is regulated and swayed:—and because all the preceding Classes already enumerated, are under the influence of their dominion and controul.

It may be added, that since this Plan of the Voyage was first sent to the Press, an Association for effecting a portion at least of the same objects, has been established in Paris, under the title of "The Society of Civilization," at the head of which is the Count de Laborde, supported by most of the Nobility and Learned Men in France: and we have long had in England an Association for discovering the interior of Africa—as well as another for improving the condition of its unhappy people,—both of which are honoured with the names and support of some of the noblest families in England.

The difficulty of effecting such objects by a single Association, is, however, exceedingly great:—first, from the impossibility of obtaining sufficient funds from the small annual Subscriptions of four or five hundred members only, and from the cost of all the operations being wholly an outlay of expense, without any sources of profit from which to defray them:—and secondly, from the diversity of opinion and distraction of councils, inseparable from an Association, being most prejudicial to the rapid and decisive execution of indispensably prompt and energetic measures.

* See the Letter of Lord Brougham at p. 633.

The present Expedition will be free from all these difficulties: as, if the ship be once floated from the shores of England at the public expense, the Expedition will then maintain itself, without further aid, by the ordinary sources of trade and profit in the route: while a single directing mind, assisted only by the Scientific Companions and fellow-officers of the Voyage, (to include an Astronomer, Hydrographer, Professors of Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, &c., with Artists skilled in all the branches of Design, who will be selected with reference to their attainments in each department of Knowledge,) will unite energy and prudence, with promptitude, decision, and dispatch.

Of my own qualifications for this undertaking I will say only this: That from my cradle, the love of Enterprize and the ambition of Discovery and Improvement have been my leading passions. I went to sea at nine years of age,—obtained a maritime command before I was twenty-one,—have visited in that capacity almost all parts of the world,—the West Indies, North and South America, the Mediterranean, Turkey, Egypt, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulph, the East Indies, including Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, and Bengal,—and have travelled by land far into the interior of Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Media, and Persia. I have adopted the costume, learnt the tongue, and accustomed myself to the manners of almost all the several countries named, and passed with safety and respect through each. I am in my forty-fourth year, sufficiently strong, healthy, vigorous, and energetic, for any enterprize of difficulty and danger,—and with enough of experience to assist my judgment, without extinguishing my zeal;—while the Books I have written, and the Discourses or Lectures I have delivered, of which not less than 100,000 different individuals in various parts of England have been the witnesses, will confirm my capacity to collect information, to record it in writing, and to impart it verbally to others.

The only means I ask for conducting and commanding this Enterprize is this:—That the ship and her equipments,—such as the means thus raised may furnish,—be in the first instance provided by the British Public, leaving every subsequent expense of the Voyage to be paid out of her trading freights or gains:—and that all the materials thus supplied to me as instruments with which to effect the undertaking, be placed entirely at my disposal:—on the pledge that after this Voyage round the Globe has been performed, and the objects accomplished, as far as may be found practicable according to the Plan detailed above, a faithful Narrative of the proceedings of the Expedition, from its departure till its return, shall be published, for the honour of those who may contribute to its formation, and, it is hoped, for the benefit of the World at large.

168, Piccadilly, London.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

When this Plan had been shewn to most of the distinguished patrons of enterprize among the nobility, and men of science in London, and a sufficient extent of approbation obtained to warrant its being brought more prominently before the Public,—this was done, under the highest auspices and the most favourable circumstances that could be desired: in proof of which, it will be sufficient to shew the Requisition by which the Meeting was convened, it being addressed to one of the highest personages in the land, and signed by a greater number of persons of rank and distinction than almost any Requisition ever known, of such a nature, or for such a purpose. It was this:—

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

London, July 17, 1830.

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the undersigned, Subscribers to a Fund for effecting a Voyage round the Globe, for the purposes of Discovery, Civilization, and Commerce, combined, respectfully request that your Royal Highness will do us the honour to preside at a Meeting at the Royal Institution, on Thursday next, the 22nd inst., at One o'Clock; for the purpose of hearing, from Mr. Buckingham, under whose direction and command the proposed Voyage is to be undertaken and performed, an Address, in which he intends to develop the nature of the objects to be accomplished, and the means by which he hopes these may be obtained: and for the purpose of submitting certain resolutions thereon.

We have the honour to be

Your Royal Highness' most devoted Servants—

(Signed by)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR BROUGHAM.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THE MARQUIS OF SLIGO.

LORD HOLLAND.

LORD DOVER.

RIGHT HON. F. LEVESON GOWER.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

SIR J. C. HOBHOUSE, BART.

SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE.

CAPT. F. MARRYATT, R.N.

HENRY LYTTON BULWER, M.P.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

THE EARL OF DURHAM.

LORD NUGENT, M.P.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

E. D. DAVENPORT, M.P.

R. OTWAY CAVE, M.P.

CAPT. A. W. ROBE, R.E.

CAPT. A. M'KONOCHIE, R.N.

A. V. KIRWAN.

E. WYNN PENDARVES, M.P.

THE HONOURABLE LEICESTER STANHOPE.

On this Requisition being presented to His Royal Highness, he said that he had never before received an Invitation signed by so great a number of persons of rank and distinction: and that on this account, as well as from his cordial approbation of the Plan and Design of the Voyage itself, he should cheerfully attend, and give the undertaking his most cordial support. The following is a Report of what took place at the Meeting held in pursuance of this appointment.

RESOLUTIONS AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION.

At a numerous Public Meeting, held at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, on Thursday, July 22d, 1830, His Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, President of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by His Grace THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, President of the Royal Institution: and Seconded by LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P., Vice President of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge:

1. That the Plan on which Mr. Buckingham proposes to conduct a Voyage Round the Globe, for promoting the great objects of Hydrographical Discovery—Practical Civilization—and Commercial Enquiry—appears to this Meeting to be eminently well calculated to produce great National advantages, and much general good; and to be therefore entitled to the cordial support of all ranks and classes of His Majesty's subjects.

Moved by ADMIRAL SIR SYDNEY SMITH, K.C.B. : and Seconded by SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSON, late Chief Justice of His Majesty's Supreme Court of Ceylon, and Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. That the maritime experience, active habits, and diversified knowledge evinced by Mr. Buckingham in his Writings and Lectures on the Countries of the Eastern World, added to the unwearied zeal manifested by him in his endeavours to excite the sympathy of the people of Europe in behalf of their Asiatic fellow-beings,—are, in the opinion of this Meeting, qualifications which peculiarly fit him for commanding this Expedition, and conducting it to a happy termination.

Moved by LORD DURHAM : and Seconded by THE REVEREND ARTHUR S. WADE, D.D. F.S.A.

3. That the Members of this Assembly, having themselves cheerfully contributed their assistance towards the *commencement* of this new and interesting Undertaking, do feel themselves justified in earnestly inviting all the Encouragers of Useful Knowledge—the Friends of Moral Improvement—and the Promoters of Commercial Intercourse—to co-operate with them in advancing, by their contributions—the *completion* of this great design.

Moved by GENERAL SIR SAMUEL BENTHAM, K.S.G., and seconded by COLONEL THE HONOURABLE LEICESTER STANHOPE.

4. That the Noblemen and Gentlemen, already among the earliest of the London Subscribers, and including Members of all the several Professions, be solicited to select out of their own numbers, a Central or Metropolitan Committee, (five of whom may at any time form a quorum,) for the purpose of suggesting such measures as they may conceive best calculated to promote the end in view.

5. That the Subscribers to this Undertaking, in different parts of the Country, be recommended to form similar Committees from among their own numbers, to effect the same objects in their respective neighbourhoods, and to communicate the result of their efforts to the Central Committee in Town.

6. That the Country Bankers generally be solicited to permit the deposits of Subscriptions at their several Banks, in each of the Provincial Towns, for ultimate remittance to the Committee in London; and that they be also invited to assist in promoting the success of this Enterprise in their respective circles.

7. That the London and Provincial Press be also earnestly requested to give the utmost publicity to the leading features of the proposed Voyage—so that all classes of their readers may become speedily and accurately acquainted with the nature of the objects it is intended to accomplish.

8. That the following London Bankers be empowered to receive and retain all Subscriptions, whether paid to them in Town, or remitted from the Country : and to hold the amount in trust, at the disposal of the Committee to be appointed as above—who, acting in conjunction with Mr. Buckingham, will apply it to the exclusive purpose of the purchase of the Ship and her Equipments, and other necessary Expenses connected with the prosecution of the Voyage proposed :—namely, Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, 1, Lombard Street; Messrs. Ransom and Co. 1, Pall Mall East; and Messrs. Coutts and Co. 59, Strand ; to whom, therefore, all Subscriptions are requested to be paid.

LORD DURHAM then moved the cordial Thanks of the Meeting to His Royal Highness THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, for the deep interest taken by him in the object proposed; and for so ably presiding over the Meeting of this Day; which, being seconded by Mr. BUCKINGHAM, was carried by acclamation; and by the whole Assembly rising amid general cheers.

An Open Committee, including the Movers and Seconders of the preceding Resolutions, and about fifty of the principal Subscribers, whose names will be found in the Subscribers' List, was subsequently formed, and the following were the Appointments confirmed by them:

SIR GEORGE DUCKETT, Bart. 50, Pall Mall, *Treasurer*;

THE HON. LEICESTER STANHOPE, St. James's, *Secretary*;

To whom, therefore, all Contributions in aid of the Expedition, and all Communications intended for the London Committee, are requested to be addressed.

The nature of the intended Expedition being known in France, Mr. Buckingham was urgently invited by one of the most distinguished Travellers and Men of Science in that Country, to visit it, for the purpose of obtaining the co-operation of the French in this design: and a compliance with this invitation having been recommended by the Committee, Mr. Buckingham repaired to Paris, and during his stay there obtained warm assurances of support. The opinions entertained of the Plan of the Voyage may be best gathered from the following high encomiums:—

LETTER OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR BROUGHAM.

Extract of a Letter addressed by Lord Brougham, President of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, to Mr. Buckingham, dated June 3, 1830.

"I have not for a long time seen any Plan so much to my liking as the one you communicated to me yesterday, and which I have attentively considered. I had been some considerable time ago thinking of a Voyage of Discovery, or rather for mutually obtaining and giving useful Information, to be set on foot by an Association. But *your* Plan, combining the trading part of it with the other, and effecting the object without the distraction of councils incident to a Society, and very prejudicial to executive measures, I admit to be *very far better* on every account; and I heartily wish it all success. I am desirous of contributing my share towards its fulfilment in any way I can be of use."

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

James Cropper, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED,

That this Committee, fully sensible of the services rendered to the India Question by J. S. Buckingham, Esq., in the delivery of his Lectures, both in Liverpool and elsewhere—thus giving an impulse to the subject at a most important period—beg leave to offer him their sincere thanks for his valuable assistance; and to subscribe the sum of Twenty Guineas to the Voyage he has in contemplation, with their best wishes for its success.

Committee Room, Liverpool,
July 21, 1830.

R. MOORSOM, *Sec. pro. tem.*

RESOLUTIONS AT THE ATHENÉE ROYAL OF PARIS.

At a Public Meeting held at the Athénée Royal of Paris, November 15, 1830, attended by Peers, Deputies, Members of the Institute, and others favourable to the proposed Expedition, (MONSIEUR JEAN BAPTISTE SAY, the Professor of Political Economy, in the Chair,) a series of Resolutions similar in spirit to those of the London Meeting, were passed unanimously, of which the following are portions:—

“Après avoir examiné avec soin les plans proposés par M. Buckingham, et les avoir trouvés propres à ajouter de nouveaux résultats à ceux déjà obtenus par les précédens navigateurs, et à en produire d'un genre entièrement neuf, plusieurs citoyens ont cru devoir aider M. Buckingham de leurs efforts.

“Il ont cru qu'au moment où une sympathie des plus généreuses s'était montrée en Angleterre pour nos souffrances et nos succès, il était du devoir de la France de saisir avec empressement toutes les occasions de rapprochement, et, par conséquent, de se joindre à l'Angleterre dans cette entreprise. Elle offre, en effet, à deux grandes nations les moyens de s'unir pour augmenter les lumières de la civilisation qui brillent sur toutes deux, et pour en jeter quelques étincelles sur des peuples qui en sont encore totalement privés.

“En conséquence, le Comité a pris les résolutions suivantes :

“1. Le Comité est composé de cinquante membres, qui auront le pouvoir de s'en adjoindre d'autres. 2. Le Comité, a pour l'objet de rallier les efforts de la France à ceux de l'Angleterre, pour le succès du *Voyage autour du Globe*, tel que le projette M. Buckingham, dans le triple but de faire des recherches scientifiques, de recueillir des renseignements commerciaux, et de répandre la civilisation. 3. Pour parvenir à ses fins, le Comité donnera la plus grande publicité au projet de M. Buckingham, afin d'obtenir de toutes les associations scientifiques, commerciales et philanthropiques des souscriptions et des renseignements sur les divers points du voyage.”

An Open Committee of Fifty Members was accordingly formed: the subscriptions of the King, the Queen, the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, General Lafayette, and a number of Peers, Deputies, Men of Science, and Editors of the Public Journals, were obtained, to be published in the French List: and the following appointments were confirmed:

MESSRS. LAFFITTE and Co., Bankers, *Treasurers*.

MESSRS. A. MONTMONT and E. THAYER, *Secretaries*.

REPORT OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF FRANCE.

Extrait du Rapport à la Société Française de Statistique Universelle, sur le projet de Voyage de M. Buckingham.

“M. Buckingham, déjà connu dans la carrière des voyages par d'honorables travaux, a, dans la séance du 19 Oct. développé lui-même son plan avec beaucoup d'habileté, et a demandé à la Société d'encourager ses efforts pour la science des découvertes, et de vouloir bien joindre son approbation à celles de beaucoup d'autres sociétés savantes. Vous avez, dans la même séance, nommé une commission spéciale pour vous faire un rapport sur le projet de M. Buckingham, en examiner les détails, et attacher, avec connaissance de cause, au plan de l'auteur, le poids de votre autorité scientifique, en faveur d'une entreprise qui portera sans doute de nouvelles lumières dans la science hydrographique, dans les arts, et dans le commerce.

“C'est assurément une grande et belle idée que celle d'augmenter les relations des peuples qui habitent le globe, par les bienfaits que porte avec lui le commerce, qui ne marche jamais sans être accompagné de la civilisation, et enlace ainsi le monde avec la chaîne d'or des intérêts réciproques.

“Pour accomplir une aussi glorieuse entreprise, l'auteur propose une souscription, et fait un appel aux savans de toutes les nations, aux hommes honorables de tous les pays et de toutes les religions.

“Le rapporteur de votre commission a l'honneur de vous proposer d'inviter MM. les membres composant la Société Française de Statistique Universelle à souscrire individuellement pour faciliter à M. Buckingham l'exécution d'une entreprise aussi vaste qu'utile aux sciences et à la civilisation.

(Signé) LE MARQUIS DE SAINTE-CROIX.

On his return from France, Mr. Buckingham communicated to the Committee the result of his Mission,—and stated to them the very general feeling at Paris that the Government of England ought to assist such an Expedition :—when it was thought advisable to make the solicitation of aid from the State as moderate as possible : and the following Letter was accordingly agreed to be sent :—

LETTER ADDRESSED TO SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.
FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

SIR,

38, Sackville-street, Piccadilly,
Dec. 20, 1830.

In the month of July last, a Public Meeting was held at the Royal Institution of Great Britain—His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the Chair—for the purpose of taking into consideration the Plan of a Voyage round the Globe, for the united purposes of hydrographical discovery, commercial exploration, and preparatory or progressive civilization. It was attended by a very numerous and highly respectable auditory : and the Plan being fully detailed, a series of resolutions were moved successively, by his Grace the Duke of Somerset, the President of the Royal Institution, by Lord Durham, Lord John Russell, Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Alexander Johnstone, Judge, General Sir Samuel Bentham, the Rev. Dr. Wade, and the Hon. Colonel Stanhope, expressing their cordial approbation of the plan, and recommending its immediate and extensive support; which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

A Committee was then formed out of the earliest patrons of the Plan, which included four members of the Royal Family, about fifty Peers and Members of the House of Commons, and a great number of distinguished officers of the navy and army, members of the clerical, legal, and medical professions, merchants, bankers, literary men, &c. ; and subscriptions were immediately obtained from a few of the leading men of each profession in London, and from some of the principal residents in almost every town of importance in the country.

The extensive popularity of this undertaking, and the very general approbation with which it has been viewed in all parts of England, may therefore be safely inferred from this.

The recent change in the Government of France inducing the Committee to believe that the public men and the friends of science and humanity in

that country would very readily co-operate with them in the support of this expedition, and having myself received a cordial invitation from the Count Alexander de la Borde, one of the most distinguished voyagers, then President of a Society for the promotion of Civilization, a Member of the French Chamber, and Prefect of the Seine, it was resolved by the Committee that I should visit Paris accordingly.

I have just returned from that capital, and have submitted to the Committee the gratifying proofs that the King, the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and many of the leading peers and deputies of France, have added their names as subscribers to this undertaking; that several of the learned societies have examined, reported upon, and cordially approved of the Plan, and that a Committee of fifty members, including some of the most distinguished members in that country, has been established to promote the advancement of the object in France, as cordially and as extensively as in England.

The recent happy change in the Government of this country having brought into His Majesty's councils almost all the earliest patrons and encouragers of this Expedition in England, a new hope has been inspired that His Majesty's Government, animated by the desire of extending geographical discovery, of exploring new marts for commerce, of relieving our superabundant population, and of diffusing useful knowledge in every branch, would readily afford this Expedition their countenance and their aid.

Aware, however, of the peculiar situation of the country, and of the pledges to retrenchment of expenditure in every department, the Committee do not think of asking assistance in *money* from any of the public funds. They confine their solicitations to that which will not require any actual outlay of expense on the part of the State, nor interfere with the pledges of retrenchment given.

In former years, and under former administrations, many thousands of the public money have been expended in the support of naval expeditions in ships, equipment, provisions, pay, &c., for the sole purpose of solving some geographical problem—as in the recent voyages of Captains Ross, Parry, and Franklin, to the North Pole; and for correcting the charts of distant parts of the world—as in the surveys of Captain Owen, on the east coast of Africa, Captain King in Australia, and many others that might be named. Without derogating in the least from the utility of these expeditions, which is sufficiently acknowledged, it may be at least assumed that the combined interest of commerce and civilization, which the Voyage under my direction will *superadd* to hydrographical discovery, will not lessen its claim to an equal share of approbation, from the Government of a great maritime, commercial, and philanthropic country like our own; and especially at a moment when the councils of the State are filled by those by whom these objects have always been warmly patronized and commended.

I am requested, therefore, by the Committee, to express a hope, that from among the great number of unoccupied ships now at the disposal of the Government, some one may be spared, and be permitted to be appropriated to the prosecution of this Voyage, under such conditions and guarantees as may be deemed necessary, consistently with the pledges already made to the public, of performing the Expedition in a certain manner, and with reference to the combined objects described. If such a ship be granted for this purpose, the honour will be as great to the British Government, and the benefit as undoubted to the British nation, as if the whole cost of the expedition, from its departure till its return, were paid out of the public funds; while, by this mode, it will be effected without the cost of a single

shilling to the country beyond the grant of the ship itself; as the merchants and manufacturers of England will readily supply the lading, so as to effect all the commercial objects at their expense, and the friends of science and civilization in both countries will then furnish abundant funds to defray every other charge of the undertaking for the philanthropic objects in view.

In conclusion, I beg to submit enclosed, a copy of the Plan adverted to, with the resolutions, and lists of the Committees of England and France; and have only to add, that my Lord Chancellor Brougham has expressed himself in terms of the highest possible approbation of the Plan in all its details, in which he is joined by many of the leading members of His Majesty's present Administration.

As it is quite possible that this, my application to you, may be deficient in some of the formalities which ought to be observed—but in which, if I fail, it is from want of knowledge, and not by design—I have further to solicit the favour of a personal interview on this subject, at such early period as you may have the kindness to appoint, that I may offer any explanation you may desire, and receive the pleasure of your commands; awaiting which,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

REPLY FROM THE ADMIRALTY,—ADDRESSED TO
MR. BUCKINGHAM.

Admiralty Office, Dec. 24, 1830.

SIR,

Sir James Graham having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 11th inst., detailing the Plan of a Voyage round the Globe, for the united purpose of hydrographical discovery, commercial exploration, and preparatory or progressive civilization, and expressing the hope of the Committee that from among the great number of unoccupied ships now at the disposal of the Government, some one may be spared, and be permitted to be appropriated to the prosecution of this Voyage, I have it in command to acquaint you that their Lordships have no authority to dispose of His Majesty's ships but on His Majesty's service, and that the above-mentioned request cannot therefore be complied with.*

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

(Signed)

JOHN BARROW.

* It may be stated here as an illustration of the readiness with which this rule can be broken through, when any particular purpose is to be served, that the same power, which could not grant the use of an empty and unoccupied vessel, to cost the nation nothing, for the purpose of performing a Voyage of Discovery and Research, could yet devote to the service of Sir Walter Scott, a Frigate of 50 guns completely manned and armed, to convey him from England to the Mediterranean, and to wait upon him there at his pleasure, at a cost of not less than £50,000 a year at the least. Both might perhaps have been done, without great injury to the public service: but that the latter should have been granted and the former refused, seems to prove any thing but true economy.

While the Government were thus backward in rendering assistance, testimonies of various kinds flowed in from the Country, approving the object, and offering contributions for its support, of which two only are selected. They are the following:—

LETTER OF THE REVEREND MR. SCORESBY.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. W. Scoresby, (Author of Voyages in the Arctic Regions) to his Friend, W. Rathbone, Esq. of Liverpool, Feb. 7, 1831.

“The Public owe Mr. Buckingham a debt of gratitude, which eventually I hope will be repaid. Most certainly, we never could have stood in our present position for resisting the East India Company's extraordinary Monopoly, had it not been for Mr. Buckingham's Herculean labours. I will trouble you to put down my name as a Subscriber to his proposed Voyage. The innumerable claims on a Clergyman's limited income, leave him but little for any object not especially religious. But the Plan of his Voyage is so good, and the object so important; and, moreover, the Voyager himself is so highly qualified, apparently, for the investigation intended, that I cannot allow such an Expedition to leave this Country without, at least, giving my name as one of the humbler Subscribers to this interesting undertaking.”

RESOLUTIONS AT THE COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, LEEDS.

At a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Leeds, held at the close of Mr. Buckingham's Lecture, developing his Plan of a Voyage round the Globe, for the promotion of Geographical Science, the extension of British Commerce, and the advancement of Civilization, at the Commercial Buildings, on Monday Evening the 4th of April, 1831,

JAMES HOLDFORTH, Esq. in the Chair.

It was moved by T. B. PEASE, Esq. seconded by JAMES HARGREAVES, Esq. and carried unanimously,

1st, That the past labours of Mr. Buckingham, in the devotion of many years of time, and a considerable sacrifice of fortune, to the advocacy of a Free Trade with the Eastern World, entitle him to the cordial support of the Mercantile and Manufacturing Community in any future undertaking connected with the advancement of that important object.

It was moved by ANTHONY TITLEY, Esq. seconded by JOSEPH BATESON, Esq. and carried unanimously,

2nd, That the Voyage proposed to be performed by Mr. Buckingham, for the Exploration of the Coasts and Markets of the Eastern Seas, is especially calculated to benefit the Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests of Yorkshire, and is therefore worthy of their liberal and effectual patronage and assistance.

It was moved by JAMES RICHARDSON, Esq. seconded by EDWARD BAINES, jun. Esq. and carried unanimously,

3rd, That a Committee be therefore appointed for Leeds and its neighbourhood, to obtain the utmost amount of support that may be found practicable for Mr. Buckingham's Undertaking, and to remit the same to the Committee and Treasurer of the Expedition in London.

(Signed)

JAMES HOLDFORTH, Chairman.

After this, Mr. BUCKINGHAM visited nearly all the principal Sea-Ports and Manufacturing Districts of England, to give public explanations of the nature of this Voyage, to point out the advantages that would result from it, to Science, to Navigation, and to Commerce,—and to shew, that even on the principle of self-interest, it was worthy of adequate public support. He was every where received with plaudits of approbation, and hospitable entertainment,—as the Papers of the Day, recording these proceedings, sufficiently testify. But, from the mutual and reciprocal feeling of jealousy on the part of the Government and the People,—the latter conceiving, that as it was for the national benefit it ought to be undertaken at the public expense, and the funds to be furnished by the Treasury, as for any other Expedition of Research,—the former conceiving that as it was a Voyage chiefly intended to explore new markets for British merchants and manufacturers, its cost should be defrayed by a subscription among these, as the parties most deeply interested:—from this feeling on the part of both, the support of neither could be sufficiently obtained. At the same moment there were members of the Nobility spending their thousands to promote a horse-race, or to raise a competition in a Yacht Club; and members of the mercantile body risking their hundreds in speculations of every sort and kind: while the most insignificant contribution from each compared with their fortunes, devoted to this Voyage, would have done honour to the nation, brought advantage to themselves, and laid the foundation of an enlarged and advantageous intercourse with millions of our fellow-beings in distant regions of the earth.

After every effort that could be made, by time, labour, and money, to obtain the requisite support,—and made in vain,—a Meeting of the Committee was held in London; and it was accordingly resolved that as a great number of the Contributors were deeply impressed with the claims of Mr. Buckingham to some mark of their approbation and support, it should be put to the choice of every individual Subscriber, whether, since the Voyage could not be accomplished, he would receive back the amount contributed by him,—or transfer it to a fund for the purchase of an Annuity on Mr. Buckingham's life, with reversion to his family in case of his previous death; and this being determined on, a Statement of the whole Case was drawn up for publication: and when the answers of all the parties addressed had been received, so as to enable the Committee to complete the List of Subscribers to the Voyage, and Subscribers to the Annuity,—a copy of such complete List, which will follow this, was sent to every individual contributor, enclosed in the following Circular.

“ 16, *Waterloo-place, Pall Mall.*

“ Mr. BUCKINGHAM presents his respectful compliments to those distinguished Noblemen and Gentlemen who honoured his intended Voyage with their patronage and aid, and avails himself of this opportunity to tender them his sincere thanks for the confidence they were willing to repose in him, had the liberality of the Public generally equalled their own, and enabled him to proceed on his Expedition.

“ He begs also to express his gratitude to those friends who so readily assented to the proposition of transferring their assistance to the purchase

of an Annuity, with reversion to his family in case of death; and although the actual amount of such provision may fall short of their wishes, it does not in the least degree abate his sense of the generous spirit in which it was contributed.

“The Committee being about to close their proceedings by the publication of a Revised List of the whole Subscription, a copy of this List is forwarded to each Subscriber, with a request that if any errors appear in the entry of their names, or the sums attached to them, they will have the kindness to communicate the correction they may desire, in a note to Mr. BUCKINGHAM, who will have great pleasure in seeing their wishes complied with.

The Sum thus realized will purchase an Annuity of from £25 to £30 per annum; and on that ground alone, the smallness of its amount, it has been made the subject of contemptuous sarcasms and ribaldrous reproach. Whether it be, or be not, an adequate compensation, for a long life of uninterrupted and unabated labour,—the sacrifice of a fortune of £40,000 in the public cause,—and the devotion of every hour to the prosecution of useful labours for the public good,—it is for others to determine. But for ourselves, we feel no shame in receiving even this small gift; and that chiefly because we are assured that those by whom it was tendered, did so with all sincerity and disinterestedness, as a free-will offering, upon the altar of public retribution, for wrongs endured and injuries sustained. And while the members of the Royal Family are supported by contributions from the public purse,—while pensions are bestowed for services of every grade, from the Treasury of the State, without the payers having any option whatever of withholding their contribution to the amount,—while Subscriptions of every sort and kind are annually raised for various testimonies to persons who are believed to have rendered services to others while living; in the shape of estates, and monuments, houses, and plate, all of the most costly kind,—and while even the family of Sir Walter Scott are objects of public solicitude, and large subscriptions are raised for their use, in return for the entertainment which the writings of their parent afforded,—though these were, during his life-time, more liberally remunerated than the labours of any writer in ancient or modern times,—we know not how it can be deemed dishonourable in us, who have never yet eaten, and never desire to eat, the “bread of idleness,” but who, at the same time, do not wish to descend to the grave without some hope of provision for those we may leave behind,—to accept that which is tendered to us, however small may be its amount. Should we ever live to receive restitution from the hands of our oppressors, and be reinstated in the fortune of which we were plundered in India, and for which we have as yet obtained no kind of redress, we shall be but too delighted to return that, which, under happier circumstances it would afford us more pleasure to pay than to receive; and if ever that day shall arrive, we shall not be found wanting in our duty.

The following is the Statement before alluded to, as enclosed in the Circular sent to every individual Subscriber; and with the perusal of that Statement, we leave the whole case in our reader's hands.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S VOYAGE.

APPROPRIATION OF THE FUNDS SUBSCRIBED FOR MR. BUCKINGHAM'S PROPOSED VOYAGE.

THE period having arrived at which it is desirable and practicable to wind up the affairs connected with the Subscription above named, and to appropriate the funds collected according to the wishes of the parties by whom they were originally subscribed, it is thought proper to lay the following brief statement before the Subscribers and the Public at large, in order to remove any misconception that may exist as to the course pursued throughout the whole of the period devoted to this undertaking.

The Plan of the Voyage was first made known in the month of July, 1830, at a public meeting held at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the Chair; and the resolutions, approving of the Plan itself, and recommending its execution to be confided to Mr. Buckingham, as in every respect qualified for the command, were moved by the Duke of Somerset, Lord Durham, Lord John Russell, Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, General Sir Samuel Bentham, Chief Justice Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, and others; and a long list of the most distinguished men in England gave it their avowed patronage and support.

For nearly two years Mr. Buckingham was almost incessantly engaged in visiting the different sea-ports and manufacturing towns of England, in search of the requisite degree of support for a Voyage of the highest importance to the mercantile interests, while the Committee were engaged in London in assisting the same object; but, from the political excitement occasioned by the French revolution, which happened just at the time the Plan of the Voyage was first developed, and the continued agitation of the public mind ever since, by the fate of Poland, of Belgium, and of Portugal, with the still greater question of Reform at home—it was found impossible, with all the time, labour, and expence bestowed for that purpose, to obtain from the public the requisite amount of funds to carry the Voyage into execution.

The Narrative that follows, with the Resolutions passed by the Committee, and the List of Subscribers, with every particular annexed, will furnish the fullest information to all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the details.

BRIEF OUTLINE

OF

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS

TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF

British Shipping, Commerce, and Manufactures.

AN impression having been entertained in some quarters that Mr. BUCKINGHAM's arduous and persevering labours in opposition to the Commercial Monopoly of the East India Company, were stimulated chiefly by the injuries he had received from their government abroad, and that all his zeal for the extension of British freedom, and of British trade, is grounded on a spirit of vindictiveness for wrongs sustained,—it is thought proper to put the mercantile and manufacturing community of the country in possession of a brief summary of that gentleman's public services in their cause, both before and since his residence in India, in order that they may thereby judge for themselves, when all the facts are before them, how far he is entitled to the merit of disinterestedness or patriotism, and whether his labours give him any claim on their consideration or not.

1. Mr. Buckingham's early life was passed chiefly at sea, he having entered on that profession at the early period of nine years of age. He was made a prisoner of war at ten; and in his eleventh year he was marched barefoot with his fellow captives for a distance of eight hundred miles through an enemy's country.

2. After a further career of active service, he obtained the command of a merchant ship, at the early age of twenty-one; and was eminently successful in all his mercantile speculations, in the West Indies, in America, and in the Mediterranean Sea.

3. In the year 1813, having suffered deeply from the calamitous effects of the plague at Malta, he left that island for Smyrna, where he collected, arranged and subsequently published, the most copious, minute, and accurate account of the trade of the Levant in general, and of Smyrna in particular, that has ever yet appeared from any pen, or in any public form.*

4. From Smyrna Mr. Buckingham proceeded to Alexandria, and being there introduced to the Pasha of Egypt, he availed himself of this opportunity to point out to that eastern ruler the great importance of

* See Oriental Herald, vol. x. pp. 72 and 473.

extending his commercial relations with Europe, on the one hand, and Asia on the other, for which his country was so advantageously situated. In the course of his stay at Alexandria and Cairo, Mr. Buckingham succeeded in prevailing on the Egyptian Pasha to encourage the settlement of European merchants in his dominions; to improve the quality of all the exportable products of the soil, more especially cotton, one of the great staple articles of trade; to afford greater facilities for the importation of British manufactures; and to send as many of the male youths of Egypt as could be procured for that purpose to England, for education, and improvement in the various branches of European knowledge; all of which the Pasha has since done, and by the effects of these measures, the commerce of Egypt with Great Britain has since then greatly and profitably increased.

5. At this period, Mr. Buckingham offered to undertake the opening and completion of a canal, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and to make it navigable for ships of large burthen, which would shorten the route to India to half its present distance. This undertaking was highly approved, and would have been carried into execution but for the breaking out of the war with the Wahabee Arabs, which required the presence of the Egyptian Pasha to conduct the campaign, and called for all his resources, in men and money, to be applied to that object only.

6. In 1814, Mr. Buckingham made a nautical survey of the dangerous channels of the Red Sea, by a voyage down its whole length, from Suez to Bab-el-Mandeb, onward to India, and thence back again, on his return to Egypt; collecting, with great labour, a mass of the most valuable information, tending to correct and improve the hitherto imperfect charts of that part of the globe, and thus greatly to lessen the future danger of shipwrecks and mercantile loss. His investigations would have been extended still further, but they were interrupted by his being arbitrarily banished from India, after a few weeks' residence only, not in consequence of any faults committed, or even alleged (as the Government at the time publicly eulogised Mr. Buckingham's character and labours) but in pursuance of the uniform policy of the East India Company's Monopoly, which is to obstruct and repress every trade but their own.

7. In 1815, Mr. Buckingham succeeded in obtaining a treaty of commerce from the Pasha of Egypt, on behalf of the British merchants in India, and in England, by virtue of which, the trade carried on by the route of the Red Sea was placed on a scale of less than half the previous duties; and of this treaty, ratified by the British consul in Egypt*, Mr. Buckingham undertook to be the bearer, through a long and perilous journey overland, by the way of Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia, to

* The original Treaty is in the possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.

India, where he arrived a second time, after encountering almost every description of suffering in the way.

8. In 1816, Mr. Buckingham was appointed to the command of a frigate, belonging to an independent Arab prince, the Imaun of Muscat, in which ship he visited the Persian Gulf, and there collected and arranged a large mass of valuable information relative to the existing commerce of Muscat, Bushire, and Bussorah; with surveys of the river Euphrates, and the shores of the sea into which it empties itself, added to investigations as to the best means of extending and improving the trade of that quarter, which together form the most complete body of fact and evidence on those subjects contained in any published works.*

9. In 1818, after having visited and examined almost every part of the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, including both sides of the great peninsula of India, as well as the island of Ceylon, Mr. Buckingham arrived at Calcutta, in Bengal; but being directed, while there, to proceed with his frigate to Zanzibar, to give convoy to some slave vessels engaged in the conveyance of captives from thence to Muscat, he instantly resigned his command—though then it had become a highly lucrative employment—rather than countenance, by his presence or participation, that human slavery, to which he had all his life, from principle and from conviction, been warmly and zealously opposed.

10. At the close of 1818, Mr. Buckingham established, in compliance with the wishes of the British merchants in Calcutta, a public newspaper, which was devoted to the advocacy of extended commerce, and good government in the East. The success of this paper was beyond all parallel; for though commencing, at the close of 1818, with a capital of only 3000*l.* sterling,—it yielded, in 1820, a net profit of 3000*l.* per annum—in 1821, a profit of 5000*l.*—and, in 1822, a profit of 8000*l.* per annum; the whole accumulated amount of which was invested or laid out in new buildings, improvements, presses, and materials for enlarging the concern; bringing it, in the year 1822, or four years only after its commencement, to the actual saleable value of 40,000*l.* sterling; at which rate one-fourth of the property was disposed of accordingly.

11. In the editorship of this journal, Mr. Buckingham advocated, with so much zeal and success, the opening of the India and China trade to the enterprize of British merchants generally, and rendered his paper so powerful an organ for the exposure of monopoly, slavery, and despotism, that the Indian government, being unable to resist his efforts by reason or by law, arbitrarily banished him a second time from India, without a trial, hearing, or defence, and for no offence beyond that of questioning

* See *Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 36; vol. xxi. p. 136; vol. xxii. p. 79.

the propriety of an appointment, which was subsequently censured and annulled by the authorities in England—whose opinions were correctly anticipated—and for this anticipation, Mr. Buckingham was to be destroyed.

12. Not satisfied with this severe exercise of arbitrary power, the Indian government had no sooner exiled Mr. Buckingham from his home, his friends, and his property, than they passed a law for the suppression of his journal in his absence, and giving it an *ex post facto* application, destroyed the whole of his productive concern, stopped entirely the source of all his future subsistence, and, by their cruel and protracted proceedings, entailed on his property an accumulation of debt, which years of subsequent labour have been insufficient to wipe away; they well knowing, that the most effectual way to silence an opponent, is, if possible, to reduce him to hopeless poverty, to trample him in the dust, and then to load him with debts and embarrassments of such weight as to prevent his ever rising up again.

13. Notwithstanding all this, however, Mr. Buckingham, on his arrival in England, in the year 1823, devoted his whole time, labour, and the small remnant of fortune which he had been enabled to rescue from the wreck, to legal proceedings against the East India Company, in the King's Courts, and before the Privy Council; but was borne down in both, by the weight of their influence and their purse: while in the Parliament, constituted as it then was, no redress could be obtained.

14. For a period of six years subsequent to his return from India—from 1823 to 1829—Mr. Buckingham conducted and supported a monthly journal, THE ORIENTAL HERALD, whose pages were almost exclusively given to the advocacy of a free trade between Great Britain and the Eastern World; and although the publication of that work entailed upon him, in the end, a loss of from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* sterling, yet its circulation has been attended with the best moral results, in its having prepared the way for awakening public attention to the present importance of our Eastern possessions and the future prospects of our Eastern trade.

15. Since the year 1829, Mr. Buckingham has been incessantly engaged in visiting almost every town of importance in the kingdom; and by his public lectures and addresses, by the formation of numerous associations, by discussions in the provincial papers, and by the free distribution of pamphlets and other publications, on the subject of the Eastern World, has caused, probably, several millions of hearers and readers together, in various parts of the country, to enquire into and reflect upon the evils of monopoly, slavery, and despotism, and to join the ranks of their opponents, who, without such personal and spirit-stirring exertions as those of Mr. Buckingham, agitating the whole town and neighbourhood of every place visited by him in succession, would have remained ignorant of the

most important facts connected with those great evils, and consequently have continued indifferent to their removal.

16. As the period for the probable opening of the Eastern trade approached, Mr. Buckingham further devised and made public, in the year 1830, the plan of a voyage of circumnavigation, which was intended to unite the great interests of geographical discovery, commercial enterprize, and civilisation in its highest and most important sense; a plan, which, for its noble design and benevolent and patriotic end, has never been surpassed, and which received the highest encomiums from the very first men of the age, expressed in the most open and public manner, but which was not carried into effect, merely for the want of sufficient public spirit in the nation to raise the necessary funds for its completion.

Mr. Buckingham's labours having thus, for nearly twenty years of his life, been uniformly directed to the extension of British Commerce, and to the removal of those restraints by which the British merchant was fettered in his operations in various parts of the globe; and the results of those labours, though ruinous to himself in a pecuniary sense, having already been attended with the greatest benefits to others, and laid the foundation for still higher advantage to the country at large;—the period seems to have arrived, when the British nation—but more especially the mercantile and manufacturing portions of it, in whose cause Mr. Buckingham's labours have been spent, and his fortune sacrificed—should take upon themselves to decide whether they will consent to reap the benefits of that Public Opinion in favour of a Free Trade to India and China, which has been roused in every part of the country by Mr. Buckingham's efforts, and which must ultimately prevail,—without caring what happens to the individual who has thus powerfully and successfully advocated their rights;—or whether they will not rather evince their strict love of justice, and true British spirit, by placing Mr. Buckingham in that position of comfort and independence, from which he has been struck down by the hand of power, as a punishment for his zeal and perseverance in a public cause.

Such a work has, indeed, already been begun; and as its completion will be easy, if it be only followed up with becoming spirit and liberality, it is thought that a mere statement of the facts embodied in the Resolutions which follow, and which have already received the sanction of many of the original approvers of Mr. Buckingham's voyage, as will be seen by the annexed list, where every subscriber's name appears, will be sufficient to call forth, in every quarter in which they are made known, the requisite degree of support to effect the object proposed.

At a Meeting of the Committee for promoting the proposed Voyage of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, held at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, London, on Thursday, the 26th day of July, 1832—

THE HONOURABLE LEICESTER STANHOPE, IN THE CHAIR,

It was resolved—

1. That Mr. BUCKINGHAM's exertions to obtain the requisite degree of public support to carry his proposed Voyage into execution, were continued almost without intermission for a period of more than a year, and conducted with zeal, energy, and discretion.

2. That the inadequacy of the support obtained, arising, it is believed, in great measure, from the peculiar circumstances of the times, was the only cause of the proposed Voyage being relinquished.

3. That in the expenditure necessarily incurred to carry forward the usual measures for giving publicity to the plan, and obtaining for it the utmost amount of aid, Mr. Buckingham had no control whatever over the funds, no portion of them being ever used or expended by any person, but with the sanction and by the order of the Committee, every check bearing the signatures of three of its members before presentation to the treasurer, Sir George Duckett, Bart., by whom alone the payments were made.*

4. That the utmost frankness and fairness was observed in stating to every individual subscriber, by printed circular, the cause of the Voyage being relinquished, and in giving to each the option of either receiving back his contribution, or permitting the appropriation of the amount to the purchase of an Annuity for Mr. Buckingham's life, in testimony of the services he had rendered to the public, and the sacrifices to which he had been subjected from his zeal in its cause.

5. That with a view to concentrate the whole amount of the subscriptions thus transferred by the assenting parties, it is desirable that the sums already subscribed for the purchase of this Annuity, and those deposited on this account in the provincial banks, be therefore collected in as soon as it may be found practicable, and that the country bankers holding such deposits be requested to remit the amount in their hands to the London bankers already appointed to receive the same, viz. Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, Messrs. Coutts and Co. and Messrs. Ransom and Co., for the purpose of placing the whole under the control of the noble and distinguished individuals who have consented to act as Mr. Buckingham's trustees, viz. Lord Durham, Lord Dover, Lord John Russell, Lord Milton, and Sir Thomas Denman, so that its investment in the proposed Annuity may be made by them without further delay.

6. That an accurate list of the subscribers to the Annuity be prepared, and transmitted to each individual whose name shall appear thereon, with a request that they will make any revision that may be necessary, to prevent all future error or misconception as to names or amounts; and that Mr. Buckingham be authorised and requested by the Committee to carry this into execution with the existing subscribers, and to procure such additional names as he may be able to do, transmitting to the Committee, from time to time, a report of such additions, for the speedy completion of the full and accurate list desired.

(Signed) LEICESTER STANHOPE, *Chairman.*

* The following eleven members of the Committee deposited their signatures with the Bankers, as those only authorised to sign any drafts or checks, without the signatures of three of whom, no drafts or checks were to be honoured, viz.—

Leicester Stanhope, Ralph Watson, J. T. Rutt, Edward Harrison, M.D., James Hutchinson, R. L. Chance, Alex. M'Konochie, R.N., B. G. Babington, M.B., Kowland Hill, George Fitzclarence (now Earl of Munster).

Forms of Assent and Dissent, which have been submitted to every Individual Subscriber.

As accuracy in names and amounts is extremely desirable, it is respectfully requested that the Subscribers to whom this List may be sent, will have the kindness (if they have not already done so) to express their written assent or dissent, after the manner of the Forms given beneath, and forward the same, (under cover to Mr. Buckingham, 16, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, which will save the postage) addressed to the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, Chairman of the London Committee, for the purpose of completing the revised and accurate List, previous to its final publication, and enabling the Committee to place the amount subscribed in the hands of the following Individuals, who have kindly consented to act as Trustees on Mr. Buckingham's behalf.

TRUSTEES.

The Right Hon. the Earl of DURHAM.

The Right Hon. the Earl FITZWILLIAM.
The Right Hon. Lord DOVER.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.
The Lord Chief Justice DENMAN.

FORM OF ASSENT.

I hereby give my Assent to the purchase of an Annuity for Mr. Buckingham, under the Trustees named in the Resolutions of his Committee, dated July 26, 1832; and have paid, into the Bank of Messrs.

in _____ the sum of _____

which I authorize the Trustees to appropriate as my Subscription to the Annuity proposed.

(Signed) _____

FORM OF DISSENT.

I hereby express my Dissent from the proposition made by the Committee for appropriating any portion of the Funds to the Annuity proposed; and desire the sum deposited by me on account of this Subscription, in the Bank of Messrs.

to be returned to me accordingly.

(Signed) _____

ACTUAL RESULT OF THE SUBSCRIPTION UP TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

	£	s.	d.
1. Total amount nominally subscribed for the Voyage	-	1889	5 0
2. Total expences of every kind incurred for the undertaking	-	779	17 3
3. Proportion of the subscribed amount actually paid	-	1366	18 0
4. Proportion of the subscribed amount subsequently repaid	-	90	9 0
5. Proportion of the subscribed amount not paid at all	-	522	7 0
6. Amount in the hands of Duckett and Co's assignees not yet received	-	58	3 4
7. Nett sum available for the purchase of an annuity	-	437	8 5
8. Amount of annuity which this sum will secure	-	35	0 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
A				
Anglesea, Marquis of	Dublin	10 10 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Auckland, Rt. Hon. Lord	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Aldam, William	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Alexander, James	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Adams, Samuel	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Anthony, Charles, and Family	Hereford	11 11 0	11 11 0	Smith's
Ashworth, Edmund	Bolton	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Anderton, James	London	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Aldersgate Institution, Lecture at	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
A few Members of the same	London	9 5 0	9 5 0	Smith's
B				
Brougham, Lord Chancellor	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Bedford, His Grace the Duke of	Woburn	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Benson, Robert	Liverpool	21 0 0	21 0 0	Smith's
Barclay, T. Brockhurst	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Beresford, Lord Viscount	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Brooks, John	Manchester	10 10 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Burdett, Sir Francis, M. P.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Bulwer, H. Lytton, M. P.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Babington, William, M.D.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Ball, Richard	Bristol	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Babington, Benjamin, M. B.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Bell, William	Sunderland	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Bennet, William	London	1 1 0	2 2 0	Duckett's
Birkbeck, George, M.D., and Family	London	11 11 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Bradbury and Evans	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Button, Nathaniel	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Banks, George	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Berrey, George	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Baines, Edward, and Son	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Baines, Frederick,	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Baines, Miss	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Burton, T.	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Brown, James	Dundee	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Bacon, George	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Bannerman, Alexander, M. P.	Aberdeen	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Backhouse, Edward	Sunderland	2 2 0	2 2 0	Coutts's
Blaikie, Alexander	Aberdeen	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Bradley, G., and Son	Nottingham	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Backhouse, Jonathan,	Darlington	8 8 0	8 8 0	Duckett's
Bull, Rev. T. P.	Newport Pagnel	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Byrne, Oscar	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Birchall, Edwin	Leeds	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Bruce, William	Leeds	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Brown, William Williams	Leeds	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Bateson, Joseph	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Bell and Adamson	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Burnley, J.	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Best, Mrs.	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Baxter, Edward	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Barrow, John	Manchester	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Bracken, Thomas	Calcutta	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Booth, C.	Liverpool	1 0 0	1 0 0	Smith's
Butler, E. Jun.	Birmingham	5 5 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Blackburn, Thomas	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Bentham, Gen. Sir Samuel, K. S. G.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Brooks, Thomas	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Bennett, John	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Benyon, Alfred	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Berners, F.	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Beaver, Hugh	Manchester	3 3 0	—	—Not Paid.
Bywater, Charlesworth, and Co.	Leeds	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Burrel, Mr. Samuel	Birmingham	1 0 0	—	—Repaid.
Broomhead and Thomas	Birmingham	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
C				
Cambridge, H. R. H. the Duke of	Hanover	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Cropper, James	Liverpool	5 5 0	50 0 0	Smith's
Cavendish, Lord, M.P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Coke, Thomas William	Holkham	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Christy, William Millar,	Clapham	5 5 0	50 0 0	Smith's
Coutts and Co. Bankers	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Cave, Robert Otway	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cropper, Edward,	Liverpool	5 5 0	10 10 0	Smith's
Cock, Simon	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Clarkson, Thomas	Ipswich	3 3 0	3 3 0	Smith's
Compton, Joseph	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Chance, William	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Churchill, D. S.	Nottingham	3 3 0	—	—Not Paid.
Clapham, Anthony	Newcastle	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Clarke, Sir Alured, Field-Marshal	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Churchill, Joseph	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Crown and Anchor, Lecture at	London	8 4 0	8 4 0	Duckett's
Crowley, John	Wolverhampton	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cay, R. B.	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Campion, Robert	Whitby	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cripps, William	Newport Pagnel	5 5 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Claypon, B.	Boston	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Credwson, Isaac	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Cash, William	London	2 2 0	2 2 0	Smith's
Corbet, David	Worcester	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Conteur, Captain Le	Jersey	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Christie, Hector	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Coglan, Thomas	Liverpool	1 0 0	1 0 0	Smith's
Crawfurd, John	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
C. Chadwick, and Co.	Leeds	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cudworth, John	Leeds	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Clapham, Peele John	Leeds	2 2 0	—	—Not Paid.
Charlesworth, Thomas	Leeds	5 0 0	5 0 0	Ransom's
Cooke, Thomas	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cocker, John	Manchester	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Cooke, Richard	Liverpool	5 5 5	—	—Not Paid.
Credwson, Joseph	Manchester	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
D				
Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of	London	5 5 0	25 0 0	Duckett's
Durham, Right Hon. Lord	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Dyer, Joseph C.	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Dover, Right Hon. Lord	London	5 5 0	10 10 0	Smith's
Deans, John	Glasgow	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Davenport, Edward Davies	Tarporley	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Denman, Lord Chief Justice	London	—	15 0 0	Coutts's
Dehane, John, M. D.	Wolverhampton	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Doyle, Gen. Sir John, Bart.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Dawson, William	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Drummond, Henry	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Doyle, Colonel C. J.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Delafons, J. P.	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Daniel, Edward	Newport Pagnel	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Duckett, Sir George, Bart.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Dean, Rev. A.	Manchester	1 1 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Drake, James	Birmingham	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Dunn and Rose	Birmingham	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Dodgson, John	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
E				
Ellenborough, Right Hon. Lord	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Ebrington, Lord Viscount, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Edwards, Moses	Hereford	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Evans, Lieut. Raymond, R. N.	London	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Evans, William, M. P.	Derby	5 5 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Elkins, Eli	Newport Pagnel	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Eucleigh, Samuel	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
F				
Fitzwilliam, Right Hon. the Earl	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Ferrers, Right Hon. the Earl	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Fonblanque, J. M.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Felkin, William	Nottingham	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Floris, James	London	1 10 0	2 2 0	Duckett's
Fleming, John	Glasgow	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Fergusson, Robert Cutlar, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Forster, James	Wolverhampton	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Finlay, Kirkman	Glasgow	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Fletcher, Samuel	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Fletcher, Edward	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Friend, A.	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Friend, A.	London	2 2 0	2 2 0	Duckett's
Franceys, M.	Liverpool	1 1 0	1 1 0	Smith's
Freemason's Hall, Lecture at	London	8 1 0	8 1 0	Duckett's
Fenton and Murray	Leeds	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Friends, a few	Liverpool	3 10 0	3 10 0	Smith's
Frazer, George	Manchester	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Fowden, William	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Fielden, T.	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
G				
Gloucester, H. R. H. the Duke of	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Glasscock, Captain, R. N.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gott, Benjamin	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Grenville, Right Hon. Lord	Windsor	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Grieveson, Thomas	Newcastle	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gower, Right Hon. Francis Leveson	Oatlands	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Gibbons, John	Wolverhampton	3 3 0	3 3 0	Smith's
Grant, Right Hon. Charles, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Gunter, Richard	London	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Goldsmid, Isaac Lyon	Dulwich	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Gibbons, Benjamin	Wolverhampton	3 3 0	3 3 0	Smith's
Grant, Lieut. James, 14th Foot	Dover	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gray, the Rev. Robert	Sunderland	2 2 0	2 2 0	Coutts's
Gurney, Richard	Tregony	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Graham, Alexander	Glasgow	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Guest, Josiah John, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Graham, George	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Gilchrist, John Borthwick, L.L.D.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Grosvenor, the Hon. Robert	London	4 4 0	4 4 0	Duckett's
Girling, J. A.	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Grainger, J. A.	London	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gray, R. A.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Greenwich Institution, Lecture at	Greenwich	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Gibbins, Brothers	Birmingham	5 5 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Goodman, John	Leeds	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Green, John	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Gordier, John	Liverpool	2 0 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gill, Robert	Manchester	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Gammon, Mr.	Manchester	1 0 0	—	— <i>Repaid.</i>
Gibbins, W.	Birmingham	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
H				
Hastings, the Marquis of	Donnington	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Hill, Thomas Wright	Hazelwood	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Hoyle, Thomas	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Holland, Right Hon. Lord	Kensington	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Halsewell, Edmund	Brompton	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Hobhouse, Sir J. C. Bart.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Hill, Arthur	Hazelwood	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Heywood, Captain, R. N.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Hutchinson, Bury	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Hope, Henry, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Horton, Rt. Hon. Sir Wilmot	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Hill, Frederick	Hazelwood	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Hart, J. P.	Dublin	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Hutchinson, James, and Family	Highbury	10 10 0	10 10 0	Smith's
Hardcastle, James	Bolton	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Harrison, Edward, M. D.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Heatley, Patrick	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Humphreys, J.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Heard, John	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Horbeck, W.	Nottingham	2 2 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Hardy, Robert	Worcester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Heywood, Benjamin	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Holdforth, James	Leeds	3 0 0	3 0 0	Ransom's
Hill, Matthew Davenport, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Hill, Rowland	Tottenham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Hall, Andrew	Manchester	3 3 0	3 3 0	Smith's
Hulme, J. H.	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Hunter, Robert	Manchester	2 2 0	2 2 0	Smith's
Hyde, John	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Houtson, James	Manchester	1 1 0	1 1 0	Smith's
Hope, Samuel	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Hutton, Hugh, the Rev.	Birmingham	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Howitt, Edward	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Horsburgh, James, India House	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Horsfall, John	Leeds	5 5 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Hubbard, James	Leeds	5 5 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Hayes, John	London	3 3 0	3 3 0	Coutts's
Hebblewaite, H. J.	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Heaps, John	Leeds	2 2 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Hargreaves, James	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Hunter, W. P.	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Huskisson, Rt. Hon. Wm.	London	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Henshaw, Mr. Thomas	London	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Heard, N. T.	Manchester	1 1 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Harter, J. C.	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Haynes, Wm.	Manchester	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
Haig, Capt.	Bedford	5 5 0	—	— <i>Not Paid.</i>
I				
Irvine, Captain F.	London	2 2 0	2 2 0	Smith's

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Johnston, Sir Alexander . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Jordan, William . . .	Bristol . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Jenkins, Richard, M. P. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Jones, Barker, and Co. . . .	Wolverhampton . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Judson, James . . .	Liverpool . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Smith's
Johnson, Edward, M.D. . . .	Birmingham . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
K				
Kent, H. R. H. the Duchess of . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Kennedy, John . . .	Manchester . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Kendal, John . . .	Nottingham . . .	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Keep, William . . .	Newport Pagnel . . .	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Kirwan, A. V. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Kendra, William . . .	Leeds . . .	1 1 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Keeling, James . . .	Hanley . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Kaye, Joseph . . .	Leeds . . .	1 0 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
L				
Leopold, H. M., King of the Belgians . . .	Brussels . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Liverpool East-India Association . . .	Liverpool . . .	21 0 0	21 0 0	Smith's
Leinster, His Grace the Duke of . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Lansdowne, Marquis of . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	10 10 0	Coutts's
Laurie, Sir Peter . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Lindgren, Adolphus, . . .	London . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Labouchere, John . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Lardner, The Rev. Dionysius, LL.D. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Leaver, H., and Son . . .	Nottingham . . .	6 6 0	—	—Not Paid.
Lincoln, Abraham . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Loftus, General . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Loftus, Lieutenant, R. N. . . .	London . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Luccock, Thomas . . .	Leeds . . .	2 2 0	2 2 0	—Not Paid.
Leese, Joseph . . .	Manchester . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
London Tavern, Lecture at . . .	London . . .	8 2 6	8 2 6	Duckett's
Lawrence, John . . .	Birmingham . . .	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Lloyd, Edward . . .	Manchester . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Lloyd, T. D. Longville . . .	Salop . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's.
Liverpool Mercury . . .	Liverpool . . .	2 2 0	—	—Not Paid.
M				
Munster, Right Hon. the Earl of . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Moorsom, Richard . . .	Whithy . . .	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Marriage, Joseph, jun. . . .	Chelmsford . . .	10 10 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Morpeth, Viscount Lord, M.P. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Maxwell, John, M. P. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Marshall, John . . .	Leeds . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Moorsom and Kilner . . .	London . . .	10 10 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Mc'Konochie, Captain, R. N. . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Marshall, John, Jun., M.P. . . .	Leeds . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Maxfield, Captain, M.P. . . .	Sunbury . . .	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Marshall, Laurence . . .	Clapton . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Mounsey, Thomas . . .	Sunderland . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Mounsey, John . . .	Sunderland . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Moggridge, J. H. and Family . . .	Monmouth . . .	10 10 0	10 10 0	Ransom's
Morgan, John . . .	Abergavenny . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Martin, D. . . .	London . . .	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Millar, James . . .	Newport Pagnel . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Meadows, Henry . . .	Newport Pagnel . . .	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Mellor, John . . .	Manchester . . .	5 10 0	5 10 0	Duckett's
Mortimer, H. W. . . .	London . . .	1 1 0	—	—Repaid.
Morgan, Richard . . .	Norwich . . .	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Miller, R. L. . . .	Norwich . . .	3 3 0	—	—Repaid.
May, J. H. . . .	London . . .	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Mercantile Journal . . .	London . . .	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Makin, C.	Leeds	5 5 0	2 0 0	Ransom's
Makin, Miss	Leeds	1 0 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Mabson, John	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Marryatt, Captain, R. N.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid
Mechanic's Institution, Lecture at	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
A few Members of the same	London	8 11 0	8 11 0	Duckett's
A Mechanic's Family	London	2 2 0	2 2 0	Duckett's
Moorcroft, Thomas	Birmingham	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Meredith and Capner	Birmingham	2 2 0	—	—Repaid.
Meredith, H.	Birmingham	1 1 0	—	—Repaid.
Moore, Mr. John	Birmingham	1 0 0	—	—Repaid.
Milford, Mr. Samuel	Truro	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Norwich, The Lord Bishop of	Norwich	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Neild, William	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Nugent, Right Hon. Lord	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Novelli, P.	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
O				
Osborne, George	Newport Pagnel	5 5 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Ogden, Bernard	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
P				
Portland, His Grace the Duke of	London	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Pendarves, E.W., M.P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Ponsonby, Right Hon. George	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Pearson, Joseph	Wolverhampton.	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Pearce, John	Cheltenham	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Powell, Thomas	Monmouth	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Pellatt, Apsley	London	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Price, Joseph	Gateshead	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Parsons, J. M.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Pococke, Augustus	Cowes	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Paris, Thomas	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Peggs, Rev. J.	Coventry	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Putnam, James	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Pease, T. B.	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Pease, John B.	Darlington	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Philips, Robert	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Philips, Mark, M. P.	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Porcher, Henry	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Prince, Thomas	Leeds	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Pringle, Thomas	London	3 3 0	3 3 0	Duckett's
Potter, Thomas	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Phillips, Mr.	Birmingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Pewtress, Low, and Pewtress	London	30 0 0	30 0 0	Coutts's
Q				
Russell, Right Hon. Lord John, M.P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Rathbone, William	Liverpool	5 5 0	21 0 0	Smith's
Roberts, Thomas, and Son	Nottingham	2 2 0	—	—Not Paid.
Rathbone, Richard	Liverpool	5 5 0	10 10 0	Smith's
Robertson, Charles	London	10 10 0	—	—Not Paid.
Robson, William	Darlington	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Rathbone, Theodore	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Ransome, J. A.	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Robe, Capt. Alexander, R. E.	Woolwich	3 3 0	3 3 0	Coutts's
Robson, Thomas	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Roscoe, Thomas	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Reynolds, William, M.D.	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Rhodes, J. & W.	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residences.</i>	<i>Subscribed for the Voyage.</i>	<i>Transferred to the Annuity.</i>	<i>Bankers, to whom paid.</i>
Rutt, J. T.	Clapton	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Richardson, James	Leeds	2 2 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Redden, Charles	Newport Pagnel	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Rooke, William	Birmingham	2 0 0	2 0 0	Ransom's
Ridgway, Thomas	Bolton	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Rawson, John	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Rawson, J. N.	Manchester	3 3 0	3 3 0	Smith's
Rumsey, Thomas	Nottingham	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Roberts, Richard	Manchester	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Robinson, Nicholas	Liverpool	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Rabery, Mr.	Birmingham	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Redfern, Mrs.	Birmingham	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Robinson and Allport	Birmingham	1 0 0	—	—Repaid.
S				
Sussex, H. R. H. the Duke of	Kensington	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Sturge, Joseph	Birmingham	10 10 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Smith, Admiral Sir Sydney	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Somerset, His Grace the Duke of	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Sondes, Lord	Rockingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Scholefield, Joshua	Birmingham	10 10 0	10 10 0	Duckett's
Scholefield, C. C.	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Sligo, the Marquis of	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Smith, George	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Strutt, Jedediah	Belper	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Spencer, Right Hon. the Earl	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Sarel, A. L.	Enfield	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Stanhope, the Hon. Leicester	London	30 0 0	30 0 0	Duckett's
Sinclair, Right Hon. Sir John, Bart.	Edinburgh	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Scarlett, Sir James, M.P.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Sykes, Daniel	Hull	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Sismond, J. G. L. de	Geneva	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Smith, Southwood, M.D.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Solomon, M.	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Smith, George	Colney Hatch	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Salmon, Robert	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Smith, R. W. and J.	London	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Snow, Bernard, and Family	Highgate	11 11 0	11 11 0	Duckett's
Storey, John	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Saull, W. Devonshire	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
Scoreby, Rev. William	Liverpool	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Smith, Timothy	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Smith, Henry	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Sturge, John	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Sturge, Edmund	Birmingham	3 3 0	3 3 0	Ransom's
Smart, G.	Birmingham	1 0 0	—	—Repaid.
Smith, William	Leeds	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Shann, Driver, and Co.	Leeds	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Sanders, George	Bristol	5 5 0	2 2 0	Ransom's
Sharpe, Thomas	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Sharpe, Robert	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Smith, Robert	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Smith, Richard	Manchester	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Smith, William	Leeds	2 2 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Sherwood, Mr. T. W.	Beverley	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Soloman, the Misses	Birmingham	2 0 0	2 0 0	Ransom's
T				
Tavistock, the Marquis of	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Tennant, Charles	Glasgow	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Tankerville, Right Hon. the Earl of	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Thornley, Thomas	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Torrington, Lord Viscount	Tunbridge	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Thomas, George	Bristol	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Thompson, Colonel T. Perronet	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Tennant, Andrew	Glasgow	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Train, R.	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.

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Thornely, Samuel	Liverpool	1 1 0	1 1 0	Smith's
Turley, E. A.	Birmingham	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Thompson, H.	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Tatham, Mrs. Ann	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Tours, Rev. J. A.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Taylor and Wordsworth	Leeds	3 3 0	—	—Not Paid.
Tite, William	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Titley, Tatham, and Walker	Leeds	10 10 0	10 10 0	Ransom's
Tyso, Charles	Manchester	5 0 0	—	—Not Paid.
Thornton and Sons	Birmingham	2 0 0	—	—Repaid.
Tregear, Mr. Vincent	Truro	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
U.				
Uthwatt, Henry Andrew	Newport Pagnel	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Unett, Mr. John	Birmingham	2 0 0	—	—Repaid.
V.				
Vernon, the Hon. John, M. P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
W				
Wilberforce, William	Highwood	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Wrangham, the Rev. Archdeacon	Hunmanby	2 2 0	—	—Not Paid.
Wakefield, Thomas	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Wilks, John, M.P.	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Walker, W.	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Wisson, J.	Nottingham	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Weldon, Walter	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Webster, W.	Nottingham	1 1 1	—	—Not Paid.
Wright, Joseph John	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Whitwell, Isaac	Kendal	5 5 0	5 5 0	Ransom's
Wade, the Rev. A. S., D.D.	London	1 1 0	1 1 0	Duckett's
White, Richard	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Wall, Charles Baring, M.P.	London	5 5 0	—	—Repaid.
Watkin, Absalom	Manchester	2 2 0	2 2 0	Smith's
Walker, Peter	Manchester	1 1 0	1 1 0	Smith's
Whitmore, Woolryche, M.P.	Dudmaston	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Wilkinson, John	Leeds	1 1 0	1 1 0	Ransom's
Wheeldon, G.	Coventry	1 0 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Watson, Ralph	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Whitehead, George	Leeds	3 3 0	—	—Not Paid.
Wilson, Joseph	Leeds	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Webster, Rowland	Sunderland	1 1 0	1 1 0	Coutts's
Walker, Samuel	Leeds	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Willis, Daniel	Liverpool	5 5 0	5 5 0	Smith's
Williams, William	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's
Western Institution, Lecture at	London	5 5 0	5 5 0	Duckett's
Wilson, Colonel	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Wilson, George	Manchester	1 1 0	—	—Not Paid.
Williams, John	Manchester	1 0 0	—	—Not Paid.
Whiteley, Eli	Leeds	1 0 0	1 0 0	Ransom's
Y.				
Young, the Rev. John, L.L.D.	London	5 5 0	—	—Not Paid.
Yule, Major	Edinburgh	5 5 0	5 5 0	Coutts's



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